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THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA
PATRISTIC STUDIES

VOL. I

ST. BASIL
and
GREEK LITERATURE

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to the Faculty of Letters of the Catholic University
of America in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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BY

LEO V. JACKS, A. M.

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CHRONOLOGICAL OUTLINE

- 330 or 331. Basil was born.
- 335. The Council of Tyre.
- 336. The death of Arius.
- 337. Death of Constantius.
- 343. Julian sent to Macellum.
- 343. Basil probably went to school at Caesarea.
- 344. Council of Sardica.
- 346. Basil went to Constantinople.
- 350. Death of Constans.
- 351. Basil went to Athens.
- 353. Death of Magnentius.
- 355. Julian at Athens.
- 355 or 356. Basil left Athens and returned to Caesarea.
- 357. Basil was probably baptized.
- 357. Basil was made reader.
- 358. Basil visited monastic establishments in Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Palestine with a view to studying conditions, preliminary to founding a monastic retreat of his own.
- 358. Basil went to the river Iris and entered the monastery.
- 359. Basil was at Constantinople at the end of the year and was on the homoousian side at the Synod of Seleucia.
- 360. Basil ordained deacon.
- 360. Basil left Caesarea, joining Gregory at Nazianzus.
- 361. Death of Constantine. Accession of Julian.
- 362. Basil returned to Caesarea.
- 363. Julian killed in the Persian War. Jovian became emperor.
- 364. Basil ordained priest.
- 365. Rebellion of Procopius.
- 366. Death of Pope Liberius.
- 367. Council of Tyana.
- 368. Famine in Cappadocia.
- 369. Death of Emmelia.
- 370. Death of Eusebius. Basil became bishop.
- 371. Valens divided the province of Cappadocia.
- 372. Valens at Caesarea.
- 373. Gregory of Nazianzus consecrated bishop. Gregory of Nyssa likewise, a little later.
- 373. Athanasius died. Between 372 and 373 began the estrangement between Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus.
- 373. Jovinus of Perrha visited Basil.
- 374. Auxentius died.
- 375. Valentinian died. Between 374 and 375 Gregory of Nazianzus died.
- 375. Gregory of Nyssa deposed.
- 376. Synod of Iconium.
- 376. Basil denounced Eustathius.
- 378. Valens died.
- 379. Basil died.

PREFACE

It is necessary to mention special assistance derived from Mr. J. M. Campbell's "Influence of the Second Sophistic upon the Style of the Sermons of St. Basil the Great" which was read while still in manuscript form, and which furnished interesting and important details on sophistic rhetoric. The use of this study much facilitated some of the work in connection with Atticism and the Second Sophistic.

The author wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness and express his sincere gratitude to Dr. Roy J. Deferrari, Head of the Departments of Greek and Latin at the Catholic University of America, under whose guidance the monograph was written, and from whose advice it has materially profited. Thanks are also due to Reverend Romanus Butin, S.M., Ph.D. and Reverend A. Vaschalde, Ph.D. for having read the manuscript and offered many valuable suggestions.

L. V. JACKS.

Washington, April 22d, 1922.

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INTRODUCTION

The object of this dissertation is to investigate Basil's knowledge of Greek literature, and to acquire as far as possible an insight into his attitude toward it. It is hoped that this object will be attained by collecting all direct quotations, all proper names, and all expressions and ideas which may with some degree of real certainty be attributed to the Greek civilization before him. This dissertation is not a study of sources, as such studies are generally understood. The common type of source investigation is an accumulation of every word, phrase, or idea which has even the remotest possibility of indicating a point of contact between two authors. By far the greater part of such material indicates little or nothing of certainty regarding a writer's use of the works of a predecessor. To repeat, the present study has to do only with certain or nearly certain signs of an acquaintance with, or an attitude of mind toward, the earlier Greek culture. These considerations must be borne in mind, especially in the study of the philosophers (Chapter III) to whom Basil is commonly supposed to be greatly indebted.

The section of Basil's writings which deals with philosophy and those passages which have philosophical tendencies will be the most difficult to explain. The stories of history, or the clear cut verses of the poets, are followed with comparative ease, but the tortuous windings of philosophical thought make a maze that is often bewildering to the last degree. Many studies later recognized as distinct from formal philosophy were then hopelessly confused with it. Most of the rudimentary forms of science were so placed. Writers upon geography, like Strabo, and men who recorded the lives and deeds of the philosophers, like Diogenes Laertius, appear in simple references. Basil's philosophical allusions may be divided roughly into two groups, a smaller one, representing very early thought and headed principally by Zeno and Prodicus of Ceos, and a larger one representing the acme of Greek philosophy, as set forth by Plato and

Aristotle. To this latter group a few late writers upon morals and conduct, like Plutarch and Marcus Aurelius, form a subsidiary class.

In philosophy, as in history or in poetry, quotations, or more or less direct statements that a thinker is responsible for some idea, are the simplest indications of the author's acquaintance with the philosophers. But many ideas which were common would very likely be mentioned without an authority being cited, and with many others perhaps Basil himself was not sure of the origin. In the case of philosophy, as in the case of poetry, when increasing age and care had gradually separated the man from his early studies and tended to hold him upon a beaten track of routine work, the fine distinctions of the ancient thinkers would be lost in the pressure of more immediate concerns. Toward the end of his life the saint was an exceedingly busy man and one forced to conserve his time.

Basil's usage of Plato will call for a great deal of explanation. Of all the Greek philosophers none could write like Plato and none was so well known for literary reasons. Few thinkers so well combined good reasoning with such persuasive exposition. His very mistakes possessed an attractive appearance, for from beginning to end he sought for ideals and so delicately wove them into his discourse that the impossibility of the realization of many of them was lost sight of in the beauty and dexterity of the general presentation. Again, many of his ideals were as sublime as those of any Christian. To quote such a writer was an ever present temptation to the Greek speaking orator. Few references could be used so effectively, and few would be so certain of instant recognition as those expressing the ordinary sentiments of the famous philosopher. Basil's various possible borrowings from Plato's philosophical system indicate little certainty regarding his literary appreciation of the man. However there is sufficient certain evidence to show that he admired Plato, and it will be seen that his literary uses of Plato's name and works were prompted by sincere admiration and esteem.

The case of Aristotle is different, yet for other reasons equally intricate. A man like Aristotle would not be quoted by reason of his style and diction, and it will appear that Basil estimates Aristotle's style very shrewdly. Basil refers to him by name and Aristotle's reputation must have counted with some weight. There is no doubt that Basil employed numerous stories and

references that are obviously Aristotelian. What Basil knew about Aristotle and his works will be evident from the usage that he makes of his information and the information is considerable.

In the case of legend and history (Chapter II) there is less material with which to work. It is quite impossible to assign many historical instances to definite places and, pointing out an author, to say that a certain reference belongs to him, or, citing a particular legend, to state that it originated in a certain place or with a certain writer. In the confused conditions of early Greek legend the best that can be done is to find for these references origins that are at least not unlikely, and if possible to locate them with authors who have a right to be considered of primary importance both for their own value and according to the probability that Basil used them. If a definite quotation is given, or an explicit statement that a particular passage is from a certain author, that would almost certainly establish the individual instance as being the work of the man in question. Basil's truthfulness may be assumed. But his memory was sometimes faulty, and many of his citations lie open to the suspicion of being made at random in the course of an oration, or rapidly written letter, and never verified. The reasons are natural. A poetical quotation may be given word for word, a philosopher may be cited in his own phraseology which is needed to convey the precise thought, but rarely does anyone endeavor to reproduce an historical event in other than his own language, or without emphasizing those shades of the matter which most appeal to his own imagination, or are best understood by his own caliber of intelligence. Two important things then occur. The original wording is lost sight of, and the grouping of events by the historian is superseded by the grouping of events which seems best to the secondary writer. This may change the entire appearance of the actual fact.

In the case of legend and history, another difficult task is to differentiate between a story that can be to some extent verified, and narrations that are so far back in antiquity that they rest for their authority upon a scanty trace of evidence. More ancient than these are the purely legendary materials which have their basis presumably upon a foundation of fact somewhere in the archaic past, but which cannot possibly be verified. Greek literature teems with stories of this nature and anyone well read in

the early authors could have had an inexhaustible fund of this doubtful matter ready for literary use and allusion. Proverbs and cant sayings flourished. Apt stories were told of noted characters and from year to year were repeated and magnified. These things were the common property of the people, and enriched the folk lore in a variety of ways. Wandering minstrels giving Homeric recitations seized upon this material and used it to advantage. It grew and flourished.

Finally, as regards the poets (Chapter I) the case is briefer and easier to follow than in any other field. The study of Basil's acquaintance with the poets must of necessity be based largely upon quotation. In poetry far less than in prose is a section of verse imitated or paralleled in the prose of another writer. A striking line or a peculiar word may stay in the memory and later be recalled, but this idea of its very nature, being clear cut and isolated, has a tendency to keep separated from attendant ideas and not to sink back after a short time into the hazy general condition to which prose information reduces itself. Prose imitation of great epic or tragic scenes is certainly not uncommon, but these cases are susceptible of perception and recognition.

It is hoped that such a study as this will contribute to a very much neglected department of the history of ancient literary criticism. The inattention to the Greek Fathers as literary critics is strange. For a long time an impression has prevailed that they were blindly and unreasoningly opposed to everything pagan, and that in Greek literature good and bad alike were obnoxious to them. The falsity of such views is constantly being demonstrated. The Greek Fathers possessed real and deep feeling for classical Greek culture, for Greek ideals, and for Greek literature. In the field of ancient literary criticism the Latin Fathers have not suffered from corresponding neglect, though they have no more reason, if as much, to be favored with this attention. Of the Eastern Fathers Chrysostom is the figure upon whom most of the attack has been centered, yet Chrysostom is proven from his own words to have assailed only the objectionable features of paganism. Enlightened pagans had done as much long before Chrysostom's day. It seems strange that in a work such as Saintsbury's "History of Criticism" (New York, 1900.) there is not one word regarding the Eastern Fathers, though attention is devoted to St. Augustine as the chief exponent of the Latin Fathers. In view of the close relationship, at times real unity,

between the Eastern and Western churches during the early centuries, it is interesting to note that although the Latin Fathers read the works of the Eastern ones and made great use of them in their own writings, and also read at least some of the Greek classics, if only in a Latin translation, there is absolutely no trace of decisive evidence to show that the reverse is true. It cannot be shown that any Greek Father studied a single Latin author. There were indeed no early Latin Fathers. For Greek, as shown in inscriptions and similar early records, was the official language of the Christians in Rome for the first century and part of the second, so that the Latin Fathers proper did not come till late and the Greek language had had control in all departments of early church activity, as far as official transactions were concerned, for some time. The extensive adaptation and even copying which had always prevailed among Latin writers produced many passages that are counterparts of Greek originals but in these imitations and borrowings is no trace of evidence that the Greek Fathers were ever concerned about the literature of their Western confreres. There are no passages in Basil imitative of Western writers.

CHAPTER I

CHRISTIAN AND PAGAN LEARNING DURING THE EARLY CENTURIES OF THE CHURCH

Educated Christians of the Fourth Century took much the same view of culture as prevailed among the more enlightened pagans. Fanatics there were of course, but scholarly Christians understood the classic models taught and recognized their worth. While forming distinct entities, Pagan culture and Christian culture had much in common, since all the world looked to ancient Athens for its standards. Homer, Euripides, Demosthenes and many another were read, taught and studied. It is not surprising therefore that educated Christians took a view at least as liberal as that of Plato. "Therefore it is imperative that those things which the young first hear should be models of moral thought."¹

The best that the pagan culture of the times could produce was the ideal poise of the Periclean Greek mind. And this mind was governed by expediency. Virtue was interpreted in terms of patriotism, or constancy to family ties. The citizen of Herodotus' tale who lived free from misfortune, saw his children married, prosperous and happy, and then ended his life fighting for his country, had lived ideally and was unusually favored by the gods.² Physical beauty, balance and address, a mentality collected, deliberative, and sympathetically attuned to harmony in its operations with the world around, and a certain reserve which restrained every thought and desire by maintaining a medium of moderation both in public and private concerns, clearly defined the best stand that Athenian culture could reach. This did not suit Christianity at all.

But a few undeniably Christian virtues existed in the Attic theory of rational life. Some points were common. Household

¹ Plato, Republic, 378 E. δ̄ πρῶτα ἀκούουσιν ὅτι κάλλιστα μεμνηθολογημένα πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἀκούειν.

² Cf. Herodotus, I. 30.

virtues, patriotism, integrity in public and private affairs, respect for duly constituted authority, and at least an outward reverence for the Deity, were factors in both systems of culture. Through these points of mutual interest an understanding was reached which prevented a clash that would have been absolutely destructive to one or the other. On these grounds both theories of life met. Christianity taught a culture less refined but more rugged, less artistic in detail but grander in outline and design. Pagan culture struck for individual development to the very pinnacle of personal and public aggrandizement, in every field. Christianity taught self sacrifice. The pagan culture was weary. The Christian was young. The outcome was logical. The better factors of the old system were appropriated by the new, and the elder civilization passed to its final rest. But its finer side was not unappreciated and the very men who inherited its wealth of thought, of beauty, and of restraint, and who preached a religion that spelled its death, were as much alive to its wonders as were ever its exponents in the golden age. Christian culture did not clash with pagan culture but absorbed it, and so lost many of its own ruder qualities. In the time of the Greek Fathers many new influences were beginning to take effect and old standards were subtly altered.

A body of Christian literature had begun to develop. It could not hope to compete with Attic models but it had followers and a value of its own. Christian writers were producing commentaries upon the scriptures, christian romances, ecclesiastical histories, sermons, orations, apologies, and tracts of many forms. The volume of these productions grew steadily. The Church was conservative but was also careful to cut away from her doctrines all the overgrowing accumulation of legend and tradition which throve upon the wonders of the early ages. Hellenism was being affected by Christian and Jewish canons of style and aestheticism, for Hellenistic literature had received many deep and lasting impressions from without.

Hellenism was a name rather loosely applied to the spirit of that Grecian civilization expressing itself chiefly through literature, art and general culture, which, after pervading the whole Greek race, gradually wrought an influence upon peoples not of Greek blood who came in contact with it. For instance, a person who shared in this intellectual sympathy by writing or thinking like the Hellenes would be called Hellenistic. Hellenism was a

matter not of race but of culture, not of genius but of canons. It invented little or nothing, but throve upon the existing literary monuments of the past.

Semitic associations with Hellenism were very large and unusually noticeable. In Egypt the population was about one-seventh Jewish and the Jews had spread their trading influences throughout all stations of life, altering to some extent many of the older and accepted canons of art, literature and aestheticism. The Jewish merchants were very numerous and exceedingly active. This situation had a decided effect upon the language of the people, and a more remote but still very perceptible effect upon the written medium. These activities of Semitic representatives are perhaps too little recognized, or are even minimized by many students of that period. Alexandrian scholars were affected by Jewish associations, and their efforts at organization and classification had a noticeable strain of Jewish thought. The syncretism of Alexandria was deeply shaded by Semitic surroundings.

The influence of these great schools at Alexandria had spread into every field of literature, profoundly affecting it by influencing the educational tendencies of the times. Early Christian literature had attacked Hellenism violently, because all things pagan were coming in for a sweeping condemnation. Christian Fathers of the first century had thought pagan philosophy was from the devil. But as early as the time of Justin Martyr the first destructive and blind opposition had begun to take other channels, and Justin, himself originally a pagan philosopher, far from abandoning formal philosophy after conversion, cherished it as finding its real truth in Christianity.³ In his Second Apology Justin has occasion to refer to himself as "taking delight in the teachings of Plato"⁴ and in the opening chapter of the Dialogue with Trypho, writes, "Do not philosophers make all their disputations about God, said he, and do not debates arise upon every occasion about His unity and His foreknowledge? Assuredly, he replied, and so we understand."⁵

But the pagan culture pointed toward an object distinctly different from that which the early Christians had in mind, and

³ Cf. Eusebius, H. E., 4, 18, 6.

⁴ Justin Martyr, Second Apology, 12, 1. τοις Πλάτωνος χαίρων διδάγμασι.

⁵ Justin Martyr, Dialogue with Trypho, I. 3, 4. οὐχ ὁ φιλόσοφος περὶ θεοῦ τὸν ἄπαντα ποιῶντα λόγον ἐκείνος ἔλεγε, καὶ περὶ μοναρχίας αὐτοῖς καὶ προνοίας αἱ ζητήσεις γίνονται ἐκάστοτε; "Ἢ οὐ τοῦτο ἔργον ἐστὶ φιλοσοφίας ἐξετάζειν περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ; Ναί, ἔφη, οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς δεδοξάκαμεν.

the wisdom at which the Greek philosophers aimed had entirely left out of account the high religious ideas of the Christians. To this fatal defect the Fathers naturally objected.

The question of Hellenism then was one on which the Fathers were fairly united. It was the dominant spirit of pagan culture. The finer phases of pagan civilization had been nothing if not Hellenistic. Politically, Hellenism was dead; artistically, it was experiencing all the finely wrought involution of a self conscious over-development recoiling upon itself, and such elaborate strivings for a perfection which weakened and lowered the original as characterize helpless and hopeless decadence. Socially and morally its essence was decay. It stood for a great age. But that age was gone. Hellenism was becoming Asiatic.

Asianism was a development in the field of rhetoric which infused into Greek public speech on the continent the more striking features of thought and oratory common to the Asiatic type of mind, and resulted in building up on the groundwork of Greek language and style, an accumulation of such details as appealed to the fanciful eastern intellect, a great deal of vivid coloring, an extraordinarily figurative address, a tendency to expression through the medium of parables and apothegms, and a weakness for far-fetched metaphors in which the implication is not always clear. In contrast, Atticism was the literary movement which at first tended to regulate literature according to the canons of style which had prevailed among Attic writers of the classical period, but later degenerated, and instead of employing Attic standards as an inspiration and guide, because of their purity and symmetry, insisted upon imitation of things Attic for little other reason than that they were Attic. While it led to some good, because it made brief headway against the tide of extreme Asianism, yet it ultimately became essentially artificial and lifeless. With these two tendencies is connected the movement called the New or Second Sophistic. This latter activity started out as an attempt simply to revive Greek Rhetoric, and prevailed over Greece and Asia Minor for approximately four centuries, dating from about the end of the first century A. D. It strove to restore the style of ancient Greek Rhetoric by close imitation of various ancient masters such as Lysias, Isocrates and Demosthenes. In its beginnings it was Atticism, but many contemporary influences prevented it from arriving at the pure Grecian oratory which most of the sophists would have liked to revive, the most important

of these influences being Asianism itself. In other words the Second Sophistic was Asianism with Atticism superimposed. But whatever the scholars of the day might name it, the spirit that prevailed was not Attic, or Hellenistic. The ideals that were set up and striven for constituted florid and extravagant Asianism. In a few places a stand had been made. But the prevalent literature shows very little of perfect aesthetic taste, or of the classic spirit of restraint. Tropes, figures, artificialities, rhetoric for its own sake, an inexhaustible stock of commonplaces, the most astounding and extravagant forms of compliment with invective proportionately vicious, were all synthetized into a system of glaring coloring and hyperbolical imagery. Its qualities signified the exotic and unhealthy nature of its strained development.

Church leaders clearly interpreted all the better things of the sophistic rhetoric of the day, but equally clearly understood and opposed the worse qualities that accompanied it. They were not alone. Some pagan professors stood out for a better grade of Hellenism, but a language expresses the spirit of its time, and the spirit of that time had but little kinship with that of old Greece, except in so far as it was pagan. The word *Hellene* meant in that day only a pagan. Julian, in speaking of his subjects, regularly refers to Hellenes, Hebrews, and Galileans, as he called the Christians. The fact that he assailed the Christian religion by forbidding the Christian teachers to explain the classics would argue that the Christians had been delving into pagan literature rather noticeably.⁶

The whole question of Christian education was very much debated but it is clear that this was a problem that the Church dealt with very differently in different places. At no time were pagan classics absolutely condemned, and among Christians after the first century the regard for pagan scholarship increased. But where conditions made it impossible for Christians to go far into this field without endangering their faith, such studies were not encouraged. But the greater minds of the Church recognized the value in all the finer parts of pagan civilization and busied themselves in appropriating these for the benefit of Christian education.⁷ For, to smooth away some of the rudeness inevitably

⁶ For a discussion of this legislation by Julian confer Allard, *Julien L'Apostate*, Tom. II., *La législation scolaire de Julien*.

⁷ There was a catechetical school at Alexandria of which Pantene was the first head. Clement lectured there between the years 190 and 202 A.D. It was probably the best and most noted Christian school.

connected with its origin among the unlettered classes, Christianity needed the help of this dying civilization. The Christian religion, rising from among poor and unsophisticated people, brought with it some of their views of culture and education. But the new creed had rapidly seized all classes and enlisted the highest and most learned, and these acquisitions almost imperceptibly altered some of the older opinions. Justin Martyr had lectured in a school of philosophy at Rome, and had given education a trend by the influence he had there exerted. His conversion had another effect.⁸

Thus, while educated Christians were carefully sifting through pagan studies and delving into what did not assail their faith and morals, at the same time they were hastening the development of the Christian literature that had begun to form. New fields were opened and thought took many new turns. The variety of Christian activities is amazing. For example, when Julian's edict hampered the Christians' study of the Greek classics, the two Apollinares made themselves famous in Christian literature by paraphrasing a large part of the Old Testament in imitation of Plato's dialogues, and re-writing some sections in epic style.⁹ The literary value of such work is doubtful, but the zeal and activity of the writers and their acquaintance with the classics is in no doubt.

The training of the Christian young was gradually growing to have new objects and new needs. In the time of the three Cappadocians the violent pagan persecutions had passed, and toleration existed in the Empire. Since religion could be openly practiced and argued there was greater need for highly educated exponents. Ability to preach, teach and explain, had become more important than sheer zeal and a courage for martyrdom. Educated and capable Christian leaders became a necessity. But Christian schools were few. That at Alexandria was the most famous.¹⁰ Others existed at Nisibis, Edessa and Antioch in the East, and at Rome, Milan and Carthage in the West. Perforce education was largely sought in pagan centers and Christian minds bent to the task of eliminating paganism from what was taught in the schools, and then, from what remained, selecting such material as best served Christianity. In this striving for educa-

⁸ For a brief account of Justin's school see Lalanne, *Influence des Peres de l'Eglise sur l'education publique*, p. 17 and 18.

⁹ Cf. Socrates, *H. E.*, 3, 16, for a discussion of this event.

¹⁰ Cf. Lalanne, *Op. cit.* p. 31.

tion, the Hellenism of the day was variously received. The essential balance and finesse of the Greek mind, the mean of philosophical calm and perfect address, and the shrewd reasoning, were praised and sought for steadily. The historian Socrates mentions these studies at length and tells how the Christians strove for greater perfection, and were extremely careful in their studies of the pagan authors, to gain all the mechanical tricks of pagan skill without adopting the false ideas that pervaded the works. He reminds the Christian reader that the Apostle himself was instructed in Greek learning and did not seem to neglect it, and certainly did not forbid any one else to study it.¹¹

Literary education, much as it was needed, carried with it the menace of a lapse into the shallow sophistry characteristic of the times. Hence it was considered carefully, even dubiously, but those churchmen who understood the situation were unanimously in favor of the spread of literary education among the Christians.

They had a keen sense of the worth of higher studies. Justin Martyr above quoted, says, "Is not this the province of philosophy, to inquire about God? Assuredly, he replied, and so we understand."¹² Clement of Alexandria, in his Exhortation to the Greeks, successively commends Plato, Antisthenes, Socrates, Xenophon, Cleanthes, and some of the Pythagorean doctrines, pointing out the ethical purity of their views and teachings, and saying "These doctrines through the inspired intention of God were written by their authors and we have selected them. To lead one toward a full knowledge of God these teachings are enough for anyone who can seek the truth even to a small extent." Then continuing in the same section to commend the poets, he preaches in favor of the Greek authors.¹³ After these remarks about the philosophers he begins in the following chapter to cite the poets by name. "Aratus then, indeed, knows that the power of God animates the universe."¹⁴ Again in the same section he

¹¹ Cf. Socrates, H. E., 3, 16.

¹² Justin Martyr, Dialogue with Trypho, I., 3. 4. "Ἡ οὐ τοῦτο ἔργον ἐστὶ φιλοσοφίας, ἐξετάζειν περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ; Ναί, ἔφη, οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς δεδοξάκαμεν.

¹³ Clement of Alexandria, Exhortation to the Greeks, ch. 6. ἀπόχη καὶ τάδε εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν θεοῦ ἐπιπνοία θεοῦ πρὸς αὐτῶν μὲν ἀναγεγραμμένα πρὸς δὲ ἡμῶν ἐξελεγμένα τῷ λε καὶ σμικρὸν διαθρεῖν ἀλήθειαν δυναμένῳ.

¹⁴ Clement of Alexandria, Exhortation to the Greeks, ch. 7. "Ἀρατος μὲν οὖν διὰ πάντων τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ θεοῦ διήκειν νοεῖ.

says of Hesiod, "In the same spirit the Ascræan Hesiod likewise speaks about God."¹⁸

More quotations of the same order are offered, such names as Homer, Orpheus, Euripides and others being cited.

There can be no doubt whatever that the really great leaders of the Christians took a view of literary education at once highly cultured and eminently sensible. As might have been expected, the Fathers' views of Atticism followed their views of literary education. All their writings are pervaded by the influences of the prevalent literary and stylistic movements, and it seems at times that the more they endeavor to be natural, the more forced and labored are their efforts. Among the teachers of the inflated rhetoric which then prevailed it was a common habit to carry the sophisms of professional speech and the stock idioms of their lecture courses into their regular conversation, so that even their everyday speech took on a bombastic and semi-theatrical tone. Inability to be at home in such a grotesquely academic conversation, whether it resulted from never having studied such matters, or from having forgotten them and resumed the diction of the people, would be embarrassing to a scholar addressing a sophist. So this situation affected even the ordinary language of the people.

Orators of the fourth century, pagan and Christian alike, were steeped in the rhetorical influences of the times. The hyperbolic compliment, the profusion of figures, the hollow self depreciation, the flowery and gaudy tone, the wild flights of fancy, were all as natural to them as the air they breathed. Beyond doubt the efforts for Attic purity of speech were cherished among many men of learning. Grammarians and scholars labored assiduously to interpret, explain and teach the best of the Attic writers. No standard could be better than that of ancient Athens, so they would have no other. Basil thinks it a high compliment to call one's tongue Attic. His view was typical. So much in fact did some scholars, especially the Alexandrians, insist upon studying, commenting upon, and above all imitating the classical authors that an idea arose, and for many years prevailed, that all the Alexandrians never did anything more than servilely imitate their classical predecessors. It was believed that they produced endless arrays of cold and ponderous imitations of Hesiod and Homer, and their kinsfolk the cyclic poets, great lists

¹⁸ Clement of Alexandria, Exhortation to the Greeks, ch. 7. ταύτη τοι καὶ ὁ Ἀσκραῖος ἀνέτρεται Ἡσίοδος τὸν θεόν.

of dull and spiritless tragedies modelled after Euripides, and that in like fashion, in other fields of literature, they exhausted their strength in copying and nothing more. These conclusions were not entirely true, though drawn from premises undoubtedly true, namely that the Alexandrians remained almost blindly faithful to the ancient classics and made them the center of all their study.

But in the age of Himerius, of Proharesius, of Libanius, with the models of classic Atticism before him, a man of letters whether he was christian or pagan, was tinged with Atticism. Education had centered in points of learning. There scholarship flourished. Only at large libraries were there the best opportunities. This was inevitable in an age of no printing. Libraries were few. Hand made and hand written books took time, labor, and money as well. So professors established themselves at these centers where they read, studied, lectured, and wrote commentaries and imitations. In smaller places libraries were imperfect, or lacking, and the facilities for university life impossible. But at Athens the center of classicism, and at Alexandria, for many years endowed by the Ptolemies, there were vast degrees of wealth, of resources, of general opportunities. Here the finer phases of Attic influence were keenly studied and highly valued.¹⁶ Time and custom had added their touch of magnificence to these ancient schools. Scholars traveled from far and near to reach these centers or to hear the more famous professors. Basil's wandering journeys to hear the philosopher Eustathius¹⁷ are a fair index to the difficulties under which students sometimes sought their more advanced education.

It is not unreasonable then to believe that in their literary studies and education the Fathers were quite as ready to accept the high and noble sentiments of Atticism as the scholars of today. As they recognized the need for education, and argued for it systematically, they exerted a great influence over the systems of schooling then prevalent. Hence their attitude toward the second sophistic is one of curiously seeming contradiction, true and yet apparently inconsistent. Every faulty influence was readily marked and exposed by them, but the orators who spoke in the eastern churches showed every rhetorical trick of the period.

¹⁶ In ch. 23 of his oration at Basil's funeral, Gregory Nazienzen gives a sketch of the variety of studies and readings in which students at Athens could engage.

¹⁷ Cf. Letter, 1.

They had, however, perhaps the least objectionable elements of the sophistic and judging their speeches without considering their audiences would be deeply unfair. Asianism in its last developments was thoroughly objectionable, yet in the beginning it had served a definite purpose. The highly imaginative, fickle, and restless intellects of these peoples responded better to such stimuli than to any other. If the writer, or rhetor, in his desire to please, to refute, or to be stylistic, overran all the bounds of good taste according to Athenian models, he did it at least in the consciousness that the reader or hearer was fully in sympathy, and might be engaged in estimating the merits of the composition by the extravagance in diction or imagery.

The attitude of the Fathers toward sophistic rhetoric was colored by the fact that nearly all the great church leaders were also great speakers, and some, like Basil, had been professional rhetoricians or sophistic teachers, or had had some connection with the greater schools of declamation. Very few thought of sophistic influence without a bias of some sort. After all, a speaker must persuade. If he cannot, he might as well not speak. The Church had bitter assailants. Necessity weighed upon the speakers who defended the orthodox creed. The homoousion quarrel had shaken the Eastern Church to its foundations, and heresies were rampant. The fathers might condemn the shallowness of sophistic, but they used its figures, they raged against its irreligious tendencies but they found its melodious diction an asset. Its quibbling and hair splitting disgusted them, nevertheless it was popular and they had to preach to the people. The seeming contradiction between their attitude toward sophistic and their actual practice, is in reality no contradiction. A view has long prevailed that they were united in a sweeping condemnation of the whole movement. But this is no more true than that they unreservedly favored it. Sophistic influence prevailed with the people. The faith had to be represented in terms that the people could understand. Christian orators followed the mean, generally with good success. Basil's sermons are close reasoning. Frequently they are also highly figurative. With two such differently constituted characteristics, the greatest skill was required to make them fit side by side.

The attitude of the Fathers then, on this question of the second sophistic must be properly understood. As in their ideas upon education they strove patiently to make clear the distinction

that what was great and noble in the pagan classics was well worthy of admiration and imitation, while the degenerate elements that had crept in were to be sedulously avoided, so, in their views of sophistic, they endeavored to distinguish definitely between the formal rhetoric with the practical devices of a writer, reader, or speaker, and the unworthy ends to which such devices when improperly employed or controlled, frequently tended. Unfortunately there was often a hopeless entanglement between the devices of sophistic ingenuity and the shallow consequences in which their better strength was wasted.

Hence the spirit that animated the whole work of the Fathers and the view that they regularly advanced of sophistic must be understood in connection with these two points. They preached to pagan and Christian. But to do this they had to use the medium of the day which the people would understand. This was the popular rhetoric, saturated with many foreign forms, and transient elements, literary, political, social, religious, Christian, Alexandrian, Semitic, Hellenic and pure Asiatic. Thus, to illustrate their views they used whatever pagan medium they could employ which would promise telling effect without being in itself pernicious or condemned.

CHAPTER II

ST. BASIL'S EDUCATION

Basil's religious education was begun at a very early age and was kept up without intermission during the years that he spent at home. Training of a very austere type prevailed. His father, Basil, and mother, Emmelia, were Christians of the most pious kind, and the whole household was apparently more or less under the control of Basil's grandmother, Macrine. While the elder Basil taught rhetoric at Neocaesarea, the old Macrine directed the concerns of the family which was located at Annesi, and instructed the children in the teachings of Gregory Thaumaturgus and his successors. Basil and his brothers, Peter of Sebaste and Gregory of Nyssa, all became saints by acclamation, while their sister, the younger Macrine, attained the same distinction, too. The three brothers became prominent in the church of Cappadocia, and all were bishops. These facts speak significantly for the old Macrine's methods of training. The religious teachings given by Macrine concluded with studies in the lives of the earlier saints, and some chanting of psalms. Her recollections reached back to times of actual persecution (Diocletian's), and she had been personally acquainted with Gregory Thaumaturgus, so that her discourses were based upon a background of personal knowledge, observation and experience, which would make her discourse particularly impressive. The saint was deeply affected by Macrine's words. As a child he was physically weak, sensitive, and even sickly, and his infirmities seem to have continued with him throughout life, and perhaps being aggravated by the hardships of his asceticism, and the later worry and strain of his episcopal career, had much to do with hastening his death. Children less sensitive than Basil would have received lasting effects from such teachings and surroundings.

Much of our information about Basil's early life is of doubtful worth. Scattered references in his own works, Gregory of Nyssa in his life of Saint Macrine, and Gregory of Nazianzus in

some indirect references and mainly in his funeral oration over Basil furnish about all the indices we have to the saint's career. It is to be remembered, too, that Gregory of Nazianzus was not a companion of Basil's extreme youth and got his information from sources other than observation. Conjecture thus enters very largely into the study of Basil's youth and, indeed, of the greater part of his life. Many of the dates are hopelessly confused.

Basil's home life then gave him, besides a strong religious foundation, something of an insight into classical literature, for Marcelline had her youthful students read the more elevated passages of the Greek poets and gave them many points of advice in such amusements. The father had planned brilliant careers for his sons, and in due time dispatched them to Caesarea, the capital and chief city of Asia Minor, where he himself at one time had been a teacher. Caesarea was almost entirely Christian, and Basil and Gregory, who went there together, could have found but little paganism to allure them. They could hardly have found anything else either, for the schools were poor and Cappadocia not highly intellectual. In more cosmopolitan centers Cappadocians were considered extremely provincial and uncouth. Perhaps the most important part of their education in Caesarea was the friendship that they formed with Gregory of Nazianzus. In the funeral oration Gregory dwells admiringly upon Basil's proficiency in his studies while at Caesarea, saying that the saint appeared better than his teachers. Possibly this brilliancy hastened their departure to more noted centers of learning where the teachers were more practised. Byzantium, the great headquarters of the Eastern Empire, drew their attention.

It is to be marked closely that upon leaving Caesarea they practically left sure Christian teaching and committed themselves to pagan schools. Christian professors existed in these too, but the influences were not professedly Christian as had been the case in Caesarea, but rather professedly pagan. Gregory of Nazianzus went to Alexandria and Basil to Constantinople. Basil probably attended the lectures of Libanius, the celebrated sophist, and his studies in Greek were particularly successful, resulting in a personal friendship with Libanius. But he acquired an excellent insight into true Hellenic studies, and in consequence decided to seek Athens. Libanius, if his letters are any index, had the deepest respect for his pupil's talents.

Just where Basil met Libanius is a much discussed question. It seems that with such data as now exist no absolutely certain conclusion follows.¹ There is no definite statement anywhere to the effect that Basil studied with Libanius in Constantinople. But the chronology of Libanius' career in Constantinople and Nicomedia makes such an event possible, and Libanius was undoubtedly one of the greatest teachers of his time. This gives reason to suspect that Libanius is the man meant by Gregory of Nazianzus when he says in the funeral oration that Basil studied with the most famous of the sophists and philosophers of Constantinople during the stay there.

From Constantinople Basil went to Athens. At its university paganism and Hellenism were making their final stand. Here he began his regular and systematic studies. Gregory of Nazianzus had arrived there from Alexandria shortly before. Greek literature was, of course, the keynote to the whole system of university education. Basil and Gregory studied philosophy and logic, rhetoric and grammar, which latter was at that time very comprehensive and embraced a variety of lesser studies, and some rudiments of the sciences of astronomy, geometry, mathematics and medicine.² In the literary studies Homer was supreme. Christian and Pagan alike took the two great epics as the pinnacle of fine literature. Hesiod and the tragic poets came next. Pindar

¹ Wilhelm von Christ states explicitly (Gr. Liter. Gesch. III., p. 801) that Basil was at Libanius' school in Nicomedia, and that later, when Libanius taught at Antioch, Basil the Great, with Theodorus of Mopsuestia, and Gregory Nazianzen were his scholars. He gives a note to Socrates' Ecclesiastical History, but the reference is confused and the Basil there mentioned was probably a man of the same name who was bishop of Raphanea, and not Basil the Great. It is all a confused question. Opposed to von Christ are Lothholz, Dörgens, Scholl and Schäfer, who gave Constantinople as the place of Basil's meeting with the sophist. Lothholz (1857, *Basilius des Grossen Rede an christliche Jünglinge*, p. 11) writes "In Constantinople he heard as it seems the celebrated sophist Libanius," apparently accepting the statement of Niebuhr (Vortr. üb. alt. Gesch. 3, 539). Dörgens writes: "It was also in Constantinople where he became the friend and auditor of the sophist Libanus, fifteen years older than himself." (Dörgens, *Der heilige Basilius und die classischen Studien*, p. 5, 1857.) And in 1881 Scholl, discussing the matter (in a footnote), writes: "In Constantinople he came into relations with the heathen philosopher Libanius." (Scholl, *Die Lehre des heiligen Basilius von der Gnade*, p. 1.) J. Schäfer in 1909 writes, "From there (Cæsarea) Basil went to Constantinople . . . there he also heard Libanius." (J. Schäfer, *Basilius des Grossen Beziehungen zum Abendlande*, p. 38.) Schäfer dismisses the case for Nicomedia in a footnote (p. 38) because Gregory of Nazianzen says nothing of it. Otto von Bardenhewer, in his *Gesch. d. altkir. Lit.*, says nothing on either side.

² Cf. Gregory Nazianzen, *Oratio in laudem Basilii Magni*, ch. 23 ff.

seems to have been a favorite, according to Gregory, and the historians Thucydides and Herodotus furnished prose records of more ancient times, while the orations of Lysias, Isocrates and Demosthenes were the models of public speech. Aristotle and Plato appear to have been the main philosophers, but Basil betrays a wide acquaintance with other Greek thinkers, some of whom are very early. Other studies also had been well developed. Euclid in geometry, Strabo in geography, Ptolemy in mathematical astronomy and geography, Archimedes in mathematics and mechanics, Eratosthenes in scientific chronology, Galen in medicine, were all known, and read and studied. So, if Basil's scientific courses were diligently followed, he would have had some very fair leaders, but Basil, to judge from his own writings, did not learn much science, or rapidly forgot what he did learn. His geography is especially faulty. In literary fields the body of folklore, legend and story which had grown up over the earlier literature was tremendous, and in its turn exercised an influence over studies. A vast quantity of commentaries upon such authors as Plato, Homer and the tragic poets was accessible to students. Grammarians, mostly from Alexandria, compiled these studies, and as early as 170 B. C. had begun to quarrel over such questions as that of Homeric unity, with the arguments based upon the style of the two epics. Such a stand implied true literary criticism.

There was a well developed connection between the schools of Alexandria and Athens. They had much in common. Neoplatonic doctrines found places in both universities. Athens was the capital of the literary world, but Alexandria had the Museum and great institutions of the Ptolemies, with wealth, and scholarship, and genius, and a library unique in ancient times. Science was fully at home in Alexandria. The two schools had good reasons for their relationship.³

Basil had therefore many excellent opportunities at his command, an exceptionally famous university for his studies, a curriculum decidedly liberal, and teachers like Himerius and Proharesius, who were of world-wide renown. It is no exaggeration to say that he was very fortunate. But the atmosphere of the university was frankly pagan. Retaining the severely Catholic spirit of provincial Cappadocia, Basil and Gregory kept as clear as they could of surrounding influences, going from their lecture

³ Cf. Jules Simon, *Histoire de l'école d'Alexandrie*, Tom. 2, Bk. 5, ch. 1.

rooms to their quarters and back as quietly and unobtrusively as possible, and regularly frequenting the churches. Life at the Athenian school, while democratic, thrived upon the intensest rivalry among students and professors. Older scholars fell upon newcomers and hustled them away to their favorite rhetoricians. New men went through a variety of rough treatment by way of initiation. General student life showed many of the same peculiarities that it does today in its democratic activities, its genial disregard for city laws, and habits of hazing the freshmen.⁴

Such was the general situation in which Basil placed himself at Athens. He set to work vigorously at his studies. Though rhetorical exaggerations color Libanius' letters to Basil, there is no room to doubt that this last great pagan rhetor had the highest regard for the saint's talents, studies and scholarly development. The correspondence between Libanius and Basil, like their meeting in Constantinople, has come in for a great deal of criticism. The letters are not admitted by some critics to be genuine. Without entering at length into a discussion of this tangled case, it is still possible to point out a few matters of primary importance. Though some think the correspondence false, it has never been proved such. The letters do not condemn themselves by any gross errors or evident contradictions. Tillemont in his "Notes sur S. Basile"⁵ argues strongly for the authenticity of the correspondence, urging that the letters have all the possible marks of truth. Bardenhewer, in discussing Basil's correspondence, gives it as von Seeck's opinion that the letters are genuine.⁶ In reviewing the sources for Basil's life and writings, J. Schäfer gives the combined opinions in favor of the authenticity of the letters and stands for this view himself.⁷

Though personal friendship may have raised the estimation somewhat, Gregory lauds Basil's diligence and attention to studies during the life at Athens.⁸ Too much stress cannot be laid upon the fact that Basil's training in these years was essentially non-Christian. It would not give the correct idea to say that it was essentially pagan. A distinction must be kept clear. The studies originated, the curriculum was arranged, the university life and

⁴ Cf. Gregory Nazienzen, *Oratio in laudem Basilii Magni*, ch. 14 and 15.

⁵ Cf. Tillemont, *Notes sur S. Basile*, Tom. IX., p. 659, No. 36.

⁶ Cf. Bardenhewer, *Gesch. d. Altkir. Lit.*, p. 157.

⁷ Cf. J. Schäfer, *Basilius des Grossen Beziehungen zum Abendlande*, p. 5.

⁸ Cf. Gregory Nazienzen, *Oratio in laudem Basilii Magni*, ch. 21.

tradition were founded in strictly pagan times, but some of the students were now Christians, some of the schedule was made out by Christian teachers, and some of the studies were to a partial extent controlled by the Christians. Still the atmosphere was at best frankly pagan and in these surroundings Basil went through his advanced studies.

In his Speech to the Youths, Basil remarks, in reference to use of pagan authors, "If, therefore, some relationship to each other exists between these literatures, knowledge of them would be helpful to you."⁹ Further he remarks, "But that this pagan learning is not unprofitable to the soul is sufficiently explained."¹⁰ The poets, Basil says, are to be read when "they expound for you the words and deeds of good men, and you should love and imitate them and earnestly endeavor to be the same."¹¹ But he adds instantly, "When they portray impure men it is necessary to avoid such conduct, stopping up your ears no less than Odysseus, as they say, against the songs of the Sirens."¹² Gregory of Nazianzus in his eulogy of Basil dwells admiringly and at length upon Basil's proficiency in his pagan studies and was himself an earnest student with the pagan rhetor Himerius. Gregory of Nyssa pursued courses of similar study and was also a vigorous worker.

In his letters Basil regularly uses terms of endearment, of affectation, of hyperbolic compliment, and in many parts of his discourses exhibits an exaggeration as violent as that of the formal teachers of rhetoric, which profession he indeed followed, as will be seen later. Yet Basil is restraint itself compared with John Chrysostom and some other speakers. In addressing Leontius, the sophist, Basil writes as an apologetic introduction to his letter, "And it is perhaps being lowered by too much participation in common conversation that probably causes the remaining hesitation in engaging in speech with you Sophists."¹³ In the same letter Basil says, "You being the ablest speaker of the

⁹ 175, B. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐπεί τις οικειότης πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοῖς λόγοις, προδρῶγου ἂν ἡμῖν αὐτῶν ἡ γνώσις γένοιτο.

¹⁰ 175, C. 'Ἄλλ' ὅτι μὲν οὐκ ἀχρηστον ψυχαῖς μαθήματα τὰ ἐξωθεν δὴ ταῦτα, ἰκανῶς εἰρηται.

¹¹ 175, C. 'Ἄλλ' ὅταν μὲν τὰς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν πράξεις ἢ λόγους ἡμῖν διεξίωσιν, ἀγαπᾶν τε καὶ ζηλοῦν, καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα πειρασθαι τιοῦτους εἶναι.

¹² 175, D. ὅταν δὲ ἐπὶ μοχθηροῦς ἀνδρας ἐλθῶσι τὴν μῆμῃσιν ταύτην δεῖ φεῖσθαι ἐπαφρασσομένους τὰ ὅσα οὐχ ἦτον ἢ τὸν Ὀδυσσεῶα φαοῖν ἐκείνοι τὰ τῶν Σειρήνων μέλη.

¹³ Letter 20. καὶ τὸ οἶοναί ἐργασθῆσθαι λουτῶν τῇ, κατακαρεῖ συνηθείᾳ πρὸς ἰδιωτισμὸν ὅκνον ἐκινῶτας ἐμποιεῖ προσφθέγγεσθαι ὑμᾶς τοὺς σοφιστάς.

Greeks, I think that I know the most renowned among you."¹⁴ In setting Leontius above such famous orators of the time as Libanius and Himerius, without even mentioning more famous ones who had gone before, Basil was following the style of conventional sophistic compliment. Writing to Libanius, he begins, "My fear and ignorance dissuade me from writing to you, who are so learned."¹⁵ Libanius had referred to Basil in terms of the most extravagant compliment, saying that fountains of words live upon his lips; that he is Homer, Plato, Aristotle; that (compared with Basil) Demosthenes lived in vain; that he is golden tongued, and similar expressions. Again Basil begins a letter with these words, "Reading your oration, O wisest of men, I am struck with wonder. O Muses, O Learning, O Athens, what gifts do you not give your lovers?"¹⁶ Addressing Libanius at another time, "I am pleased at receiving what you have written me, but to your importunities for an answer to what you have written, I find myself in a quandry. For what can I say to so Attic a tongue, except that I am a pupil of fishermen, and that I admit and take satisfaction in it."¹⁷

In the right study of Greek literature Basil found the best and purest of Hellenic speech and custom, remarking that "We must attend chiefly to the many passages in the poets, and in the historians, and especially to those passages in the philosophers, in which they praise virtue."¹⁸ It would be of no avail to study the pagan authors if not thoroughly, and of no moral good, if not discriminatingly. Basil was very insistent that his students discriminate intelligently in their studies.

It is worth remarking of Basil that in his many ecclesiastical difficulties, his religious-political struggles with Valens, in the strange disagreement with his ghostly superior Eusebius, all the entangling troubles that followed up the council of Nicea never affected his ready flow of rhetoric nor his admiration for things

¹⁴ Letter 20. ἐπατήδειον ὄντα εἰπεῖν, ὅν αὐτὸς οἶδα Ἑλλήνων, οἶδα γὰρ ὡς οἶμαι τοὺς ὀνομαστοτάτους τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν.

¹⁵ Letter 344. τὸ μὴ συνεχῶς με γράφειν πρὸς τὴν σὴν παιδευσιν, καί-
θουσι τό τε δέος καὶ ἡ ἀμαθία.

¹⁶ Letter 353. Ἀνέγνων τὸν λόγον σοφώτατε, καὶ ὑπερτεθαύμασα. Ὡ
μοῦσαι, καὶ λόγοι, καὶ Ἀθῆναι, οἷα τοῖς ἐρασταῖς δωρεῖσθε.

¹⁷ Letter 356. Δεχομένοις μὲν ἡμῖν ἃ γράφεις χαρὰ. ἀπαιτούμενοις, δὲ
πρὸς ἃ γράφεις ἀντεπιστέλλειν, ἀγών. τί γὰρ ἂν εἰποιμεν πρὸς οὕτως
ἀπαιτούσαν γλώτταν, πλὴν ὅτι ἀλιέων εἰμὶ μαθητῆς ὁμολογῶ καὶ φιλεῶ;

¹⁸ 176, D. εἰς ταύτην δὲ πολλὰ μὲν ποιηταῖς, πολλὰ δὲ συγγραφεῦσι,
καλλῶ δὲ ἔτι πλείω φιλοσόφοις ἀνδράσιν ὑμνῆται τοῖς τοιοῦτοις τῶν λόγων
μάλιστα προσεκτέον.

Hellenic. Enemies of the saint never attacked him on grounds other than dogmatic, for his reputation was unassailable. The intense admiration felt for him by the natives enabled him to easily eclipse Eusebius.

Basil is not free, though, from being affected with no end in view beyond an impression, and makes such remarks as these: "But now your wealth clings to you closer than the limbs of your body, and separation from it pains you like the amputation of your vital parts."¹⁹ Hinting at the asceticism of Annesi, he says to his wealthy hearers, "What good is your money to you? Would you wrap yourself in costly clothing? But a tunic of two cubits length would be enough for you, and the encircling of one cloak satisfies every need for garments."²⁰ His auditors had apparently no intention of becoming ascetics. He follows up these statements by attacking the customs of the rich, urging them to sell their substance and give it to the poor, strengthening his argument with figures and paradoxes. "But if you had clothed the naked, if you had been a father to the orphans, if you had had compassion upon the cripple, would you now be grieved by reason of your money?"²¹ His previous figure about the keen pain that they would feel at separation from their money contrasts strangely with this remark.

It is evident, then, that Basil's studies at Athens made him a regular product of his age and that he is an excellent instance of the fourth century education in its best form. He developed to the fullest extent that admiration for the classics of the golden age, and that shrewd insight into their merits and defects which he sets forth so ably in his address To the Youths. Even if he had not been noted for the diligence with which he worked at his studies, the wide knowledge of pagan classics which he displayed in his later works, and his appreciation of them, would be a fair evidence of how much time he gave to the efforts of the pagan authors. The success of his literary career indicates that his studies were both well directed and well rewarded. He went into

¹⁹ 52, B. *Homilia in Divites*. Νυνὶ δὲ προσέφυκε σοὶ τὰ χρήματα πλεόν ἢ τὰ μέλη τοῦ σώματος, καὶ λυπεῖ σε αὐτῶν ὁ χωρισμὸς ὡς ἀκρωτηριασμὸς τῶν κειρῶν.

²⁰ 53, A. Ἀλλὰ τί χρήσι τῷ πλούτῳ; Ἐσθῆτι πολυτιμῆτι περιβαλεῖς σεαυτὸν; Οὐκοῦν δύο μὲν σοὶ πηχῶν χιτῶνίσκος ἀρκέσει, ἐνὸς δὲ ἱματίου περιβολὴ πᾶσαν τῶν ἐνδυμάτων ἐκπληρώσει τὴν χρεῖαν.

²¹ 52, C. Εἰ γὰρ ἀμφίεσας γυμνὸν εἰ ἔδωκας πεινῶντι τὸν ἄρτον σοῦ εἰ ἢ θῶρα σοῦ ἀνέφακτο παντὶ ξένῳ, εἰ ἐγένου πατὴρ ὀρφανῶν, εἰ παντὶ συνέ-
παιχες ἀδυνάτῳ ὑπὲρ πόλιν ἢν νῦν ἐλυττήθης χρημάτων;

them very thoroughly, and he teems with proofs of his readings, the evidence growing stronger as the time of the writers grows earlier, till at the golden age he is fairly saturated with the legend, story and literature of Periclean Athens. By their very nature these influences were pagan to the core.

The precise length of time that he spent in Athens is in some doubt. But he probably arrived there in 351 and left in 355 or 356, to return to Cæsarea. He had courses, therefore, during four or five years of apparently continuous residence. Such is at least a fair assumption, as we have no knowledge of journeys elsewhere during this period. This length of time would offer opportunity for a great deal of connected study.

After leaving Athens Basil was active for a time in Caesarea. He began as a professor of rhetoric and was successful enough to draw an invitation from the citizens of Neocæsarea to teach in their town. He was teaching during 357 as a regular rhetor, and laying some of the foundations for his great popularity with the people. It was shortly after this time that he finally severed his connections with the schools and decided upon an ecclesiastical life.

CHAPTER III

THE POETS

It is not an unfair inference to say that the quotations employed and the use that is made of them give a good index to Basil's poetical readings. The manner of citation is significant. The correctness, or lack of it, that is displayed, indicate about how closely Basil knew his authors. It will be seen that Basil regularly takes the indirect method, seldom endeavoring to reproduce exact speech. When he makes the attempt he is frequently wrong.

Taking Basil's poetical allusions and parallelisms in three general fields of dramatic, lyric and epic verse, it will become apparent that Basil's references must give a fair index to his studies in each field.

1. *Dramatic poets.*

Basil names Aeschylus but once. In a letter to Martinianus he says: "Why name Simonides? I would rather mention Aeschylus or any other who has set forth a great calamity in words like his and uttered lamentations with a mighty voice."¹ The remark would indicate a good appreciation of Aeschylus and the crashing style that had made him famous. In the address To the Youths, Basil tells of the quarrels among the pagan gods. Legend told of similar quarrels among human beings in remote times. Basil says, "Among them, brother, excites sedition against brother."² As he hints, every sort of misfortune rises from such intra-family dissensions. In Greek legend the classic instance of brothers quarreling was the case of Eteocles and Polyneices, whose feud became the subject of Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes*. The same subject was treated by other tragedians whose works have not survived.

¹ Letter 74. Καίτοι τί λέγω Σιμωνίδην; δέον Αἰσχύλον εἰπεῖν ἢ δὴ τις ἕτερος παρακλησίως ἐκείνῳ συμφορᾶς μέγεθος ἐναργῶς διαθέμενος μεγαλοφώνως ᾠδύρατο.

² 176, B. 'Αδελφός γὰρ δὴ παρ' ἐκείνοις διαστασιάζει πρὸς ἀδελφόν . . .

Basil does not name Aristophanes at all. The very significant remark by Gregory to the effect that the indecencies of the comic poets were banned from Basil's early education is here perhaps supported by actual evidence.³ The only Aristophanic connection that appears in Basil is the use of some words of a grotesque nature, traceable to Aristophanes, who first used them in a burlesque sense. Nearly eight hundred years had elapsed between the two men, and the use of these scattered expressions shows but a slender thread of evidence, if any. Basil writes in his *Liber de Spiritu Sancto*, "Therefore, self-appointed scions and place hunters reject the government of the Holy Spirit."⁴ Such a place is an odd one for an Aristophanic expression. The word which Basil uses for place hunters also occurs in Aristophanes and seems to have had a comic origin.⁵

The other case is almost equally vague. In the *Hexaemeron* he speaks of people who are beset by vagaries and are much distracted, noting that their attention wanders, and that they dream of strange and impossible things, and of matters that were before their minds during the previous day, saying that, for instance, some who frequent the races fancy themselves horsemen, and "Not even in their sleep are they freed from their phantasies."⁶ The same idea is used in a more compact and neater way by Aristophanes in the *Clouds*. He speaks of "dreams of horses" and "even in sleeping, dreams of horsemanship."⁷

Basil's reference to Euripides are not very wide, but they are more definite. There are but four, two being from the speech To the Youths, and two from the Letters. The first allusion in the speech is to the famous line in the *Hippolytus*, "My tongue is sworn indeed, but my heart's unsworn."⁸ Basil says in his oration, "But with his tongue indeed he swore, though his mind was unsworn, as Euripides would say."⁹ It is interesting to note that the wording of the two statements, though similar, is not quite

³ Cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *Life of St. Macrine*, ch. 1.

⁴ 66, D. τοιγαροῦν αὐτοχειροτόνηται καὶ σπουδαρχίδαι τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν τὰς προστασίας διαλαγχάνουσι.

⁵ Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, line 595.

δοσις; πολίτης χρηστός, οὐ σπουδαρχίδης,

⁶ 33, B. Καὶ ὅλως τῆς μεθήμερινῆς ἀφροσύνης οὐδὲ ἐν ταῖς καθ' ἑπνον φαντασίαις ἀφαντιστάνται.

⁷ The *Clouds*, 1, 16, 1, 27. ὄνειροπολεῖ θ' ἑπτους . . . ὄνειροπολεῖ γὰρ καὶ καθ'ύδων ἱτακὴν.

⁸ *Hippolytus*, 1, 612. ἡ γλῶσσ' ὁμώμοχ', ἡ δὲ φρήν ἀνώμοτος.

⁹ 178, A. ἀλλ' ἡ γλῶττα μὲν ὁμώμοκεν, ἡ δὲ φρήν ἀνώμοτος, κατ' Ἑδριπίδην ἐρεῖ.

the same, and that Basil by throwing it into indirect speech takes away the requirement of an absolutely correct quotation which direct discourse would have implied.

Again in the same chapter he intimates that, in spite of the Christian precept to bear with oppression, one must defend oneself, citing a line from Euripides to justify the view. "Anger arms the hand against foes."¹⁰

The wording is sufficiently different to justify a suspicion that Basil misquoted the verse in question. It is noticeable that he names no author for the play, which is attributed with some hesitancy to Euripides.

In a letter Basil finds occasion to mention Euripides by name. "I count the wise man my friend, even if he dwell in a far distant land, even if I have never seen him with my own eyes; this is the opinion of the tragic poet Euripides."¹¹ Here again Basil names the author of the view which he endorses. The passage that he refers to is from a lost play and is preserved in a fragmentary form. It reads, "But the noble man, even if he dwell in a far land and I have never seen him with my eyes, I count him my friend."¹² The remaining reference is a loose one. In a letter to Martinianus, referring to the condition of the country, he says that "She is torn by daemons, by Maenads, as Pentheus."¹³ The best and only complete surviving work upon the fate of Pentheus is Euripides' tragedy of the Bacchae, in which the entire play centers around the rites of Bacchanalian worship, and the death of Pentheus, who, like Orpheus, was torn to pieces by the Bacchantes.

2. *Lyric poets.*

In his homilies upon the Hexaemeron he remarks upon the origin of dew, ascribing it to a moisture mingled with heat and developing from the moon. "A certain imperceptible moisture mixed with heat, which the moon emits when approaching the

¹⁰ Rhesus, 1, 84. ἀπλοῦς ἐπ' ἐχθροῖς μῦθος ἀπλῆεν χεῖρα. Basil's version is: Ἐπ' ἐχθροῦς θυμὸς ἀπλῆει χεῖρα.

¹¹ Letter 63. τὸν σοφὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ἐκὰς ναιή χθονός, καὶ μήποτε' αὐτὸν ὄσσοις προσίδω, κρίνω φίλον. Εὐριπίδου ἐστὶ τοῦ τραγικοῦ λόγος.

¹² Cf. Nauck's Tragic Fragments, Euripides, No. 902.
τὸν ἐσθλὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ἐκὰς ναιή χθονός,
καὶ μήποτε' ὄσσοις εἰσίδω, κρίνω φίλον.

¹³ Letter 74. οἱ Πενθέως τρόπον Μαινάδες ὄντων τινὲς δαίμονες αὐτὴν διεσπείσαντο.

full, and which penetrates everywhere."¹⁴ The same subject occurs in Alcman, who figuratively describes the dew as the daughter of Zeus and Selene. "Such dew, the daughter of Zeus and Selene, gives nourishment."¹⁵

The remark about Archilochus is definite. "Shall we emulate the cunning and adroitness of the fox of Archilochus?"¹⁶ In iambic verses Archilochus wrote a fable about the fox and the eagle, only fragments of which have come down to us, and the theme of the original story, as well as any connected idea of the case, is entirely lost.¹⁷

In the second homily upon the Hexaemeron, Basil refers to Hesperus, the evening star, as the fairest of stars. It may be that he did not have Bion's idea in mind, but the same thought is beautifully put in Bion's Hymn to the Evening Star. Basil writes, "The Evening Star, most beautiful of the stars."¹⁸ Bion writes, "Dear Evening Star, sacred gem of the dark blue Night, as much dimmer than the moon as brighter than the other stars."¹⁹ It is certain that the Evening Star was not a new theme in Basil's time.

He mentions Simonides in terms that imply a keen appreciation. "Assuredly we want some Simonides or like poet to bewail our misfortunes from personal experience."²⁰ Simonides probably occurred to Basil as a poet particularly fitted to write of mournful affairs, as his elegies were epitaphs of Greeks killed in the Persian wars. In the case of Solon the usage is clear. "No end is manifested for men's wealth, according to Solon, son of

¹⁴ 61, A. διότι ὑγρότητα τινα θερμότητι κεκραμένην ἐπὶ τὸ βάθος φθάνουσιν λεληθότως ἐνέησι.

¹⁵ Alcman, *Anthologia Lyrica*, 62 (47). οἱα Διὸς θυγάτηρ ἔρσα τρέφει καὶ Σελάνας δίας.

¹⁶ 183, D. καὶ τῆς Ἀρχιλόχου ἀλώπεκος τὸ κερδαλέον τε καὶ ποιικίλον ζηλώσομεν;

¹⁷ Cf. Archilochus, *Anthologia Lyrica*, fr. 81 (67). αἶνος τις ἀνθρώπων ὄδε, ὥς ἄρ' ἀλώπηξ καλετὸς ξυνωνίην ἔμειξαν.
The fox is mentioned in another fragment 96 (68).

τῷ δ' ἄρ' ἀλώπηξ κερδαλῇ συνήντετο πῦκνον ἔχουσα νόον.
The fox of Archilochus is also mentioned in Plato's *Republic*, II., 365.
τὴν δὲ τοῦ σοφωτάτου Ἀρχιλόχου ἀλώπεκα ἐλκτέον
ἐξόπισθεν κερδαλεῖαν καὶ ποιικίλην.

¹⁸ 20, A. καὶ Ἔσπερος ἀστέρων κάλλιστος.

¹⁹ Cf. *Bucolici Græci*. Bion., Hymn to the Evening Star.
Ἔσπερε κυανέας ἱερὸν φίλῃ Νυκτὸς ἀγαλμα,
τόσσον ἀφανρότερος μήνας, ὅσον ἔσοχος ἀστρων.

²⁰ Letter 74. ἡ δὲ Σιμωνίδου ὄντως, ἡ τινος τοιοῦτου μελοποιοῦ ἐδεόμεθα, ἐναργῶς εἰδότες ἐπιστενάζειν τοῖς πάθεσι.

Exestides."²¹ The exact idea is not reproduced in any surviving fragment of Solon's verse, but there is an approach to it in this: "I do wish, indeed, to have wealth, but I do not wish to get it unjustly."²² The other verses must have been lost. This is an instance of a very loosely handled quotation. The following verse may be either Solon's or Theognis'. If Plutarch is right it belongs to Solon, for Plutarch states this explicitly and quotes the line.²³ But the same verse without the slightest alteration occurs in the fragments of both authors. Basil quotes from Solon: "It seems to me that Solon was speaking to the rich when he said, 'We, for our part, will not exchange our virtue for money, for virtue always remains the same, but the wealth of men changes hands.'"²⁴

The verse in Theognis is the same.²⁵ Basil quoted this correctly, which is not a common thing with him. The references to Theognis all occur in the speech To the Youths. "And like these are the verses of Theognis, in which he says that God, whatever he means by God, depresses the scales for men, sometimes one way, sometimes another, and makes some men affluent and makes others have nothing."²⁶ The verses of Theognis are, "For Zeus forces the scales down for one one way, and for another another way, making some rich and others have nothing."²⁷ Basil gets in the idea skillfully without losing any of the force and without quoting directly. Again, "Theognis, the teacher, must also be followed, he who said, 'I do not love to be wealthy, nor do I desire it. May it be granted to me to live with a little, suffering no

²¹ 183, B. κατὰ τὸν Ἐξημετίδου Σόλωνα, δς φησί, πλούτου δ' οὐδὲν τέμα πεφασμένον ἀνδράσι κείται.

²² Solon, Anthologica Lyrica, fr. 12 (4). χρήματα δ' ἡμεῖς μὲν ἔχουσιν, ἀδίκως δὲ πεπῆσθαι οὐκ ἐθέλω.

²³ Cf. Plutarch, Life of Solon, III.

²⁴ 177, A. ὅθεν δὴ καὶ Σόλων μοι δοκεῖ πρὸς τοὺς εὐπόρους εἰπεῖν τό. 'Ἄλλ' ἡμεῖς αὐτοῖς οὐ διαμειψόμεθα τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸν πλοῦτον. ἐπεὶ τὸ μὲν ἡμετέρον αἰεὶ, χρήματα δ' ἀνθρώπων ἄλλοτε ἄλλος ἔχει.

²⁵ Cf. Solon, Anthologia Lyrica, fr. 14 (6). Cf. also Theognis, Anthologia Lyrica, 316, 317, 318.

'Ἄλλ' ἡμεῖς τοῦτοις οὐ διαμειψόμεθα τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸν πλοῦτον, ἐπεὶ τὸ μὲν ἡμετέρον αἰεὶ χρήματα δ' ἀνθρώπων ἄλλοτε ἄλλως ἔχει.

²⁶ 177, D. Παρακλήσια δὲ τοῦτοις καὶ τὰ Θεόγνιδος, ἐν αἷς φησί τὸν θεόν, ὅτινα δὴ καὶ φησί, τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸ τάλαντον ἐπαρρέπειν ἄλλοτε ἄλλως, ἄλλοτε μὲν πλουτεῖν, ἄλλοτε δὲ μηδὲν ἔχειν.

²⁷ Theognis, Anthologia Lyrica, 1, 157, 158. Ζεὺς γὰρ τοῖ τὸ τάλαντον ἐπαρρέπει, ἄλλοτε ἄλλως, ἄλλοτε μὲν πλουτεῖν, ἄλλοτε μηδὲν ἔχειν.

evil.'"²⁸ The verse as quoted is absolutely correct. Later in the same chapter he refers to an instance that Theognis develops at length: "And just as they say, the polypus changes its color according to the ground upon which it lies, so this man will change his mind according to the views of those who are with him."²⁹

In his seventh commentary upon the Hexaemeron Basil again remarks the polypus, saying, "I will not pass by in silence the cunning and trickery of the squid, which takes the color of the rock to which it attaches itself."³⁰ Theognis develops the idea vigorously. "Keep from the rage of the much wreathing polypus which, once twined upon the rock, seems to appear like the rock itself. Now, indeed, it occupies itself with this rock; formerly it was of another color, and the craftiness in its movelessness becomes more evident."³¹ It is worthy of note that a contemporary of Basil, the emperor Julian, makes use of the same figure: "You do not approve the word of Theognis, nor mimic the Polypus which suits its color to the rocks."³² It was perhaps a stock figure for the rhetorical schools.

3. *Epic poets.*

In the opening chapter of his address To the Youths, Basil begins, "Accordingly, if you receive my words with alert intelligence you will have a place beside those who are praised by Hesiod." Then he gives a general paraphrase of the ideas expressed in Hesiod's Works and Days, saying, "He is the best man who perceives by himself the matters in which he is lacking; he also is good who can be persuaded by proof from other people; but the one who is affected by neither is useless to everybody."³³

²⁸ 183, B. τῷ δὲ Θεόγνιδι πρὸς ταῦτα διδασκάλῳ χρηστέον λέγοντι. Οὐκ ἔραμαι πλουτεῖν, οὐτ' εὖχομαι, ἀλλὰ μοι εἶη. Ζῆν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀλίγων, μηδὲν ἔχοντι κακόν.

²⁹ 184, B. καὶ ὥσπερ φασὶ τὸν πολύποδα τὴν χροάν πρὸς τὴν ὑποκειμένην γνώμας μεταβαλεῖται.

³⁰ 65, C. οὐκ ἂν παρέλθοιμ τὸ τοῦ πολύποδος δολερὸν καὶ ἐπίλοπον, δς ὅποια ποτ' ἂν ἐκάστοτε πέτρα περιπλακῇ τὴν ἐκείνης ὑπέροχεται χροάν.

³¹ Theognis, Anthologia Lyrica, I, 215, ff.

πολύποτον ὁργὴν ἴσχε πολυπλόκου, δς ποτὶ πέτρῃ, τῇ προσομιλήσῃ, τοῖος ἰδεῖν ἐφάνη. νῦν μὲν τῇ δ' ἔφευγε τότε δ' ἄλλοιός χροά γίνετο, κρέσσων τοῖ σοφίῃ γίνεται ἀτροπίης.

³² Julian, Misopogon, 349, D. οὐδ' ἐπαινέτης εἰ τοῦ Θεόγνιδος, οὐδὲ μμητὶ τὸν ἀφομοιοῦμενον ταῖς πέτραις πολύποτον.

³³ 174, A. Εἰ μὲν οὖν προθύμως δέχοισθε τὰ λεγόμενα τῆς δευτέρας τῶν ἐπαινουμένων ἐπεσθε παρ' Ἡσιόδῳ τάξεως . . . "Ἀριστον μὲν εἶναι τὸν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ τὰ δέοντα ξυνορῶντα. ἐσθλὸν δὲ κακείνον τὸν τοῖς παρ' ἑτέρων ὑποδεχθεῖσιν ἐπόμενον. τὸν δὲ πρὸς οὐδέτερον ἐπατήθειον ἀχρεῖον εἶναι πρὸς ἅπαντα.

The section which he has paraphrased is: "That man is entirely best who considers all things himself and judges what will be better at a later time and at the end, and that man is good who listens to a good counsellor, but he who does not think for himself and does not remember what another warns him is of no worth."⁸⁴

Basil then uses another instance from the same author: "For the putting of a little to a little, as the poet says, may rightly be thought as spoken not more for the increase of wealth than for the increase of wisdom."⁸⁵

Hesiod is the poet mentioned: "If you add only a little to a little, and do this often, soon will that little become great."⁸⁶ Urging thrift upon the youth has always been a favorite device of rhetoricians.

In an effort to exhort the youth to virtue, Basil refers to another Hesiodic verse: "What else can we suppose Hesiod had in mind making those verses that are sung by everyone, if not to exhort the youthful to virtue? That at first the way is difficult and rough and full of toilsome labor and pain and uphill, the road that leads to virtue, and therefore on account of its steepness it is not for everyone to start, nor starting, to reach the summit readily. But, on reaching the top, man sees it as smooth and beautiful, as easy and with good footing, and as more pleasant than the other, the road that leads to vice."⁸⁷ The same idea is given in a more concise form by Hesiod: "Long and precipitous is the way to virtue, and rough at first. But when one has reached the summit, he can see it is easy, after having been difficult."⁸⁸

⁸⁴ Hesiod, *Works and Days*, I, 291, ff. οὗτος μὲν πανάριστος, ὃς αὐτὸς πάντα νοήσῃ φρασσόμενος, τὰ κ' ἔπειτα καὶ ἐς τέλος ἦσιν ἀμείνω. ἐσθλὸς δ' αὖ κακείνος ὃς εὖ εἰπόντι πίθηται. ὃς δὲ κε μήτ' αὐτὸς νοήῃ μήτ' ἄλλου δαούων, ἐν θυμῷ βάλληται ὃδ' αὖτ' ἀχρήσιος ἀνήρ.

⁸⁵ 184, B. τὸ γὰρ καὶ σμικρὸν ἐπὶ σμικρῷ κατατίθεσθαι οὐ μᾶλλον εἰς ἀργυρίου προσθήκην ἢ καὶ εἰς ἡντιναοῦν ἐπιτήμην ὀρθῶς ἡγείσθαι ἔχειν τῷ ποιητῇ προσήκειν.

⁸⁶ *Works and Days*, I, 359, ff. εἰ γὰρ κεν καὶ σμικρὸν ἐπὶ σμικρῷ κατατίθῃ καὶ θαμὰ τοῦτ' ἔρδοις, τάχα κεν μέγα καὶ τὸ γένοιτο.

⁸⁷ 176, A. "Ἢ τί ποτε ἄλλο διανοηθέντα τὸν 'Ἡσίοδον ὑπολάβωμεν ταυτὶ ποιῆσαι τὰ ἔπη ἃ πάντες ἄδουσιν ἢ οὐχὶ προτρέποντα τοὺς νέους ἐπ' ἀρετῇ; Ὅτι τραχεῖα μὲν πρῶτον καὶ δύσβατος, καὶ ἰδρωτὸς συχνοῦ καὶ πόνου πλήρης, ἡ πρὸς ἀρετὴν φέρουσα, καὶ ἀπάντης ὁδός. Διόπερ οὐ παντὸς οὔτε προβῆναι αὐτῇ διὰ τὸ ὀρθιον, οὔτε νομένῳ ὀρεῖν ὑπάρχει, ὥς μὲν λεία τε καὶ καλὴ ὁς δὲ ὀρθία τε καὶ εὐπορος, καὶ τῆς ἑτέρας ἡδίων τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν κακίαν ἀγούσης.

⁸⁸ Hesiod, *Works and Days*, I, 290 ff. μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὀρθιος ὁμιος ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ τραχὺς τὸ πρῶτον. ἔπειθ' δ' εἰς ἄκρον ἔσται, ὅμηδ' ἡ δὲ ἔπειτα πέλει, χαλεπὴ περ' ἐοῦσα.

This same passage in Hesiod is quoted in Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, and as will be seen later, there are good grounds for thinking that the whole section in Xenophon has been taken over by Basil.

Basil's other reference to Hesiod occurs in the *Hexaemeron*: "The eye that never sleeps sees all."³⁹ The thought is used by Hesiod thus: "The eye of God, seeing all things and understanding all things."⁴⁰

The references to Homer are more scattered than the other poetic instances. This might indicate that having them better in hand at all times, he referred to them the more readily. Correspondingly it might be inferred that when his references are grouped, in one discourse or passage, that they were more specially prepared for the occasion, or were called to mind by a recent reading, or some similar occurrence.

The case of the *Margites* is in the speech *To the Youths*. After saying that *Sardanapalus* might take a prize for sheer uselessness, he goes on to add, "Or that *Margites*, if you prefer, whom Homer said neither plowed nor dug the earth, nor performed any other activity in life which would yield a produce, if indeed these things are in Homer."⁴¹ Basil's last remark goes to show that he himself had some doubt of the authenticity of the poem which has since been judged not an Homeric production. Aristotle, in the *Poetics*, seems to think it certainly Homeric.⁴² In as much as it is all lost and but a few fragments survive, it is hard to decide in regard to Basil's use or knowledge of it. The verse that Basil refers to is preserved in the *Nichomachean Ethics*: "The gods taught him neither to plough nor to dig, nor any other wisdom."⁴³

The story of *Tithonus* occurs in the *Homeric Hymns*. *Eos* loved *Tithonus* and asked from *Zeus* the gift of immortality for him, but she forgot to ask that of perpetual youth. Later legend assigned different fates to him, but all considered him an example of extreme age. Basil says: "If anyone should offer me

³⁹ 68, B. πάντα σκοπεύει ὁ ἀκοίμητος Ὀφθαλμός.

⁴⁰ Hesiod, *Works and Days*, I, 267. πάντα ἰδὼν Διὸς Ὀφθαλμός καὶ πάντα νοήσας.

⁴¹ 181, C. D. ἢ καὶ ὁ Μαργίτης, εἰ βούλει, ὅν οὐτ' ἀροτήρα, οὐτε σκαπτήρα, οὐτε ἄλλο τι τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον ἐπιτηδίων εἶναι Ὀμηρος ἔφησεν, εἰ δὴ Ὀμήρου ταῦτα.

⁴² Cf. Aristotle, *Poetics*, 1448, b. 30.

⁴³ Aristotle, *Ethics*, VI., 7. τὸν δ' οὐτ' ἀρ' σκαπτήρα θεοὶ θέσαν οὐτ' ἀροτήρα οὐτ' ἄλλως τι σοφόν.

the age of Tithonus or of Arganthonius."⁴⁴ The story of Arganthonius will be seen later in Herodotus, and the tale about Tithonus is explained at considerable length in the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite: "Thus also Eos of the golden throne carried away Tithonus, who was of your race and resembled the deathless gods. And she went up to the dark clouded son of Cronos, demanding that he should become deathless and live forever. Zeus nodded his head and granted her desire . . ."⁴⁵

Of the references to the Iliad, four occur in the correspondence, divided among four letters, and two in the Hexaemeron. Each of the four letters in question is to a different man, and in the Hexaemeron each reference represents a different homily. It is noteworthy, too, that in the speech To the Youths, in which Basil is obviously endeavoring to be very literary, there is no reference to the Iliad. The fifteen references to the Odyssey are well scattered. Four are in the speech To the Youths, one in a commentary upon Isaias, the remaining ten are in letters, these letters being addressed to five men. A letter to Aburgius contains four references, one to Eustathius two, and one each appears in letters to Gregory and Martinanus, while the last two are in a letter to Antipater.

In the second homily upon the Hexaemeron, Basil says: "We could likewise say about the heavens that they were as yet imperfect and had not received their natural ornaments, since they were not shining with the brilliancy of the moon and the sun, and were not wreathed with the choirs of the stars."⁴⁶ In describing Hephaistus' work upon the shield of Achilles, Homer says: "On it he wrought the earth, and the heaven and the sea, and the tireless sun, and the moon in full, and upon it also he wrought all of the constellations with which the heavens are wreathed, the Pleiades, the Hyades, and the strength of Orion."⁴⁷ The simi-

⁴⁴ 184, C. 'Εγὼ δὲ καὶ τὸ Τιθωνοῦ τις γῆρας, καὶ τὸ 'Αργανθωνίου λέγει . . .

⁴⁵ Homeric Hymns, V., To Aphrodite, 1, 218, ff. "Ὡς δ' αὖ Τιθωνὸν χρυσόθρονος ἤρασεν Ἡώς, ὕμετέρης γενεῆς, ἐπεικέλον ἀθανάτοισι. βῆ δ' ἔμιν αἰτήσουσα κελαινεφέα Κρονίονα, ἀθάνατον τ' εἶναι καὶ ζῶειν ἥματα πάντα. τῇ δὲ Ζεὺς ἐπένευσε καὶ ἐκρήνηεν ἐέλδωρ.

⁴⁶ 12, B. Τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ περὶ οὐρανοῦ εἵπομεν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐξείργαστο οὐρανὸς οὐδὲ αὐτὸς, οὐδὲ τὸν οἰκεῖον ἀπελήφει κόσμον, ἀτε μήπω σελήνη μήτη ἥλιος περιλαμπόμενος, μηδὲ τοῖς χοροῖς τῶν ἀστρῶν καταστεμμένος.

⁴⁷ Iliad, XVIII, 483, ff. 'Ἐν μὲν γαῖαν ἔτευξ', ἐν δ' οὐρανόν, ἐν δὲ θάλασσαν, ἥελιον τ' ἀκάμαντα σελήνην τε πλήθουσας, ἐν δὲ τὰ τεύχεα πάντα, τὰ τ' οὐρανὸς ἐστεφάνωνται, Πιληιάδας δ' Ὑάδας τε τό τε σθένος Ὠρίωνος.

larity, as in the case of Basil's usual poetical usage, is not closely expressed, but the thought develops from the quotation along easy lines.

Writing to Trajan, Basil says that one of his friends has experienced great misfortunes and has asked him "to make clear to you how an Iliad of woes has fallen upon his head."⁴⁸

In a letter to the clergy of Samosata, Basil draws out a well worded bit of advice upon the subject of strife and internal dissensions among the clergy: "These indeed are small at first and easy to cure, but as time goes on they tower up in contention, and they are likely to end in misfortune such as cannot be alleviated."⁴⁹ The figure of the growth and elevation of Strife is personified effectively by Homer: "Strife raises her head, small indeed at first, but then afterward she rears her head to the heavens and stalks over the earth."⁵⁰ Later, in a letter to Eusebius, Basil brings out another mark of Homeric recollection: "For I am led to say, as Diomedes said, 'Would that you had not supplicated him, since as they say, he is a proud man.'"⁵¹ The words used are Homeric, although taken from different lines. The whole quotation occurs in the ninth book of the Iliad between the lines 698 and 700. The expression "Would that you had not supplicated him" is in line 698, and the rest of the remark, "for he is a proud man," is found in a slightly different order in line 700. The whole verse reads: "Would that you had not supplicated the illustrious son of Peleus, giving him countless gifts, for he was a proud man even before that."⁵² This is a case of a quotation practically correct. The words in the second half of the remark are not quite as in our text, but the difference is not more than could be accounted for easily by different readings in the manuscripts that Basil used and the ones that we have.

The flight of cranes was a favorite subject among the older Greek writers, and Homer uses it effectively. Basil says: "It is not possible for me, as in the case of the cranes, to escape from

⁴⁸ Letter 148. ὥς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ φανεράν γενέσθαι σοι τὴν περιστάσαν αὐτῷ τῶν κακῶν Ἰλιάδα.

⁴⁹ Letter 219. αἱ παρὰ μὲν τὴν πρώτην μικραὶ εἰσι καὶ εὐθεράπεντοι, προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ὑπὸ φιλονεικίας αὐξανόμεναι εἰς ἀνίατον παντελῶς ἐκπίπτειν πεφύκασι.

⁵⁰ Iliad, IV., 442, ff. ἥ τ' ὀλίγη μὲν πρῶτα κορύσσεται, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα οὐρανῷ ἐστήριξε κάρη καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ βαίνει.

⁵¹ Letter 239. Ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ τὸ τοῦ Διομήδους ἐπέρχεται λέγειν. Μὴ ὄφελες λίσσεσθαι, διότι φησὶν, ἀγῆνωρ ἐστὶν ὁ ἀνὴρ.

⁵² Iliad, IX., 698, ff. μὴ ὄφελες λίσσεσθαι ἀμύμονα, Πηλεΐωνα μυρία δῶρα διδοῦς. ὁ δ' ἀγῆνωρ ἐστὶ καὶ ἄλλως.

the discomforts of winter."⁵³ In the opening lines of the third book of the Iliad, Homer writes that the cries of the Trojans resembled "the clangor of the cranes, fleeing across the heavens from winter and limitless rains, winging their way with clamor to the streams of the Ocean."⁵⁴

The last reference leading up to the Iliad is the use of a rather peculiar Homeric word. In a letter to Libanius the saint says, in referring to some planks, that "They are, according to Homer, 'long-shadowing.'"⁵⁵ The word for "long-shadowing" is an odd word and one peculiarly Homeric, the same expression being used by Homer upon fifteen different occasions.⁵⁶

In the speech To the Youths the first reference to the Odyssey occurs in the second section, in which Basil states that when they describe great and good men the poets are to be read, "But when they turn to evil men, we must needs flee such imitation, closing our ears, no less than, as they say, Odysseus did against the songs of the Sirens."⁵⁷ The resource employed by Odysseus was to stop up the ears of his companions with melted wax. Odysseus, in relating his adventures to Alcinous, says: "Then I anointed with this (the melted wax) in succession the ears of all my companions."⁵⁸ In chapter four Basil cites the adventures of Odysseus among the Pheacians and makes them illustrate several points. He explains that the virtue and reputation of the hero made him respected, even though he appeared shipwrecked, naked and alone, and that finally "he was held in such esteem by the Pheacians that, giving up the ease in which they lived, they all admired and copied after him."⁵⁹ Homer tells the story at length. The adventures of Odysseus were known wherever Greeks were known, so that this story could not fail to make an impression.⁶⁰

⁵³ Letter 193. 'Ἡμῖν οὐδ' ὅσον ταῖς γεράνοις ὑπάρχει τὰ δυσχερῆ τοῦ χειμῶνος διαφυγεῖν.

⁵⁴ Iliad, III., 3, 4, 5. ἦ ὅτε περ κλαγγῇ γεράνων πέλει οὐρανόθι πρό, αἱ τ' ἐκεῖ σὺν χειμῶνα φύγον καὶ ἀθέσφατον ὄμβρον, κλαγγῇ τὰ γε πέτονται ἐπ' Ὠκεανοῖο ῥοάων.

⁵⁵ Letter 348. καὶ κατὰ τὸν σὸν Ὅμηρον, δολιχοσκίους.

⁵⁶ Cf. Iliad, III, 346, and elsewhere.

πρόσθε δ' Ἀλέξανδρος προίει δολιχοσκίον ἔγχος.

⁵⁷ 175, D. ὅταν δὲ ἐπὶ μοχθηροῦς ἀνδρας ἔλθωσι, τὴν μῦθον ταύτην δεῖ φεύγειν, ἐπαφρασσομένους τὰ ἅτα, οὐχ ἥττον ἢ τὸν Ὀδυσσεῦ φασὶν ἐκείνῳ τὰ τῶν Σειρήνων μέλη.

⁵⁸ Odyssey, XII., 177. ἐξείης δ' ἐτάροισιν ἐπ' οὖατα πᾶσιν ὄλεια.

⁵⁹ 177, C. ἔπειτα μέντοι καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς Φαίαξι τοσοῦτου ἄξιον νομισθῆναι, ὥστε, ἀφέντας τὴν τρυφήν ἢ συνέζων, ἐκείνον ἀποβλέπειν καὶ ζῆλόν ἔσταντας.

⁶⁰ Cf. Odyssey, Books VI. and VII.

Further, in the same chapter Basil again refers to the activities of the hero, using a verse partly quoted from the *Odyssey*: "That man alone takes his philosophy literally who acts upon his belief with his fellows, 'such a one breathes; the rest flit about as shadows.'" ⁶¹ The line in the *Odyssey* is, "To him even in death dark Persephone granted reason with which to understand while the rest flit about like shadows." ⁶² It has reference to the Theban seer Tiresias. The latter part of Basil's statement reproduces part of the Homeric verse. This is another case of Basil's dexterous use of indirect speech, giving him ample opportunity to begin and end as he wishes and to quote as his own need justifies. His final reference in the speech To the Youths is in the eighth chapter, in which he refers to the well known story of Proteus. Telling the youths that a wise man must never swerve from what he considers the right, Basil goes on to say that if he does begin such practice and veers about according to expediency, then "shall we think him any different from that famous Egyptian sophist who became a plant, or a beast, or fire, or water, or all such things?" ⁶³ The case of Proteus is vividly related in the *Odyssey*: "But at first he turned into a lion, then a serpent, and a leopard, then a huge wild boar. Then he turned into flowing waters, and into a tree, high and leafy . . ." ⁶⁴

The story of Proteus was well known in Greek legend, and the idea reappears in many forms. According to the story, Proteus would change his identity, as described, to escape the necessity of answering questions asked of him. Somewhat similar in the idea of changing form was the tale of Achelous and his struggle with Heracles.

✓ In the commentary upon *Isaias* a single reference to the adventures of *Odysseus* is brought out in a remark about the Sirens: "Other evidence has given it out that the Sirens were women singing sweet songs." ⁶⁵ One reference to *Odysseus* and the

⁶¹ 178, C. ὃς δ' γε τὴν ἀχρὶ ῥημάτων παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις φιλοσοφίαν ἐργῶν βεβαίων. οἷος πέννται. τοὶ δὲ σικαὶ ἀίσσουσι.

⁶² *Odyssey*, X., 494. τῷ καὶ τεθνήῳτι νόον πόρε Περσεφόνηια οἶῳ πεπνύσθαι. τοὶ δὲ σικαὶ ἀίσσουσιν.

⁶³ 184, A. "Ἡ τὸν μὴ οὕτως ἔχοντα τί τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου σοφιστοῦ φήσομεν ἀπολείπειν ὅς φυτὸν ἐγίγνετο καὶ θηρίον ὅποτε βούλοιο, καὶ πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ πάντα χρήματα;

⁶⁴ *Odyssey*, IV., 455, ff. 'Ἄλλ' ἢ τοι πρῶτιστα λέων γένετ' ἡὕγεντος αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα δράκων καὶ πάρδαλις ἡδὲ μέγας σὺς γίνετο δ' ὕγρον ὕδωρ καὶ δένδρεον ὑψητέτλων.

⁶⁵ 588, D. Σειρήνας ὁ μὲν ἔξωθεν λόγος παραδέδωκε γυναῖκάς τινας μελωδούσας.

Sirens has already been noted. The story of the Sirens was too well known to be more than a commonplace. Homer's remarks about their singing are brief: "The Sirens beguile him (the traveler) with their sweet sounding song."⁶⁶

In his correspondence Basil's allusions to the *Odyssey* are easily divided. One occurs in a letter to Martinianus, and it is noticeable that many other literary allusions occur there also. Martinianus was evidently no ordinary correspondent: "Wherefore, I desire to hear you not so much for one year, but throughout my whole life, as Alcinous did Odysseus."⁶⁷ The case of Alcinous was a fairly strong instance, too, for Alcinous offered to sit up all night to listen to Odysseus telling about his adventures: "Indeed, I could stay here till bright daylight, so you should tell in the hall about your woes."⁶⁸ This was a fair offer and probably occurred to Basil as a well recorded instance of an unusually complimentary proposal.

Another case is in a letter to his brother Gregory, in which he says, describing his retreat in Pontus, that it is comparable "to Calypso's isle, which Homer marvels at most of all for its beauty."⁶⁹ The wonders of Calypso's island are mentioned in different places, but probably nowhere more effectively than in these lines: "There even an immortal, coming in, might wonder and, gazing around, delight his heart."⁷⁰

Two references easily connected with the story of Odysseus are found in Basil's first letter: "I passed by the city on the Hellespont, as Odysseus did the songs of the Sirens."⁷¹ Odysseus' escape from the Sirens is described in some thirty-five verses in the *Odyssey*, which give the details that explain it.⁷²

Further in the same letter, after describing his efforts to meet Eustathius and hear his philosophical lectures, Basil says: "Do not these adventures very nearly surpass the fables of the poets con-

⁶⁶ *Odyssey*, XII., 44. ἀλλά τε Σειρήνες λιγυρῇ θέλγουσιν ἀοιδῇ.

⁶⁷ Letter 74. ὥστε οὐκ εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν μόνον ὥς δ' Ἀλκίνοος τοῦ Ὀδυσσεύς, ἀλλ' εἰς πάντα μου τὸν βίον εὐξαίμην ἂν σου ἀκούειν.

⁶⁸ *Odyssey*, XI., 375, 376. καὶ κεν ἐς ἡῶ διαν ἀνασχολίμην ὅτε μοι σὺ τλαίης ἐν μεγάρῳ τὰ σὰ κήδεα μυθήσασθαι.

⁶⁹ Letter 14. καὶ τὴν Καλυψοῦς νῆσον ἦν δὴ πασῶν πλέον Ὀμηρος εἰς κάλλος θαυμάσιος φαίνεται.

⁷⁰ *Odyssey*, V., 73, 74. ἔνθα κ' ἔπειτα καὶ ἀθάνατός περ ἐπελθὼν θήσασατο ἰδὼν καὶ τερφεῖν φρεσὶν ἦσιν.

⁷¹ Letter 1. παρέδραμον δὲ τὴν ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντῳ πόλιν ὥς οὐδεὶς Ὀδυσσεὺς Σειρήνων μέλη.

⁷² Cf. *Odyssey*, XII., 165-200.

cerning Tantalus?"⁷³ Odysseus, describing his adventures, speaks of Tantalus: "And I saw Tantalus in violent torment, standing in a pool, the water reached up almost to his chin, and he appeared thirsty but could not drink, for whenever the old man stooped forward, being eager to take a drink, the water so often would recede and disappear."⁷⁴ Many other poets made the sufferings of Tantalus a subject for their writings.

In a letter to Antipater, Basil remarks: "In future I shall think nothing quite as good as cabbage, not even the lotus of Homer, nor the ambrosia, whatever that may have been."⁷⁵ The effects of the lotus upon those members of Odysseus' crew who ate it were described as being destructive to memory: "And whoever ate of the fruit of the lotus, which was sweet as honey, no longer wished to carry away the word or to return."⁷⁶ The ambrosia that is mentioned by Basil in the same sentence is described by Homer as the food of the gods: "Speaking thus, the goddess set for him a table laden with ambrosia."⁷⁷ After remarking a proverb that cabbage at repeated meals might not be healthy, Basil says: "Now, however, I am forced to change my mind and laugh at the proverb when I see cabbage such a 'good nursing mother of men.'"⁷⁸ The expression "good nursing mother of men" is an imitation of a phrase in the Odyssey in which Ithaca, the home of Odysseus, is referred to as "rugged, but a good nurse of hardy men."⁷⁹

The letter to Aburgius contains four references, an unusually large number as most of Basil's references go, for even when writing to a sophist like Libanius, Basil is conservative in the number of literary allusions that he employs.

Referring to the final shipwreck which left Odysseus upon the coast of the Pheacians, Basil says: "He had great wealth, and

⁷³ Letter 1. ταῦτα οὐχὶ μικροῦ δεῖν, καὶ τοὺς τῶν ποιητῶν ἐπὶ Ταντάλῳ μύθους ὑπερβάλετο;

⁷⁴ Odyssey, XI., 583, ff. καὶ μὴν Τάνταλον ἐσεῖδον χαλεπ' ἄλγέ, ἔχοντα ἑσταότ' ἐν λίμνῃ. ἥ δὲ προσέπλεαζεν γενεῶν. στεῦτο δὲ διψῶν, πᾶειν δ' οὐκ εἶχεν ἐλέσθαι. ὅσσάκι γὰρ κύφει ὁ γέρον πᾶειν μενεαίνων, τοσσάχ' ὕδαρ ἀπολέσκειτ' ἀναβροχέν.

⁷⁵ Letter 186. καὶ οὐδὲν εἶναι τοῦ λουτοῦ κατ' αὐτὴν ἡγήσασμαι, οὐδ' ὅπως τὸν Ὀμηρικὸν λατὸν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὴν ἀμβροσίαν ἐκείνην ἥτις ποτ' ἄρα ἦν.

⁷⁶ Odyssey, IX., 93. τῶν δ' ὅς τις λατοῖο φάγοι μελιθεῖα καρπὸν, οὐκέτ', ἀπαγγεῖλαι πάλιν ἠθέλεν οὐδὲ νέεσθαι.

⁷⁷ Odyssey, V., 93. ὡς ἄρα φωνήσασα θεὰ παρέθηκε τραπέζαν ἀμβροσίης πλήσασα.

⁷⁸ Letter 186. νῦν δέ μοι δοκῶ καὶ ἑμαυτὸν μεταπεισεῖν καὶ τῆς παρουσίας καταγελάσσεσθαι ὁρῶν αὐτὴν οὕτως ἀγαθὴν κουροτρόφον.

⁷⁹ Odyssey, IX., 27. τρηχεῖ' ἀλλ' ἀγαθὴ κουροτρόφος.

he returned stripped of everything."⁸⁰ The treasures that the Greeks took at Troy were popularly supposed to have been fabulously great, but Odysseus' misfortune among the Laestrygonians and on the Pheacian coast reduced him to complete poverty. Basil says of a friend, Maximus, that he had lost a great deal of property, suggesting that "Perhaps he fell in with some Scylla, who hid a dog's fierceness and fury under a woman's form, or having irritated some Laestrygonians against him, suffered these things."⁸¹ The Laestrygonians had wrecked eleven of Odysseus' ships by hurling huge rocks against them. Being a race of giants, such a feat was in keeping with their physical prowess. The whole story of the Laestrygonian adventure is related at length in the *Odyssey*.⁸² The adventure with Scylla, who was a monster that had formerly been a woman and had been transformed into a figure with six heads and something of a dog's appearance, is also narrated shortly after.⁸³

Speaking of Maximus again, Basil says: "This man was governor of no insignificant people, just as Odysseus was chief of the Cephallenians."⁸⁴ Later Basil remarks upon the contrast between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, saying: "Up till this time I thought Homer was a fable, when I read the other part of his poem in which he tells the story of Odysseus."⁸⁵

The reference to Odysseus being the chief of the Cephallenians occurs in a general way in a verse spoken by one of Odysseus' followers: "Woe for the blameless Odysseus, who put me in charge of his cattle when I was still a boy in the land of the Cephallenians."⁸⁶ Homer does not say that Odysseus was chief of the Cephallenians. Basil's remark about thinking the Homeric verses fabulous is a general reference to the wanderings of Odysseus, and a comparison of them with the misfortunes that have befallen his friend Maximus. He says a moment later that the "misfortune that has struck the excellent Maximus has made me

⁸⁰ Letter 147. καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα ἄγων ἐκεῖνος γυμνὸς ἐπαῆλθε.

⁸¹ Letter 147. καὶ ταῦτα πέπονθε Λαιστρυγόνας τάχα ποὺ ἐφ' ἐαυτὸν παροξύνας, καὶ Σκύλλη περιτεσὼν ἐν γυναικεῖα μορφῇ κυνείαν ἐχούσῃ ἀπανθρωπίαν καὶ ἀγριότητα.

⁸² Cf. *Odyssey*, X., 80-130.

⁸³ Cf. *Odyssey*, XII., 225-260.

⁸⁴ Letter 147. καὶ γὰρ καὶ οὗτος ἀρχὸν ἐγένετο ἔνθους οὐ φαυλοτάτου, ὥστερ' ἐκεῖνος ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Κεφαλλήνων.

⁸⁵ Letter 147. Μῦθον ἐνόμιζον τεῶς τὰ τοῦ Ὀμήρου ὅτε ἐπῆεν αὐτοῦ τὸ ἕτερον μέρος τῆς ποιήσεως, ἐν ᾧ τὰ τοῦ Ὀδυσσεύος πάθη μεταδιδάσκει.

⁸⁶ *Odyssey*, XX., 209, ff. ὦ μοι ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆος ἀμύμονος ὅς μ' ἐπὶ βουσὶν εἰς ἔτι τυτθὸν ἔοντα Κεφαλλήνων ἐνὶ δῆμῳ.

think what I used to regard as fabulous and unbelievable as being quite probable."⁸⁷

To sum up satisfactorily the evidence displayed by Basil's use of the Greek poets is no easy task. Quotations that are identified by the author are easy to handle, but there remains the difficult task of treating those allusions that he does not explain. Most of the sophisticated rhetors were extremely imaginative and poetical in their own way, and the use of highly developed figures expressing wildly fanciful thought, frequently in words long associated with poetic usage, results in a diction that will often seem to have a trend such as might have been taken from poetry when in reality no such usage occurs. The vivid imagery and artificial rhythm that occasionally occur in a sophistic writer are no certain evidence that he took his choice of words from any poet, or even that a borrowing of ideas happened.

But Basil makes a few points very clear, and some others if conjectural are at least probable. The number of authors that he names is comparatively limited. He mentions Aeschylus, Euripides twice named, Archilochus, Simonides, Solon, Theognis, Hesiod, and Homer, who is named five times. But all these names represent outstanding figures in Greek literature and are such as would readily occur to a man who wished to emphasize a point with a story or apt quotation.

Basil's use of epic verse is decidedly greater than that of lyric and dramatic together. He has eight references that can be connected with more or less probability with Aeschylus, Aristophanes and Euripides, though in the case of Aristophanes it is necessary to add that the connection is almost negligible. Curiously enough, Sophocles does not appear.

Basil has nine references traceable to lyric sources. In four he cites authors, Archilochus, Solon, Simonides, and Theognis. He has one perhaps belonging to Alcman, one from Archilochus, as he himself says, one perhaps from Bion, one from Simonides, in which that author is named, and one that Basil says is Solon's, and another attributable to Solon and Theognis both, and three certainly from Theognis, in one of which he names that writer.

Basil was more at home among the epic poets. He quotes or alludes to Hesiod four times and to Homer twenty-three times. It is interesting, however, to note that the bulk of the Homeric ref-

⁸⁷ Letter 147. 'Ἄλλ' ἐκεῖνα τὰ μυθικὰ τέως καὶ ἀπιστα πάνυ ἡμῶς παθὰν νομίζειν ἐδίδαξεν ἢ περὶ τὸν πάντα ἀριστον Μάξιμον περιπέτεια.

erences or quotations have to do with the *Odyssey*, and that as a whole the *Iliad* is overshadowed. Fifteen references are concerned with the *Odyssey* and six with the *Iliad*. One is from the Homeric Hymns. One refers to the Margites, long attributed to Homer. Basil uses Homer's name five times. He names Hesiod but once. The adventures of Odysseus occur to him frequently and he refers to Odysseus, either calling him by name or alluding to him in a significant way, six times. All the instances from Hesiod are from the *Works and Days*, which being full of sententious utterances and pithy bits of practical wisdom, are especially apt for the use of a glib speaker. Three of the Hesiodic instances are found in a single work, the *Speech to the Youths*, and the remaining one appears in the *Hexaemeron*.

He likes to appear well acquainted with the poets, but if in his hurry he could not remember the exact wording of the passage he wanted to quote, it was easy to throw the whole into indirect discourse and tell it as an incident. This Basil generally does. Only twice does he give a correct quotation, but upon seven occasions he gives quotations that are partially correct, or that contain the most noticeable phrasings of the correct verse. He finds it very effective to use the wording of the poet and then say at the end of the sentence, "as Euripides would say," or "as the poet says." If he had gotten the lines right well and good, but if he had failed nothing had been lost. The indirect citation had removed the necessity for absolute accuracy. In the delivery of the practiced orator the indirect narration could be used as effectively as direct, and if his memory failed he would not be under the necessity of having to admit a mistake.

Moreover, as time went on Basil had many cares and distractions, which precluded a continued study of literature. But he still had to meet people and address them, so he was of necessity often compelled to tax his memory for the common places of former days. It is not to be wondered at, then, that with increasing age his grasp upon the intricacies of the literature that had charmed him as a boy gradually relaxed and only those higher points remained with him, which were almost unforgettable. A sympathetic view of the arduous labors that fell to his share and the difficulties that beset his position will go far toward explaining the occasional confusion that appears in his literary reminiscences and allusions.

CHAPTER IV

LEGEND AND HISTORY

Basil seems well acquainted with legendary tales and refers to them with telling effect, proving not only that he had the stories well in hand, but that he had a keen sense of their value. Like any other sophisticated rhetor, he is exact when his memory will serve. When it fails he becomes sufficiently vague to escape an imputation of being ill informed upon details, though still sufficiently accurate to present his case with a good front. Most of the references that indicate his legendary information come under three general heads: First, stories about men, places or societies; second, pure folklore; third, ancient customs, habits and manners. The first group may have a foundation in fact; the second is popular fabrication; the third may be either fact or not, according as the custom survived, down to a time when it could be verified.

1. *Legend.* Anecdotes in the lives of famous men, or groups of men, appeal to him. He makes at least four direct references - to the Pythagoreans, or their founder, and on four occasions - recalls incidents bearing upon Diogenes the Cynic. He likens pleasure to the hydra, and twice finds occasion to refer to the labor of Heracles in killing the monster. He urges self-control both in temper and judgment, and reinforces his argument with two stories about Socrates and how he behaved. He follows up the case with further instances, citing stories about Pericles and Euclid, and remarks a Stoic proverb, or one attributed to the Stoics, and all in favor of moderation or forethought in deed or judgment. The Pythagorean doctrines were widespread and had many admirers, so of course would be readily understood. He cites the Pythagorean Cleinas: "The (case) of Cleinas, one of the disciples of Pythagoras, can hardly be thought to conform to our teachings accidentally and not from deliberate plan."¹ Then he

¹ 179, A. τὸ δὲ τοῦ Κλεινίου τῶν Πυθαγόρου γνωρίμων ἐνός, χαλεπὸν πιστεῦσαι ἀπὸ ταῦτομάτου συμβῆναι τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀλλ' οὐχὶ μνησαμένου σπουδῇ.

goes on to tell a story of how Cleinas displayed unusual honesty.

Arguing against elaborate music, he again falls back upon a Pythagorean legend: "It is said that Pythagoras, chancing upon some revelers who were drunk, commanded the flute player, who led the masque, to change the time and play the Doric air for them, and they were so sobered by the music that, throwing down their crowns, they went home."² To urge moderation in eating, Basil finds an occasion to use Pythagoras again. A mass of legend surrounds the quasi-altruistic doings and sayings of the philosopher: "And it will be remembered of Pythagoras that, calling one of his familiars from the gymnastics and eating, which were fattening him very much, he said, 'Will you not cease making your imprisonment harder for yourself?'"³ In order to express a high degree of admiration he says that "The Pythagoreans do not esteem their tetracton so much."⁴ The tetracton of the Pythagoreans was their magic number, and many peculiar ideas were prevalent about its powers. Basil's reference would appeal to the people. Fully as famous in Greek story as Pythagoras was the Cynic Diogenes. Many tales were fabricated about his surly answers, curt remarks and democratic ways. Basil used such legend occasionally, and with good effect: "And I admire likewise the contempt for all human beings of Diogenes, who proved himself richer than the great King, since he needed less to live than the other."⁵

The wealth of the Persian king was long a subject for wonder and speculation among the Greeks. Parallel with the above idea, Basil brings out a similar view expressed in a different way. Writing to Olympius and discussing his own voluntary poverty, the saint makes comparisons between his state and that of various famous characters who conducted themselves well in straightened circumstances. He says of himself that "He never ceased admir-

² 182, D. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ Πυθαγόραν κομασταῖς περιτυχόντα μεθύουσι, κελύσαι τὸν αὐλήτην τὸν τοῦ κόμου κατάρχοντα μεταβαλόντα τὴν ἁρμονίαν ἐπαυλῆσαι σφίσι τὸ Δώριον. τοὺς δὲ οὕτως ἀναφρονήσαι ὑπὸ τοὺς μέλους ὥστε τοὺς στεφάνους ῥίψαντας αἰσχυνομένους ἐπανάλθειν.

³ 182, C. καὶ τοῦ Πυθαγόρου μεμνησθαι ὅς τῶν συνόντων τινὰ καταμαθὼν γυμνασίῳ τε καὶ οἰτίῳ ἑαυτὸν εὖ μάλα κατασαρκούντα, οὕτως ἔφη. Οὐ πάσῃ χαλεπώτερον σεαυτῷ κατασκευάζων τὸ δεσμοτήριον;

⁴ Letter 21. οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ Πυθαγόριοι τοσοῦτον προετίμησαν τὴν τετρακτύν.

⁵ 183, B. Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ Διογένης ἀγαμαι τὴν πάντων ὁμοῦ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἐπεροφίαν ὅς γε καὶ βασιλεὺς τοῦ μεγάλου ἑαυτὸν ἀπέφηνε πλουσιώτερον τῷ ἐλαττώων ἢ ἐκεῖνος κατὰ τὸν βίον προδεῖσθαι.

ing Diogenes, who was content to get along with only the things of nature."⁶

A vast number of stories were told of Diogenes' rough ways of living—that he made his quarters in a tub, and so on. Most of these tales were late inventions. A man who lived so hardily would naturally have slight care for the niceties of external appearances, and thus Diogenes again furnishes material for an allusion: "According to Diogenes' theory, to busy oneself with the hair or clothes more than is necessary is the act of an unfortunate or of an unjust person."⁷ Diogenes would naturally consider persons who expended upon such concerns the time needed for more important matters to be highly unjust, or unfortunate, probably putting a hint of mental deficiency in the epithet "unfortunate."

But the summing up of Diogenes' contempt for worldly greatness lay in his behavior with Alexander the Great. This monarch represented to the Greeks the pinnacle of earthly prosperity, and to treat such a man with scant regard was awe inspiring. In his letter to Maximus, the philosopher, Basil touches upon the famous reply that Diogenes was said to have made to Alexander when the king invited the philosopher to pay him a visit. Basil says: "Do not give me the answer of Diogenes to Alexander, 'It is as far from you to me as from me to you.'"⁸ Diogenes Laertius records the equally famous tale of how Diogenes the Cynic told Alexander to stand out of his sunlight. This disregard for greatness became proverbial.

Still more famous in Greek legend and impossible to locate with any degree of accuracy is the character of Heracles. His toils for the benefit of early Hellas, and especially his twelve labors, were themes for many writers. Basil enlarges upon the many forms of pleasure and the efforts of moderate people to restrain these by comparing them to the many headed hydra, and Heracles' attempts to kill it by cutting off the heads: "The wise men of Greece give us to understand the many forms of pleasure, and the contest against this, the pleasure generated from the body, by a fabulous figure, the hydra, a many headed serpent lying torpid

⁶ Letter 4. τὸν δὲ Διογένην οὐδὲ ἐπαύσατο πότε θαυμάζων τοῖς παρὰ φύσεως μόνους ἀρκεῖσθαι φιλοτιμούμενον.

⁷ 181, B. κουράς δὲ καὶ ἀμπεχόνας ἔξω τῶν ἀναγκαίων περιεργάζεσθαι ἢ δυστυχούντων ἔστι, κατὰ τὸν Διογένηος λόγον, ἢ ἀδικούντων.

⁸ Letter 9. ὅπως οὖν μὴ τὸ τοῦ Διογένηος πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμῖν εἴπῃς ὅτι ἴσον ἐστὶ παρ' ἡμῶν τὸ δεῦρο καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐνθὲνδε.

in a swamp for physiological reasons. And the head of this animal, struck off at one blow, gave forth a triple head born from the one. However, being recut with caustic, once for all they wisely show it straightway separated from the body.”⁹ He returns to the idea of the hydra later, saying of a certain woman that she “inhabits a home more savage than that of the many headed hydra.”¹⁰

He mentions Socrates in an argument for keeping one's temper under provocation, telling the following: “A certain person once struck Socrates, the son of Sophroniscus, in the face, continually repeating this, but Socrates did not strike back, but permitted the enraged man to exhaust his anger.”¹¹ He remembers a similar case in the lives of Pericles and Euclid: “Like this was the deed of Pericles and Euclid,”¹² and says of Euclid again that “Once a certain person, enraged at Euclid the Megarian, swore death to him, but Euclid in turn swore that the man should surely be satisfied and so cease from hostility to him.”¹³ Plutarch tells the story of Pericles, but makes no mention of Euclid. The latter was a pupil of Socrates and seems to have figured in the Socratic legend. Stories about Socrates were legion. To show forethought, Basil calls up another Socratic story: “It was renowned of Socrates that he said he would never admire very greatly a wealthy man, proud by reason of his wealth, before he could declare him from experience of the thing to know how to use it.”¹⁴

Considering circumstances philosophically when writing to Eustathius, he cites a proverb attributed to the Stoics: “Thus runs the Stoic proverb, ‘Since things do not happen as we prefer,

⁹ 680, C. καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων γὰρ οἱ σοφοὶ τό τε πολυκεῖδες τῆς ἡδονῆς καὶ τὴν πρὸς τοῦτο μάχην ἡμῖν διὰ μυθικοῦ πλάσματος αἰνιττόμενοι, ὕδραν τὴν γενεὴν ἐν τῷ σώματι ἡδονῇν, ἔρπον τι πολύμορφον, ἐν ἑλὶ φωλεῦον φυσιολογοῦντες ἀνέπλασαν. καὶ ταύτης τὴν μὲν ἀπλῶς τερνομένην κεφαλὴν τρικλασίονα ἀντὶ τῆς μιᾶς ἐκφύειν παρέδοσαν. τὴν δὲ καυτῇρι τερνομένην ἰναιρεῖσθαι καθάπαξ φιλοσόφως ὑπέδειξαν.

¹⁰ Letter 315. καὶ οἰκίαν οἰκούσῃ ὕδρας τινὸς πολυκεφάλου χαλεπωτέραν.

¹¹ 179, C. “Ἐτυπτε τις τὸν Σωφρονίσκου Σωκράτην εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ πρόσωπον ἑμπεσὼν ἀπειδῶς. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀντήρειν ἀλλὰ παρείχε τῷ παροῖντι τι τῆς ὀργῆς ἑμφορεῖσθαι.

¹² 179, D. τὸ δὲ τοῦ Περικλέους ἢ τὸ Εὐκλείδου τῷ τοὺς διώκοντας ὑπομένειν.

¹³ 179, B. Πάλιν τις Εὐκλείδῃ τῷ Μεγαρόθεν παροξυνθεὶς θάνατον ἠπαίησε καὶ ἐπώμοσεν. ὁ δὲ ἀντάμοσεν ἢ μὴν ἱλεώσασθαι αὐτὴν καὶ παύσειν χαλεπῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχοντα.

¹⁴ 183, C. τὸ γὰρ τοῦ Σωκράτους εὖ ἔχει. δὲ μέγα φρονούντος πλουσίον ἀνδρὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς χρήμασι, οὐ πρότερον αὐτὸν θαυμάσειν ἔφη, πρὶν ἂν καὶ ὅτι κεχρησθαι τούτοις ἐπίσταται πειραθῆναι.

we prefer what happens.'"¹⁵ Basil is free in his use of proverbs, or aphorisms. Most of these are very varied in meaning, according to the varying situations that call them forth. Writing to Maximus, the philosopher, he says, "I have learned from your letters, as they say, to know a lion from his claws."¹⁶ The idea is a very old one, but is perhaps traceable to the sculptor Phidias, who is said to have been capable of judging from the claw of a lion how to model correctly the rest of the animal's form.¹⁷ On a par with this keen observation is the idea that Basil expresses in the following: "I have learned Thee from observing myself, and observing myself, I have known Thy infinite wisdom."¹⁸ Credit for this idea is ascribed to many philosophers such as Thales, Chilo, Cleobulus, Bias, Pythagoras and Socrates. It was doubtless a common idea of the philosophical schools and perhaps related to the famous saying, "Know thyself." In the speech To the Youths, Basil urges activity in seizing opportunities, reinforcing his words with two well placed sayings, "But we to whom rewards are proposed, so marvelous on account of their number and greatness that they cannot be set forth in words, if we 'sleep upon both ears' and if we live loosely, will this reward be given 'to grasp with one hand.'"¹⁹ The expressions "to sleep upon both ears" and "to grasp with one hand" were common ones, indicative of dilatoriness and sluggish behavior in the face of opportunity. Continuing the argument for greater activity, he says: "I advise you to leave no stone unturned, as the proverb has it, working hard to prepare a viaticum that you may have for all time."²⁰

He uses other stray proverbs in various ways. Urging young men to examine their study in order to make it accord with their purpose in life, he recommends them to do it, "testing each stone with the measuring line."²¹ This is a Doric proverb, cited also

¹⁵ Letter 151. ὁ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Στοῖκου λόγος. Ἐπειδὴ φησὶ μὴ γίνεταί τὰ πράγματα ὥς βουλόμεθα ὥς γίνεταί βουλόμεθα.

¹⁶ Letter 9. κατεμάθομεν οὖν σε διὰ τοῦ γραμματος ὅσον φασὶν, ἐξ ὀνύχων τὸν λέοντα.

¹⁷ Cf. Lucian, *Hermotimus*, 54.

¹⁸ 87, C. Ἐθαυμαστώθῃ ἡ γνώσις σου ἐξ ἐμοῦ. τουτέστιν ἑμαυτὸν καταμαθὼν τὸ ὑπερβάλλον τῆς ἐν σοὶ σοφίας ἐξεδιδάχθην.

¹⁹ 180, C. Ἡμῖν δὲ οἷς ἅθλα τοῦ βίου πρόκειται οὕτω θαυμαστά πλήθει τε καὶ μεγέθει ὥστε ἀδύνατα εἶναι ῥηθῆναι λόγῳ ἐπ' ἅμῳ καθευδούσι καὶ κατὰ πολλὴν διαιτωμένοις ἄδειαν τῇ ἐτέρᾳ λαβεῖν τῶν χειρῶν ὑπάρξει.

²⁰ 184, D. Πρὸς ὅπου κτᾶσθαι παραινέσασμι' ἂν τὰ ἐφόδια πάντα λίθον κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν κινούντας.

²¹ 176, D. τὸν λίθον ποτὶ τὰν σιάντον ἄγοντας.

by Gregory Nazienzen (Letter 38) and by John Chrysostom (Homily 25).

In a letter to Censitorus, Basil makes use of an expression traceable perhaps to Aristotle: "Remembering the author of the wise saying, 'A friend is another self.'"²² The idea is generally expressed in the Eighth Book of the Nichomachean Ethics. In a letter to Antipater, Basil refers to his own poor health and his inability to derive help from medical treatment, saying that he has been "not heeding the proverb which says, 'Warmth is of no good to the dead.'"²³

Writing to Timotheus and referring to the uselessness of reminding him about the scriptures, as he knew them quite well himself, Basil says: "To recite to you the evidence of the Holy Writ would be as ridiculous, as they say, as 'to carry owls to Athens.'"²⁴ How this proverb originated is hard to say. Athens was devoted to Athena, whose symbol was an owl, and the owl was stamped upon Athenian coins. Aristophanes in the Birds gives the idea very generally expressed. It was like "carrying coals to Newcastle."

It will be evident that Basil, while not using such sayings very frequently, knew how to employ them with good effect. In public addresses, or in a letter where a bit of friendly advice is offered, such ideas come to the front. Elsewhere he is not much in favor of their employment.

Games and athletic contests were dear to the Greek mind, and references to them were effective. The rage for such exhibitions and public shows is too well known to require comment. Basil makes six direct references to the games, and there are throughout his writings unmistakable traces of perfect familiarity with such affairs. In other places obscure remarks might be construed as having a bearing upon the same theme. Urging the need of spiritual exercises, he says to his hearers: "Toil is fitting for athletes."²⁵ Throughout his works he finds many occasions to tell his auditors that a similarity exists between the physical labors of life and its contests, and the spiritual struggles of those who

²² Letter 83. καὶ μεμνημένος τοῦ σοφῶς εἰπόντος ἄλλον ἑαυτὸν εἶναι τὸν φίλον.

²³ Letter 137. μὴδὲ τῆς παροιμίας ἀκούων τῆς οὐδὲν ἀπὸ θερμῶν ὄφελος εἶναι τοῖς τεθνηκόσι λεγούσης.

²⁴ Letter 201. τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν Γραφῶν σοι διηγείσθαι οὐχ ἥτιον ἐστὶ καταγέλαστον ἢ γλαῦκα φησὶν Ἀθηναίους ἄγειν.

²⁵ Hom. in Ps. Prima., sec. 4 (93, A). ἐνεργήματι ἐστὶν ἀθληταῖς κρέοντα.

would gain salvation. He puts the thought clearly in a letter, saying, "Just as athletes win crowns in the arena, so Christians are brought to perfection by the trials of their temptations."²⁶ These references to the great games of Greece had good effect.²⁷ Writing to Libanius, Basil mentions by name Polydamas, an athlete of Scotussa, and Milo, a famous athlete of Crotona. Pausanias tells about Polydamas,²⁸ but Basil's letter offers no information except the common conception of his great strength. In another letter Basil reminds a friend that "great crowns seem laid aside for an athlete of long endurance,"²⁹ and further in the same letter calls Job a great athlete, evidently because of his patience. Basil likes to expatiate upon the patient endurance of athletes and their steadiness under hardship, and likes to touch upon the technical points in games, perhaps to show his familiarity with them. In the *Liber de Spiritu Sancto* he remarks that before one begins a new life he should endeavor to put a proper end to what is past, "as in the case of sprinters who turn and take the second course, a kind of pause intervenes between the opposite motions."³⁰ Basil's idea about the runners was particularly apt, for the race track was narrow and elliptical in shape, and it was only with a great effort and with an almost complete loss of motion that the sprinter, after reaching the end, circled the post and started back. For a moment after checking himself and before he got started upon his return, he would be almost motionless. Basil finds occasion to enlarge upon the customs prevailing at games, saying that it behooves spectators to be themselves somewhat athletic: "One should learn from this, the laws of the show, that all who collect at the stadium should sit with their heads uncovered. This, it seems to me, was not only for the sake of the view of the contests, but also that each one should be in a measure an athlete himself."³¹ Greek games

²⁶ Letter 101. ὡς γὰρ τοὺς ἀθλητὰς οἱ τῶν ἀγῶνων κάματα τοῖς στεφάνοις προσάγουσιν οὕτω καὶ τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς ἡ ἐν τοῖς πειρασμοῖς δοκιμασία πρὸς τὴν τελείωσιν ἄγει.

²⁷ On this eagerness of the Greeks for athletic contests cf Herodotus VIII., 26. Xenophanes (fr. 19) comments ironically upon the importance attached to the athletic events of a city.

²⁸ Cf. Pausanias, VI., 5.

²⁹ Letter 5. καὶ ὅτι τῆς μεγάλης ὑπομονῆς μεγάλοι παρὰ τῷ ἀθλοθέτῃ στέφανοι δόξης ἀπόκινεταί.

³⁰ 29, A. ὡς γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν τὸν διαυλον ἀνακαμπτόντων στάσις τις καὶ ἐπιρρέμῃσι τὰς ἐναντίας κινήσεις διαλαμβάνει.

³¹ 50, B. καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ τῶν πανηγυρικῶν θεσμῶν ἂν τις κατίδοι, οἱ τοὺς συγκαθεζομένους εἰς τὸ στάδιον γυμνῇ καθῆσθαι τῇ κεφαλῇ διαγορεύουσιν. ἡμοὶ δοκεῖν ἵνα μὴ θεατῆς μόνον ἀγωνιστῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγωνιστῆς ἑαστος αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ μέρει τυγχάνῃ.

were extremely open air affairs, and the lack of any large covering frequently compelled all to submit to the strong sunlight.

Basil would naturally be very ill disposed to the pagan oracles and the many trickeries that they practiced, but he finds occasion to refer to them as his discourse requires. This, however, is not very frequently. In the course of a wild flight of rhetoric he mentions Delphi and one of the other famous places in Castaly: "No longer is there a Delphi, no longer oracles, and the seeress has become silent; the Castalian fount may be drunk, but the drinkers retain their senses. Amphiaraus is an exile, Amphilocheus is nowhere found, and the statues of false gods are not shown."²² The Greek mind was affected by at least an outward reverence for Delphi, so famous in their legend and surrounded by so many stories of Apollo's doings and responses. The Castalian spring has evidently something of a fascination for the rhetoricians, for it affords opportunity to display some uncontrollable flights of fancy. The spring itself was a fountain in Thessaly, long considered by the Greeks a witch-haunted land. Sometime in the past the Muses had drunk there. Later witches frequented it. Hecate, who presided over crossroads where murderers had been buried and lonely places, was its guardian. Those drinking its water fell into a frenzy, inspired by the powers that presided over it. Such a body of legend would allow a popular speaker opportunity for a wild display of imagination. The only other instance in Basil's text of a reference to oracular or pagan rite beliefs is a remark about the customs of the Corybantes and of people who went insane by reason of the Bacchic frenzy: "Others, according to the custom of the Corybantes, went mad at the flute playing and became bacchic."²³ This theme is discussed in many parts of Greek mythology and is seen in many late variations. Euripides' *Bacchae* pictures the rites. A great mass of legend grew up around the ritual.

In his remark above about Delphi, Basil mentioned also two characters famous in the saga of the time, Amphiaraus and Amphilocheus. Amphiaraus was a noted figure in Greek legend. He was one of the Seven against Thebes and, fleeing after the fight, was swallowed up by the earth. His son Amphilocheus was almost equally noted and was supposed to have founded many

²² 446, A. οὐκέτι Δελφοί, οὐκέτι τὰ χρηστήρια, καὶ σιωπῇ μὲν ἡ πρόμαντις γίνεται δὲ ἡ Κασταλία, καὶ σωφρονοῦσιν οἱ πίνοντες. φυγὰς δ' Ἀμφιάραος. δ' Ἀφίλοχος οὐδαμοῦ, καὶ τὰ ἀφιδρύματα ἐξηφάνισται.

²³ 182, A. Ἄλλοι δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν κορυβαντιῶσι καὶ ἐμβαλχεύονται.

cities. Herodotus mentions two men of the same names, though they came much later than the period of the Theban legend.³⁴

As might be expected, Basil does not neglect the famous story of Daedalus and Icarus, working in his allusion neatly in a letter to Libanius: "If the art of Daedalus had only been safe, I would have made Icarus' wings for myself and come to you. But wax cannot be trusted to the sun, so instead of Icarus' wings I send you words to prove my affection."³⁵

He does not omit the well known tale of Marsyas, the satyr, and his musical competition with Apollo. Speaking of athletes and urging his hearers not to go out of their fields, he says: "If they had meddled with the airs of Marsyas . . . would they have won the laurels or crowns?"³⁶ Marsyas had not only failed but had been flayed by Apollo for his presumption. Basil's advice to his hearers to stay in their own departments was certainly reinforced by a pointed example. Further on he mentions Timotheus, long famous in Greek story as an expert flute player. According to common belief Timotheus, figuring in Alexander's campaign against Darius, affected Alexander's spirits by the power of his music. Though all the Greeks liked athletics, Basil notes that the musicians did not overdo them, but concentrated upon his music: "On the other hand, Timotheus did not continue in the palestra, neglecting his song."³⁷ There are many stories told of Timotheus, most of which are late inventions.

Among the characters of the older legend the daughters of Danaus were well known. For the murder of their husbands they were condemned by the gods to fill sieves with water, carrying it from a spring. Later they became symbolical of never ending labor. Later still they personified the rainy sky. Basil speaks of "bearing water in a sieve, pouring it into a perforated jar, having no end of labor."³⁸ The toils of the Danaids were proverbial.

³⁴ Cf. Herodotus, III., 91.

³⁵ Letter 359. Ἐγὼ δὲ εἴτερόν ἦν ἀσφαλὲς ἢ τοῦ διδασκάλου τέχνη, ἦλθον ἂν παρὰ σοί, ποιησόμενος Ἰκάρου πτερόν. Ἄλλ' ὁμως ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἔστιν πιστεῦσαι ἡλίφ κηρόν, ἀντὶ τῶν Ἰκάρου πτερόν ἐπιστέλλω σοι λόγους δευκνόντας τὴν ἡμετέραν φιλίαν.

³⁶ 180, A. Εἰ δὲ τὰ Μαρσύου . . . περιεργάζοντο κροῦματα . . . ταχύ γ' ἂν στεφάνων ἢ δόξης ἔτυχον . . .

³⁷ 180, A. Ἄλλ' οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ ὁ Τιμόθεος τὴν μελωδίαν ἀφελὲς ἐν ταῖς παλαίστραις διήγεν.

³⁸ 181, B. Καὶ κοσκίνῳ φέροντες ὕδωρ καὶ εἰς τετραμήνον ἀντλιοῦντες πίθον οὐδὲν πέρας τῶν πόνων ἔχοντες.

In contrast with such exertions are the easy lives of such people as Sardanapalus. He was considered in fable as a jovial character who kept a standing reward for anyone who could invent a new pleasure. The saint cites him as an example of inertia. If worthlessness were to be cultivated, "then sluggishness would be praiseworthy in this life, and Sardanapalus, that famous man, would be esteemed the most happy of all."³⁹

Basil uses the wealth of Hymetius as an instance of extreme riches, saying in a letter to Sophronius, "How could I place the wealth of Hymetius before one prodigal of his property, as you are."⁴⁰ In different sources the name is given as Hymintius.

Basil, however, is never at a loss to mention famous characters. He cites Polycleitus and Phidias, the sculptors, in condemning pride: "Phidias and Polycleitus, if they had extolled themselves by reason of the gold and ivory, of which one made the Elean Jove and the other the Argive Juno, would have been laughed at, because abandoning their art, by which very thing they had made the gold more beautiful and precious, they had taken glory from an alien source."⁴¹

Basil frequently uses such generalized references as the following: "O Muses! O Learning! O Athens! What do you not give to those who love you?"⁴² He is in the midst of a violent outburst of praise for the style of Libanius. In another letter addressed to Libanius he comments upon the large groves that grew by the sacred river Alpheus, remarking that, though many rafters had been cut there, that more trees will soon grow, because "the sacred Alpheus has promised to restore them."⁴³ The marvelous nature of the sacred river and its life-giving qualities were long celebrated in song and story.

In his commentary upon Isaias, Basil finds occasion to make use of many ancient references, and in one book manages to devote an entire chapter to an attack upon the customs of pagan banquets.⁴⁴ The fashions that prevailed in the banquets of

³⁹ 181, C. Πολλοὺ μὲν τ' ἂν ἄξιον, ἦν ἡ ῥαθυμία τῷ βίῳ καὶ ὁ γε Σαρδαναπέλυς τὰ πρῶτα πάντων εἰς εὐδαιμονίαν ἐφέρετο.

⁴⁰ Letter 272. Πῶς δὲ τὴν Ὑμητίου εὐπορίαν προτιμωτέραν ἐπιθέμην τῆς οἷς οικειώσεως ἀνδρὸς οὕτω δαπανῶντος τὴν οὐσίαν;

⁴¹ 183, C. "Ἡ Φειδίας μὲν καὶ Πολύκλειτος εἰ τῷ χρυσῷ μέγα ἐφρόνουν καὶ τῷ ἐλέφαντι ὅν ὁ μὲν Ἡλείας τὸν Δία, ὁ δὲ τὴν Ἥραν Ἀργείας ἐπικηροῖσιν καταγέλαστον ἂν ἦσιν ἄλλοτρίῳ πλούτῳ καλλωπιζόμενοι ἀφέντες τὴν τέχνην, ὅφ' ἦς καὶ ὁ χρυσοῦς ἡδίων καὶ τιμιώτερος ἀπεδείχθη.

⁴² Letter 353. ὦ Μοῦσαι, καὶ Λόγοι, καὶ Ἀθῆναι, οἳ τοῖς ἐρασταῖς δωρεῖσθε!

⁴³ Letter 348. Οὗς ὁ ἱερὸς Ἀλφειὸς ἀποκαταστήσειν κατεπηγγελάτο.

⁴⁴ Cf. 491, A-B-C.

Xenophon and Plato had given place to the greatest luxury, and though Basil may have had examples of elder times in mind, it is more than probable that later dates or his own time furnished him with the theme which he attacks.

In a letter to Diodorus, Basil touches upon an idea widespread in antiquity and in places proverbial, the hatred of a step-mother for children of a former marriage: "Only the race of stepmothers extends hatred beyond death."⁴⁵ Many stories are told on this theme, and Euripides and Menander use it with effect in their plays.

The next division of these loose references is the group that falls into the province of folklore and popular belief. The Greeks left very few of their notions unaccounted for and nearly always had a definite locality to which they could attach their stories. A belief that was very widespread was that of the baleful influence of the moon. This was common to many of the ancients.

σηληνάσμος was a common expression for epilepsy. Basil writes, "Observe how those who sleep under the moon feel abundant moisture filling their heads."⁴⁶ Some of the ideas about the sinister influence of the moon were late and owed part of their origin perhaps to confusion in the worships of Hecate and Selene. Hecate frequently appeared as the ill-omened deity worshiped in the dark of the moon, and in contrast to Selene, who represented the moon in its brighter and better aspects.

Basil makes two references to Aesop and his Fables. Both are in letters, in which one would naturally expect him to be somewhat reminiscent. The first is in a letter to Eustathius, in which the saint says: "Taking the unforeseen attitude of hate toward me, my opponents appear to renew the old story in Aesop. For he has a wolf bring an accusation against a lamb, being ashamed to seem to kill an animal that had not injured him, unless with some plausible reason. When the lamb refuted the lie the wolf continued the attack and, being worsted in doing the right, came off better in biting."⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Letter 160. Μόνον γὰρ τὸ γένος τῶν μητριῶν καὶ μετὰ θάνατον ἐλαύνει τὴν ἐχθρὰν.

⁴⁶ 61, B. Δηλοῦσι δὲ οἱ καθεύδοντες ὑπὸ σελήνην ὑγρότης περισσῆς τὰς τῆς κεφαλῆς εὐρυχωρίας πληρούμενοι.

⁴⁷ Letter 189, sec. 2. Ἔδοξαν οὖν μοι παραπλήσιόν τι ποιεῖν τῷ Αἰσώπει μῦθῳ οἱ τὸ ἀπροφάσιστον καθ' ἡμῶν ἀναλαβόντες μῖσος. ὥς γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἐγκλήματά τινα τῷ ἀρνίῳ τὸν λύκον προφέρειν ἐποίησεν αἰσχυρόμενον δῆθεν τὸ δοκεῖν ἄνευ δικαίας προφάσεως ἀναιρεῖν τὸν μηδὲν προλυπήσαντα. τοῦ δὲ ἀρνὸς πᾶσαν τὴν ἐκ συκοφαντίας ἐπαγομένην αἰτίαν εὐχερῶς διαλύοντος μηδὲν μᾶλλον ὑφίστασθαι τῆς ὁρμῆς τὸν λύκον ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν δικαίαις ἡττάσθαι τοῖς δὲ ὁδοῦσι νικᾶν.

Another reference almost as effective and equally cant is a remark in a letter to a writer: "Avoid making your pen go slantwise like Aesop's crab."⁴⁸ The story of the wolf who wished to kill the sheep and sought a pretext, but being unable to find one killed him anyhow, and the remark attributed to the crab, who told his mother, when she reproached him for walking slantwise, that he would walk straight when she showed him how, were well known and would have required no comment. Basil could have been sure that anyone would understand.

In dealing with the customs of different nations, Basil gives some predominance to the Spartans, though this is perhaps accounted for on the ground that the Spartans had a wide reputation for habits and manners conducive to discipline and training. In a letter to Gregory he hints at the Lacedæmonian brevity of speech in this remark: "Certainly there is no trouble in writing the Laconian letters that continually reach us from you."⁴⁹ He notes this idea of very curt conversational habits in a letter to Olympius: "Therefore, return to your former habit and do not make me complain of your Laconic ways."⁵⁰ The Spartan brevity of speech afforded theme for a vast deal of comment from the rest of the Greeks, who were by no means so reticent.

Referring to the light clothing worn by the Spartan women because of their many exercises, Basil finds occasion to mention that the garments were transparent, calling them "garments that are for the home and transparent Laconian garments." In the same paragraph he says: "Thus are imitated the clothes of Laconian women who eschewed being plainly naked as an unseemly thing, but cast on a linen garment wound around them very thinly."⁵¹ The saint seems displeased with women of his own times who affected the Laconian transparent style without the Laconian excuse of exercising.

His only other reference to a Spartan custom is a mention of the Spartan skytale. In a letter to Candidianus he makes his

⁴⁸ Letter 334. Μὴ δὲ βιάζου τὸν κάλαμον λοξὰ βαδίζειν ὥστερ τὸν παρ' Αἰσώπου καρμίνον.

⁴⁹ Letter 19. Πάντως δὲ οὐδεὶς πόνος Λακωνικῆς ἐπιστολῆς ὅποια εἰσιν αἱ παρὰ σοῦ ἐκείστοτε πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφικνούμεναι.

⁵⁰ Letter 12. Ἐκάνελθε τοίνυν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔθος ὡς οὐκ ἔτι σοι μεμψόμεθα Λακωνίζοντι πρὸς ἡμᾶς διὰ γραμμάτων.

⁵¹ 469, A. Καὶ τὰ ἐαβλήματα τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τὰ διαφανῆ Λακωνικά . . . ὥστε μμεισθαι τὰ τῶν Λακωνῶν ἐαβλήματα. αἱ κατὰ τὴν ὁρχησιν τὸ φανερώς γυμνοῦσθαι ὡς ἄσεμνον παραιτούμεναι ὑπερβάλλουσιν λεπτότητι, λινὴν ἐσθῆτα περιβαλλόμενα.

allusion very cleverly: "I respect that as if it were a public announcement, and while I am smoothing the tablet, looking in, I am excited, as was no Laconian defendant looking into the Spartan skytale."⁸² The skytale was a staff of peculiar shape carried by a Spartan general in the field. One like it was kept at Sparta. To write a despatch a paper was folded around the staff and writing made lengthwise upon it. When the papyrus, or whatever the tablet was composed of, was unrolled, the letters were seen scattered all over the sheet, making no sense. To read the message the sheet had to be folded again around the skytale. Thus the letter if intercepted was of no good to the enemy.

Basil touches upon a matter that could hardly be called Athenian, yet it was carried to a greater length at Athens than anywhere else. Speaking of the proverbial wordiness of the Athenian people, Basil remarks of a certain person, when writing to Leontius, "In no wise will he be silent, being both sophistical and Attic."⁸³ Gossiping and tale bearing was a notorious propensity of the Athenians. Scandalmongers and their ilk thrived in Athens. Basil finds the people of the city in his own day decidedly inferior to those of classical Athens: "Now, it would be rarer for a wise or eloquent man to appear in our Agora than it would have been for branded men, or those with unclean hands, to have come into Athens of old."⁸⁴

In his work against Eunomius, Basil makes a peculiar reference to the use of the scarabaeus, or a beetle similar to our scarabaeus, for estimating a period of time. He says: "According to the opinion of the best informed person, since the scarabei move in time, we define the time as the motion of the scarabei."⁸⁵ The scarabaeus was especially sacred in Egypt, and some of these ideas of Egyptian customs reflect institutions unusually aged and confused.

In his commentary upon Isaias the saint refers to a local habit of the Phœnicians, who cultivated their vines with oxen, though it does not appear why this was so. Basil writes of some people that

⁸² Letter 3. Εὐλαβήθην αὐτὴν ὥς τι δημόσιον προσαγγέλλουσαν, καὶ παρ' ὃν ἐξέλυνον καιρὸν τὸν κηρὸν ἐφοβούμενην προσβλέπων, ὥς οὐδεὶς ἐν αἰτίαις ὢν Σπαρτιάτης Λακωνικὴν σκαυτάλην.

⁸³ Letter 20. σωπήσει δὲ οὐδαμῶς, σοφιστικὴ τε οὐσα καὶ Ἀττικὴ.

⁸⁴ Letter 74. ὥστε τῶν περὶ παιδείαν καὶ λόγους ἦτον ἂν φανεῖν νῦν τις ἐμβολῶν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἢ Ἀθήνησι πρότερον οἱ ἀτιμίαν καταγνοσμένοι ἢ τὰς χεῖρας ὄντες μὴ καθαροί.

⁸⁵ 233, C. Οὐκοῦν κατὰ τὸν τοῦ σοφωτάτου λόγον, ἐπειδὴ καὶ κἀνθάρα ἐν χρόνῳ κινεῖνται ὁρισώμεθα τὸν χρόνον εἶναι ποιᾶν τινα κἀνθάρων κίνησιν.

"The diction of these people indicates the indigenous custom of their country, just as cultivating the vines with oxen in the case of the Phœnicians."⁵⁶

2. *Historical Writers.* In discussing the historians from whom Basil draws most of his references and most of his information about antiquity, it seems advisable to include among them not only the professed historian, but also the biographer, who collected information not of great political importance, but frequently very significant when the lives of the men who guided the politics of the time are considered. Basil works in two references to Xerxes in his letters. He is distinctly literary in his correspondence and handles his allusions effectively. Speaking of creating great wonder, Basil says that Libanius could not have caused more "if you had led the barbarian sailing over Mt. Athos."⁵⁷ Xerxes' feat in digging a canal through the promontory back of Mt. Athos was a source of never ending wonder to the Greeks. Herodotus discusses it as an almost impossible feat of engineering.⁵⁸ Later Greeks thought the whole story a fable.

In another letter to Libanius he alludes to the number of the troops mustered at Thermopylae, saying, "I have ordered as many rafters supplied as were soldiers at Thermopylae."⁵⁹ Popular legend long gave the number of men as three hundred, but these were the Spartans alone. The allied forces made up a much more numerous contingent.⁶⁰

Speaking of great wealth in his address To the Youths, Basil says: "For us, however, unless the talents of the Mysian Pythius are at hand, unless there are numberless herds of cattle, unless there are so many lands and so many fields, nothing suffices."⁶¹ Pythius was a Lydian of great wealth who banqueted Xerxes' entire army when it passed through his country on the great invasion of Greece.⁶² Inasmuch as Herodotus asserts in another passage that Xerxes' armed forces comprised about two millions

⁵⁶ 488, D. 'Ἡ μὲν λέξις τὴν ἐγχώριον συνήθειαν λέγει τῶν κατὰ Φοινίκην διὰ βοῶν ἀροτριούντων τὴν ἀμπελον.

⁵⁷ Letter 339. ἢ εἰ τὸν βάρβαρον ἤγες ὡτὲρ τὸν Ἀθω πλέοντα.

⁵⁸ Cf. Herodotus, VII., 22, 23.

⁵⁹ Letter 348. ἰσαριθμούς τοῖς ἐν θερμοπύλαις ἀγωνιζομένοις στρατιώταις στρωτήρας χρῆσθῆναι προσέταξα.

⁶⁰ Cf. Herodotus, VII., 202, for a detailed catalogue of the troops.

⁶¹ 183, C. 'Ἡμῖν δὲ ἄρα εἰ μὴ τὰ Πυθίου τοῦ Μυσοῦ προσέη τάλαντα καὶ πλέθρα γῆς τόσα καὶ τόσα καὶ βοσκημάτων ἐσμοὶ πλείους ἢ ἀριθμῆσαι οὐδὲν ἐξαρκέσει.

⁶² Cf. Herodotus, VII., 27, 29.

of men, such a feat as Pythius performed would justly be regarded as remarkable.

In his *Consolatio ad Aegrotum*, Basil delivers this opinion: "The age of man is brief; the splendor of a toilsome life is short. It is the web of a spider; human opinion is uncertain. The phantasy of life is a dream, but the repose of the just is most happy."⁶³ This idea is an echo of a speech which Herodotus puts down as Xerxes', in which the King says: "After meditating the thought struck me to weep for the shortness of all human existence, for of all the men who are here present, in a hundred years from now not one will be alive."⁶⁴ Then, taking up the theme throughout succeeding paragraphs, another character who answers Xerxes develops the idea of the mutability of human affairs and their total uncertainty.

Dwelling upon clemency in a letter to Andronicus, Basil comments upon a story Herodotus tells about Croesus, whose son was accidentally slain by a man called Adrastus, but who "ceased from wrath against the slayer of his son when he gave himself up for punishment."⁶⁵ The story is related at length by Herodotus, who says that "Croesus, having heard Adrastus' request for death, pitied him."⁶⁶

The other reference to Croesus appears in the same letter, when Basil speaks of the friendship that began between Croesus and Cyrus the Great, after Cyrus had subdued Lydia: "The great Cyrus became a friend to this very Croesus after the victory."⁶⁷ The story is told at considerable length and with the addition of many details by Herodotus.⁶⁸ The one other case in which Basil mentions Lydia is in the speech To the Youths, when he has an opportunity to expatiate at length upon the necessity of shunning superfluous wealth: "Whatever is superfluous and exceeds the measure of necessity, whether it should be the Lydian sand or the

⁶³ *Consolatio ad Aegrotum*. ὁ βίος τῶν ἀνθρώπων βραχύς καὶ ὀλίγο-
χρόνιος τῆς ἐπιπόθου ζωῆς ἢ φαιδρότης, ἰσὺς ἀράχνης εὐδιάλυτος ἢ δόξα ἢ
φαντασία τοῦ βίου ὄναρ ἀλλὰ μακροτάτη τῶν δικαίων ἢ ἀνεσις.

⁶⁴ Herodotus, VII., 46. Ἐσθλὸς γάρ με λογισάμενον κατοικτεῖραι ὡς
βραχύς εἴη ὁ πᾶς ἀνθρώπινος βίος εἰ τούτων γε ἐόντων τοσούτων οὐδεὶς ἐς
ἐκατοστὸν ἔτος περιέσται.

⁶⁵ Letter 112. ὅτω καὶ Κροῖσος τῷ παιδοφόνῳ τὴν ὀργὴν ἀφείναι λέγεται
ἐαυτὸν παραδόντι εἰς τιμωρίαν.

⁶⁶ Herodotus, I., 45. Κροῖσος δὲ τούτων ἀκούσας τὸν τε Ἄδραστον
κατοικτεῖραι.

⁶⁷ Letter 112. Καὶ Κύρος ὁ μέγας αὐτῷ τούτῳ τῷ Κροίσῳ φίλος γενέσθαι
μετὰ τὴν νίκην.

⁶⁸ Cf. Herodotus, I., 88.

labor of the gold bearing ants, so much more should be shunned."⁶⁹ The river Pactolus in Lydia carried down gold in its sands and was considered a source of great wealth by the ancients. Croesus had controlled all the gold mines and made himself famous for his riches. The gold of the river's sands was well known.⁷⁰ The case of the ants is also derived from the same author. An idea long prevailed that in India existed ants which mined and hoarded gold. This is also dwelt upon at considerable length in the same book.⁷¹

Besides Herodotus, Basil could have used other writers effectively for information on Egyptian matters, but the old historian was popular among the Greeks. The saint is touching upon a very ancient idea among the Hellenes when he says that "the blood of the bull is poison for you."⁷² This notion was very prevalent in Greek literature. Aristophanes makes one of his characters in the *Knights*, when contemplating suicide, say, "It were best for us to drink the blood of a bull,"⁷³ and Herodotus tells at length the story of Psalmennitus, the last ruler of Egypt, and how, when he had been taken by Cambyzes and convicted of a plot, "Being constrained by Cambyzes, he drank the blood of a bull and died. Thus, then, he perished."⁷⁴

Basil takes up a peculiarly Egyptian instance when he speaks of the hippopotamus, which the Greeks first met on the upper Nile, and which they ever after associated with things Egyptian. In speaking of various kinds of amphibious animals, he mentions the hippopotamus, saying, "Such amphibia as seals, crabs, crocodiles, river horses and frogs."⁷⁵ Herodotus, the first Greek traveler who left a connected record of his Egyptian impressions, describes this peculiar animal at some length.⁷⁶ Basil's final reference to Egyptian things has to do with the statues and carvings that Herodotus mentions as being so numerous in certain parts. The Commentaries upon Isaias have this passage, in which Basil writes :

⁶⁹ 183, A. Τὸ γὰρ τῆς χρείας περιττότερον, καὶ Λύδιον ἢ ψῆγμα καὶ τῶν μυρμηκῶν ἔργον τῶν χρυσοφόρων τοσούτῳ πλέον ἀτιμάσει, ὅσῳ περ ἂν ἦτον προσδέχεται.

⁷⁰ Cf. Herodotus, V., 101.

⁷¹ Cf. Herodotus, III., 102.

⁷² 43, B. ἐπειδὴ σοι δηλητήριον τὸ ταύριον αἷμα.

⁷³ *Knights*, 83. βέλτιστον ἡμῖν αἷμα ταύρειον πιεῖν.

⁷⁴ Herodotus, III., 15. ὑπὸ Καμβύσει αἷμα ταύρου πῶν ἀπέθανε παρα-
χρῆμα. οὕτω δὴ οὕτως ἐτελεύτησε.

⁷⁵ 63, D. ὡς φῶκαι καὶ κροκόδειλοι καὶ οἱ πόταμοι ἱπποὶ, καὶ βάτραχοι, καὶ καρχῖνοι.

⁷⁶ Cf. Herodotus, II., 71.

"In what way will the carved things cry out, carved from wood and stone or other material, formed by the art of man into images either of four-footed brute animals, or birds, or reptiles, such as the simulacra of the Egyptians."⁷⁷ Herodotus mentions in many places the various images and the interest in them that the Egyptians showed.⁷⁸

In his Commentaries upon the Hexaemeron, Basil uses many peculiar ideas about natural history, two of which are taken directly from Herodotus. He says that "Vipers are born by gnawing through the womb of their mother (killing her), inflicting a proper return upon her."⁷⁹ Again he repeats the very idea in the same words in the second commentary upon psalm fourteen, saying, "Vipers are born by gnawing through the womb of their mother."⁸⁰

Basil's statement reproduces the story of Herodotus: "Being yet in the womb, they gnaw their mother, and having gnawed her womb, they make their entrance into the world."⁸¹

The remaining reference comes also in the Hexaemeron, when he states that "A lioness with difficulty gives birth to one lion."⁸² Herodotus has it: "The lioness, the strongest and fiercest of wild beasts, bears but one in her life."⁸³

Basil's remaining references that can be directly connected with Herodotus are scattered and without connection with each other. He speaks of the old age of Tithonus and Arganthonius, having said that he would reject the offer "If anyone were to proffer the age of Tithonus or of Arganthonius."⁸⁴ Tithonus has been mentioned. Herodotus tells of Arganthonius:

⁷⁷ 558, C. Πῶς ὁλοῦξαι γλυπτὰ, ἃ ἐκ ξύλου καὶ λίθου ἢ τινος ἄλλης ὕλης ἐστὶ μορφώσεως αὐτὰ τῆς τέχνης εἰς ἀνθρώπων εἰκόνας ἢ ζώων ἀλόγων τετραπόδων ἢ πτηνῶν, ἢ καὶ ἐρπετῶν, ὅλα τὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐστὶν ἀφιδρώματα;

⁷⁸ Cf. Herodotus, II., 4, 131, 143, 176, etc.

⁷⁹ 85, A. Καὶ ἐχιδναὶ τὰς μήτρας ἐκφαγοῦσαι προέρχονται πρέποντας τῇ γεννησαμένη τοὺς μισθοὺς ἐκτινύουσαι.

⁸⁰ 111, D. τὰς ἐχίδνας λέγουσι τὴν γαστέρα τῆς μητρὸς διεσθίουσας τίττεσθαι.

⁸¹ Herodotus, III., 109. ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ ὄντα τὰ τέκνα διεσθίει τὴν μητέρα διαφαγόντα δὲ τὴν νηδὺν αὐτῆς οὕτω τὴν ἐκδυσιν ποιεῖται.

⁸² 85, A. ὅθεν λέοντος ἐνὸς μόλις ἡ λέαινα μήτηρ γίνεται.

⁸³ Herodotus, III., 108. ἡ δὲ δὴ λέαινα ἐὼν λασυρότατον καὶ θρασύτατον, ἀπαξ ἐν τῷ βίῳ τίττει ἐν.

⁸⁴ 184, C. Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὸ Τιθωνοῦ τις γῆρας, καὶ τὸ Ἀργανθωνίου λέγει . . .

ruled over Tartessus eighty years, and he lived altogether one hundred and twenty."⁸⁵

In the same work occurs another stray reference: "I do not see, except as it is in the fables of the dragons, that it is pleasant or satisfactory to keep guard over treasures that have been buried."⁸⁶ Herodotus tells at length of the gold guarding griffins of Scythia and the one-eyed Arimaspi who inhabited the country and who fought with the griffins for the gold.⁸⁷ The same fantastic theme must have been well known to the poets. Aeschylus has a line in *Prometheus Bound*, "The one-eyed equestrian army of Arimaspians."⁸⁸

The Scythians were always known to the Greeks as an equestrian and nomadic nation. Basil is aware of the rough and uncivilized habits of these peoples, and calls attention to them in a homily upon the psalms: "The Scythian nomads are trained in rough and inhuman customs."⁸⁹ The same subject is discussed at length by Herodotus in his book upon the Scythians.⁹⁰

Speaking of the relative length of days in the different latitudes, and the shorter days in the more northern places, Basil says, "It is this which happens to all of us 'hetero-skii' who inhabit the northern regions of the earth."⁹¹ Herodotus has left the oldest recorded idea upon the alteration of shadows according to the changing position of the sun. He tells of Phoenician navigators who sailed around Africa, and noted in the course of their voyage that the position of the sun altered, being first upon one hand, and when they returned upon the other.⁹²

In Basil's *Consolatio ad Aegrotum* is found a parallelism to some passages upon a corresponding subject in Herodotus. The saint points out the uncertainty of human efforts and the fleeting nature of human gain, and indicates ways to happiness and the life of a man who would attain happiness. He concludes, "Such

⁸⁵ Herodotus, I., 163. Ἀργανθώνιος ἐτυράννευσε δὲ Ταρτησοῦ ὀγδώκοντα ἔτη· ἐβίωσε δὲ πάντα εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν.

⁸⁶ 83, A. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὐχ ὀρώ πλὴν εἰ μὴ κατὰ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς μύθοις δράκοντας ἔδοντ' ἔνα φέροι θησαυροῖς κατοικωσμένους ἐπαγωγινεῖν.

⁸⁷ Cf. Herodotus, III., 116, IV., 13, 27.

⁸⁸ *Prometheus Bound*, 805. τὸν τε μουνῶκα στρατὸν Ἀρμασπὸν ἱεσπέρειον.

⁸⁹ 102, C. Σκόθαι δὲ Νομάδες, ἀνημέροις καὶ ἀπανθρώποις συντραφέντες ἦσαν.

⁹⁰ Cf. Herodotus, IV., 62-73.

⁹¹ 57, C. καὶ τοῦτο παρ' ἡμῖν τοῖς ἑτεροσκήοις λεγόμενοις δοσι τὰ ἀρετὰ τῆς γῆς ἐκποιῶμεν.

⁹² Cf. Herodotus, IV., 42.

is the life of man, a stormy sea, an unsteady wind, an inconstant dream, a wandering river, a vanishing smoke, a receding shadow, an ocean stormy with breakers, the tempest awe inspiring, the vessel unsafe, and we, the sailors, asleep."⁸³ Herodotus takes up the theme of the vanity of human wishes and gives the pagan conception of happiness. He relates the story of Tellus, the Athenian, who after a blameless life died fighting for his country, and again the case of Cleobis and Bito, who earned happiness by filial piety, and with it the praise of the people and a reward from the gods, who sent them a happy and painless death before age had brought any of life's evils. The changeable nature of human things seems strongly evident to both authors.⁸⁴

Basil's acquaintance with Thucydides shows but slightly. He writes in a letter to Gregory, "Assuredly Alcmaeon, having found the Echinades, did not wish to go further."⁸⁵ Alcmaeon is used as an instance of someone halting after arriving at a goal, only with the greatest difficulty. Thucydides narrates at length the whole story: "It is said that Alcmaeon, son of Amphiaraus, was told by Apollo, while wandering after the murder of his mother, to settle in this land, hinting at no deliverance from his terrors until Alcmaeon had found a place not in existence and not seen by the sun at the time he killed his mother, for the rest of the world was cursed for him. And he, wandering, as they say, with difficulty, discovered this mud deposit of the Achelous, and it seemed to him that enough earth had accumulated to support a person during the time that he had been wandering after killing his mother. There he settled . . ."⁸⁶

Basil says in a letter to Martinianus, "When I speak of the Podandus, suppose that I am referring to the Spartan Ceadas, or

⁸³ Consolatio ad Ægrotum. τοιοῦτος ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίος ἀστατος θάλασσα δὴρ ἀνώματος θναρ ἀβέβαιον ὁσῦμα παρατρέχον, καπνὸς διαλαεχόμενος, σκαὶ μεταπηδῶσα πέλαγος ὑπὸ κυμάτων ἐνοχλούμενον. καὶ ἡ μὲν ζάλη φοβερά ὁ δὲ πλοῦς ἐκασφαλὴς οἱ δὲ ἐπαβᾶται νυστάζοντες.

⁸⁴ Cf. Herodotus, I., 30, 31.

⁸⁵ Letter 14. Πάντως γὰρ οὐδὲ Ἀλκμαίων Ἐχινάδας εὐρὼν ἔτι τῆς κλάνης ἤνεσχετο.

⁸⁶ Thucydides, II., 102. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἀλκμείωνι τῷ Ἀμφιάρεω ὅτε δι᾽ ἀλᾶσθαι αὐτὸν μετὰ τὸν φόνον τῆς μητρός, τὸν Ἀπόλλων ταύτην τὴν γῆν χρῆσαι οἰκεῖν ὑπειπόντα οὐκ εἶναι λύσιν τῶν δειμάτων πρὶν ἂν εὐρὼν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ κατοικήσῃται ἥτις ὅτε ἔκτεινε τὴν μητέρα μήπω ὑπὸ ἡλίου εὐφράτο μηδὲ γῇ ἦν ὥς τῆς γε ἄλλης αὐτῷ μεμιασμένης. ὁ δ' ἀπορῶν ὥς φασὶ μάλιστα κατενόησε τὴν πρόσχωσιν ταύτην τοῦ Ἀχελφου, καὶ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ ἱκανὴ ἂν κεῖσθαι δίαιτα τῷ σώματι ἀφ' οὗτερ κτείνας τὴν μητέρα οὐκ ἔλλειγον χρόνον ἐπλανᾶτο καὶ κατοικισθεῖς.

any natural fissure that you have seen."⁹⁷ Thucydides mentions the Spartan Ceadas. The pit outside the city into which dead criminals were cast was long called by this name. Thucydides, in telling of the death of the Spartan general, Pausanias, says, "They were about to cast him into the Ceadas, where they throw criminals."⁹⁸

Of the ten references which Basil makes that can be referred to Plutarch, three deal with Alexander the Great. This is not at all strange, considering what a noted character he was in Greek history and how he dazzled the Greek imagination as no one had done since Achilles. Basil twice finds opportunity to make mention of Pericles, but the remainder of the observations are scattered.

In the speech To the Youths, Basil argues for self-restraint, urging the need of respect for others, and telling a story of Alexander: "I will not pass the deed of Alexander, who, having captive the daughters of Darius, whose beauty was said to be unusual, did not think it right to look at them."⁹⁹ Plutarch, after discussing the treatment of the prisoners, concluded by saying, "Displaying, in opposition to the beauty of their appearance, the fairness of his own control and moderation, he passed them by as though they were but lifeless images."¹⁰⁰

Urging charity in judging, Basil backs up his argument with a story of how Alexander acted in a difficult case: "Imitate Alexander, who received a letter saying that his physician was plotting his death. At the very moment when about to drink the medicine he was so far from believing the slanderer that he at one and the same time read the letter and drank the draught."¹⁰¹ Plutarch

⁹⁷ Letter 74. *ὅταν δὲ Ποδανδὸν εἶπω τὸν Κεάδα μὲ οἶον λέγειν τὸν Λακωνικὸν ἢ εἰ ποὺ τῆς οἰκουμένης εἶδες βάραθρον αὐτοφνές.*

⁹⁸ Thucydides, I., 134. *Καὶ αὐτὸν ἐμέλλησαν μὲν εἰς τὸν Καιάδα (οἷον τοὺς κακούργους) ἐσβάλλειν.* The traveler Pausanias mentions the pit also. Cf. Description of Greece, IV., 18, 4, 1. There is a casual notice in Strabo of such natural pits, which were called Kaietoi. Cf. Strabo, Geographica, VIII., 367.

⁹⁹ 179, A. *οὐκ ἂν παρέλθοιμι τὸ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὃς τὰς θυγατέρας Δαρείου αἰχμαλώτους λαβὼν θαυμαστόν τι οἶον το κάλλος παρέχειν μαρτυρομένης οὐδὲ προσίδειν ἡξίωσιν.*

¹⁰⁰ Life of Alexander, 21. *ἀντιπαθευόμενος δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἰδέαν τὴν ἐκείνων τὸ τῆς ἰδίας ἐγκρατείας καὶ σωφροσύνης κάλλος, ὥστερ ἀψύχους εἰκόνας ἀγαλμάτων παρέτεψεν.*

¹⁰¹ Letter 272. *τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον μιμούμενος ὃς ἐπιστολὴν κατὰ τοῦ ἱατροῦ δεξάμενος ὥς ἐπαβουλεύοντος ἐπειδὴ ἔτυχεν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ καιρῷ φάρμακον λαβὼν ὥστε πιστεῖν τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχε πιστεῦσαι τῷ διαβάλλοντι, ὥστε οἱοῦ τε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀναγίνωσκε καὶ τὸ φάρμακον ἔπινεν.*

gives the story: "When the time appointed was at hand, and Philip (Philip, the Acarnian, Alexander's physician) came in with the king's medicine in a cup, Alexander handed him the letter, while he himself took the medicine with readiness and no sign of suspicion. It was an amazing sight then, and one well worthy of the stage, the one reading the letter, the other drinking the medicine . . ."¹⁰²

The last reference to Alexander occurs in a letter from Basil to Elias. When asking impartiality, he says, "You remember that Alexander, as they say, when one of his friends was being calumniated, left one ear open to the slanderer, and carefully closed the other with his hand, with the object of showing that he, whose duty is to judge, ought not to be easily and entirely given to those who first get a hearing, but should keep half his hearing for the defense of those absent."¹⁰³ Plutarch gives the same story, though for once in a more abridged form. He writes, "It is said that at first, when he was trying capital cases, he would put his hand over his ear while the accuser was speaking that he might keep it free and unprejudiced for the accused."¹⁰⁴

In discussing moderation and self-control, Basil uses a story that was current about Pericles. "A man of the agora abused Pericles,"¹⁰⁵ Basil writes. He was a ruffian of exceedingly low character, according to Plutarch, who says that he insulted Pericles at opportunity throughout the day, but Pericles, "When he was about to go home, as it was already growing dark, ordered one of his domestics to take a torch and accompany the man guiding him to his home."¹⁰⁶

Basil remarks that the conduct of Pericles and Euclid conform

¹⁰² Life of Alexander, 19, 3. ὡς δὲ τοῦ καιροῦ παρόντος εἰσῆλθε μετὰ τῶν ἐταίρων ὁ Φίλιππος τὸ φάρμακον ἐν κύλικι κομίζων, ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἐπέδωκε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ φάρμακον ἐδέξατο προθύμως καὶ ἀνυπόπτως, ὥστε θαυμαστὴν καὶ θεατρικὴν τὴν ὄψιν εἶναι, τοῦ μὲν ἀναγιγνώσκοντος, τοῦ δὲ πίνοντος.

¹⁰³ Letter 94. καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνον φασι διαβαλλομένου τινὸς τῶν συνήθων τὴν μὲν ἐτέραν τῶν ἀκοῶν ἀνεῖναι τῷ διαβάλλοντι τὴν δὲ ἐτέραν ἐπαμειβόμενος ἐπαφράξασθαι τῇ χειρὶ. ἐνδεικνύμενον οὕτω δέοι τὸν ὁρθῶς κρίνειν μέλλοντα μὴ ὅλον εὐθὺς τοῖς προλαβοῦσιν ἀπάγεσθαι ἀλλὰ τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς ἀκοῆς ἀκροῶναι διασώζειν πρὸς ἀπολογίαν τῷ μὴ παρόντι.

¹⁰⁴ Life of Alexander, 42. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὰς δίκας διακρίνων ἐν ἀρχῇ τὰς θανατικὰς τὴν χεῖρα τῶν ὄτων τῷ ἐτέρῳ προστιθέναι τοῦ κατηγοροῦ λέγοντος ὅπως τῷ κινδυνεύοντι καθαρὸν φυλάττεται καὶ ἀδιάρητον.

¹⁰⁵ 178, B. οἶον, ἐλοιδορεῖ τὸν Περικλέα τῶν ἐξ ἀγορᾶς τις ἀνθρώπων.

¹⁰⁶ Life of Pericles, 5. ὡς δ' ἐμελλεν εἰσέναι σκότους ὕπτος ἤδη προσέταξε τινὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν φῶς λαβόντι παραπέμψαι καὶ καταστήσαι πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν τὸν ἀνθρώπον.

to the Christian precepts: "The deed of Pericles or of Euclid accords with this 'to bear with those who persecute you, and endure their anger mildly.'"¹⁰⁷

In a letter to Libanius Basil works in the famous story of Theseus and the Cretan Labyrinth: "Going back again to seek for the right order, retreating and following the furrow, like Theseus in the story, as they say, following Ariadne's thread."¹⁰⁸ Plutarch in his life of Theseus tells the story with all its details. In regard to the affair of the Labyrinth, Plutarch says, "When Theseus sailed to Crete, as most of the poets and historians say, he got a thread from Ariadne, who had fallen in love with him, and was instructed by her how to find his way through the windings of the Labyrinth . . ."¹⁰⁹

The story of the first Gallic invasion of Italy, of how Brennus and his men very nearly took the Capitol, but were frustrated by the sacred geese, furnishes an anecdote for the Hexaemeron: "When the enemy was advancing by subterranean passages to the peak of the Capitol of Rome to take it, the sacred geese announced the danger."¹¹⁰ Plutarch tells it thus: "The geese, being specially wakeful and restless by reason of their hunger, perceived the approach of the Gauls and dashed at them with loud cries and so waked the garrison."¹¹¹

In another part of his commentaries upon the Hexaemeron, Basil describes the faithfulness of dogs, referring to a type of incident that Plutarch uses in his life of Pyrrhus. Basil remarks that "Many dogs are said to have fallen dead in lonely places by their murdered masters, and others when a crime has been committed have led those who were searching for the murderer, and caused the criminals to be brought to justice."¹¹² Plutarch's story

¹⁰⁷ 179, D. τὸ δὲ τοῦ Περικλέους ἢ τὸ Εὐκλείδου τῷ τοὺς διώκοντας ὡπαμένειν καὶ πρῶως αὐτῶν τῆς ὀργῆς ἀνέχεσθαι.

¹⁰⁸ Letter 334. ἀνατρέχειν ἔδει πάλιν καὶ τὴν τάξιν ἐπζητεῖν ἀναποδίζοντα καὶ παρεπόμενον τῷ αὐλακῇ καθάπερ τὸν Θησέα τῷ μίτῳ τῆς Ἀριάδνης φασί.

¹⁰⁹ Theseus, 19. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέκλευσεν εἰς Κρήτην ὥς μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ γράφουσι καὶ ἄδουσι παρὰ τῆς Ἀριάδνης ἐρασθείσης τὸ λίνον λαβὼν καὶ διδάχθεις ὥς ἔστι τοῦ Λαβυρίνθου τοὺς ἐλιγμοὺς διεξελθεῖν.

¹¹⁰ 78, C. πολεμίους τινὰς ὑπὸ γῆς δι' ὑπονόμων ἀφανῶν ἦδη μέλλοντας τὴν ἀκρὰν τῆς Ῥώμης καταλαμβάνειν καταμηνύσαντες.

¹¹¹ Camillus, 27. ἐκείνοι δὲ καὶ διὰ λυμῶν ἀγρυπνητικοὶ καὶ θορυβώδεις γεγονότες ταχὺ τὴν ἐφοδὸν ἥσθοντο τῶν Γαλατῶν καὶ μετὰ δρόμου καὶ κλαγγῆς φερόμενοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπήγειραν ἅπαντας.

¹¹² 84, D. ὅπου γε καὶ φονευθεῖσι δεσπόταις κατ' ἐρημίαν πολλοὶ τῶν κνῶν ἐπαποθανόντες μνημονεύονται. Ἦδε δὲ τινες ἐπ' ἐμφύτῳ πάθει καὶ ὀδηγοὶ τοῖς ἐκζητοῦσι τοὺς φονεὰς ἐγένοντο καὶ ὑπὸ δόλῳ ἀχθῆναι τοὺς κασιόργους ἐποίησαν.

is as follows: "King Pyrrhus, going upon a journey, chanced upon a dog guarding the body of a murdered man . . . (He ordered the body buried and the dog brought along with him. After a considerable length of time the dog came into the presence of the criminals.) . . . When he saw the murderers of his master present he rushed upon them with violence and barking . . . and they say that the dog of Hesiod, the philosopher, did the very same things."¹¹³

Writing to Candidianus, Basil tells of the affairs of Demosthenes in comparison with those of Candidianus: "I could compare the condition of your affairs with Demosthenes. He, indeed, you remember, when he furnished choruses with a few choristers and flute players, wished no more to be called Demosthenes, but choregus."¹¹⁴ Plutarch makes the following remark upon the same case: "Demosthenes, who is now not Demosthenes, but law-giver, choregus, and crown-bearer."¹¹⁵

Urging Martinianus to stand fast by his expressed political principles, Basil writes: "You will thus either prove some help to the state or you will at least have done what Solon did."¹¹⁶ He then goes on to tell the story of how Solon, when the Pisistrids seized the Acropolis, being then an old man and unable to prevent the action, put on his arms and sat down before the gate to indicate that he was not in sympathy with the move. Plutarch has it, that Solon "Went to his house and, taking his arms, put them in the street before the gate, saying, 'I have done all I can to help the country and the law.'"¹¹⁷ Aristotle mentions the case in his Constitution of Athens, using it to illustrate his theories of government.¹¹⁸ Diogenes Laertius also speaks of it and gives the

¹¹³ Plutarch, *De Sollertia Animalum*, 13. Πύρρος δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁδεύων ἐνέτυχε κυνὶ φρουροῦντι σῶμα πεφονευμένου . . . ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς φονεὰς τοῦ δεσπώτου παριόντας εἶδεν ἐξέδραμε μετὰ φωνῆς καὶ θυμοῦ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς . . . ταῦτά δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἡσιόδου κύνα τοῦ σοφοῦ δρᾶσαι λέγουσι.

¹¹⁴ Letter 3. τοῦτο δὲ πρὸς τὰ Δημοσθένους τὰ σὰ κρίναντι. ὅτι ὁ μὲν ἐπειδὴ ὀλίγαις τισὶ χορευταῖς καὶ αὐληταῖς ἐχορήγει οὐκέτι ἡξίου Δημοσθένους ἀλλὰ χορηγὸς ὀνομάζεσθαι.

¹¹⁵ Plutarch, *Præcepta Gerendae Reipublicae*, 22. ὅτι νῦν οὐκ ἔστι Δημοσθένης μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεσμοθέτης ἢ χορηγὸς ἢ στεφανηφόρος.

¹¹⁶ Letter 74. "Ἡ γὰρ γενήσῃ τι ὄφελος τοῖς κοινοῖς ἢ τό γε τοῦ Σόλωνος πεποιημένως ἔσῃ.

¹¹⁷ Solon, 30. ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ λαβὼν τὰ ὄπλα καὶ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν θέμενος εἰς τὸν στενωπὸν, Ἐμοὶ μὲν εἶπεν, ὥς δυνατόν ἦν βεβοήθηται τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τοῖς νόμοις.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Aristotle, *Politeia Athenaiou*, 14, 2.

answer that Solon was supposed to have made on being reproached for his behavior.¹¹⁹

In the case of Xenophon there is very little to indicate the extent of Basil's readings in or familiarity with this author. Xenophon speaks of the "mandrake, which gives men sleep."¹²⁰ Basil uses the same expression. In the *Hexaemeron* he says that "By the mandrake physicians give us sleep."¹²¹ The thought is the same as well as part of the wording, but the connection is loose. Such a remark proves nothing. The other instance is a story cited by Basil in the address To the Youths. Xenophon relates at length in his *Memorabilia* the tale of Heracles and his choice between Vice and Virtue.¹²² The theme is an old one and did not originate with Xenophon. The use that Basil makes of the story gives good grounds for suspecting that he had Xenophon's version in mind, especially as he quotes a notable verse, also quoted in Xenophon's text. The Greek, too, shows numerous resemblances.¹²³

The story of Milo, which Basil refers to, may be from Pausanias. Milo, according to the latter's account, was a famous wrestler of Crotona. Basil says that Milo would cling to a greased shield, and that his strength was so great that no one could push him off: "Milo could not be moved from his shield, but pushed, as he was, clung to it no less firmly than statues that are soldered with lead."¹²⁴ Pausanias tells the same story: "He would stand on a greased quoit, laughing at those who tried to shove him and push him off."¹²⁵

With Basil affairs that appeal to the dramatic and excitable parts of his hearers' or readers' natures are far more to the point than cold facts. This was natural, for he sought effect. Many references point to Herodotus, who was a born story-teller, but not an historian.

Basil's historical field is not very wide, and the range of authors that he seems to have in mind for ready reference is not

¹¹⁹ Cf. Diogenes Laërtius, Solon, 49.

¹²⁰ Symposium, 2, 24. ὁ μανδραγόρας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κοιμίζει . . .

¹²¹ 43, D. Διὰ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ μανδραγόρου ὕπνον ἰατροὶ κατεπάγουσιν.

¹²² Cf. Xenophon *Memorabilia*, II., 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26.

¹²³ Cf. 178, B-C. Cf. Dörrens, *Op. cit.*, for a detailed parallel of the two passages.

¹²⁴ 180, D. Καὶ ὁ γε Μίλων ἀπὸ τὴν ἀγλημμένης ἀσπίδος οὐκ ἐξωθεῖτο ἀλλ' ἀντείχεν ὠθούμενος οὐχ ἥττον ἢ οἱ ἀνδριάντες οἱ τῷ μολύβῳ συνδεδεμένοι.

¹²⁵ Pausanias, VI., 14. ἰστάμενος δὲ ἐπὶ ἀγλημμένῳ τῷ δίσκῳ γέλωτα ἐποιεῖτο τοὺς ἐμπέτοντάς τε καὶ ὠθοῦντας ἀπὸ τοῦ δίσκου.

very great. It will be seen that historical events that are of much importance and widely known are practically impossible to assign to any definite author. It is necessary in such cases to point out which writers do mention them and which ones Basil probably read. He made eighteen references that are easily traceable to Herodotus, but only two to Xenophon, twenty-four to Plutarch and two to Thucydides. In the case of Plutarch it was necessary, though, to divide the references according to philosophy and history. Those that had to do with history are all that have been treated in this chapter. The remaining ones will be found among the philosophical references.

In the ideas derived from Herodotus, mention of the great invasion of Greece by Xerxes occurs four times. Three references occur to Lydia, two being to Croesus, and one to the gold of the country. Three notices appear that trace readily to the book upon Egypt. Two observations upon natural history, one of which is repeated in another passage, point to the third book of Herodotus. The five remaining references are scattered and without connection among themselves.

Basil's method of referring to incidents of an historical nature is the next point to be considered. It is never precise. He uses an instance in a way that to an historical reader is neither definite nor informative. He inserts his allusions gracefully, but, of course, gives no hint of where he got them. His use is purely literary and not at all historical or scientific.

The situation runs true to form. For Basil was a product of the second sophistic. We can assume that his presentation was truthful as far as he knew, but we can see that it was not specific. We recognize a fundamental basis of fact behind the general incidents to which he airily refers, but we perceive that his references are consistently vague.

We cannot think that he subordinates facts to his fancies, but we know that he uses facts loosely to illustrate his fancies. We can grant that he would not change facts, but we know that he gives the facts in his own language and with his own ideas of presentation, which latter were suited to his imaginative audience. And an historical event is easily altered in the hands of a speaker bent upon presenting it dramatically to his audience. Recording of history was not his object. An impression upon his hearers meant much. Thus, his use of history is literary or rhetorical, and never technical nor historical.

CHAPTER V

THE PHILOSOPHERS

1. *Early philosophers.*

Among the very ancient philosophers Prodicus, of Ceos, was one of the most noted characters. Basil's solitary connection with him is related to an instance already discussed under Xenophon. The origin of the story about Heracles' choice between vice and virtue is attributed by Socrates to Prodicus, though there is no extant writing of any sort which can be attributed to Prodicus directly. Besides the reference already given under Xenophon, the only other source from which we can draw information about the story is a scholium on Aristophanes' *Clouds*.¹ Basil could have heard the story from many sources unknown to us. In the speech *To the Youths*, Basil remarks, after enlarging upon the necessity of choosing virtue, "And indeed the sophist Prodicus, of Ceos, somewhere in his writings has set forth views resembling these about virtue and vice, and he is a man to whom we must give attention, for he is not to be slighted."²

The ancient philosopher Zeno receives two notices, one in a letter to Olympius and one on the *Hexaemeron*. Personified philosophy, who is supposed to be speaking, says, "I choose to live with this man (Basil), who admires Zeno. That illustrious man having lost all his property in a shipwreck, cried out in no unmanly way, 'Well done, O Fortune, you have reduced me to a well worn cloak.'"³ Zeno, as the founder of the Stoic school, was famous, and innumerable stories grew up about the Stoics. Another reference to a Stoic doctrine set forth by Zeno is rather

¹ Cf. Diels, *Fragmente d. Vorsokratiker*, Vol. II.

² 177, A. Καὶ μὴν καὶ ὁ Κεῖός που σοφροσῆς Πρῶδικος τῶν ἑαυτοῦ συγγαμμάτων ἀδελφὰ τοῦτοις εἰς ἀρετὴν καὶ κακίαν ἐφιλοσόφησεν, ᾧ δὴ καὶ περὶ τὴν διάνοιαν προσεκτέον. οὐ γὰρ ἀπόβλητος ὁ ἀνὴρ.

³ Letter 4. Τοῦτ' ἐρ συνουκεῖν εἰλόμην ἐγὼ νῦν μὲν τῶν Ζήνωνα ἐπαινοῦντι, ὃς νασαγίῳ πάντα ἀπαβαλὼν οὐδὲν ἀγενὲς ἐφθέξατο. ἀλλ' Ἐὐγε, εἶπεν, ὃ τέχῃ συναλαύνεις ἡμᾶς εἰς τὸ τριβῶναιον.

vague. After arguing that the nature philosophers disagree among themselves, Basil goes on to say of the sea that the heat of the sun, evaporating the water, "leaves behind the salt and bitterness of the water, and by reason of the warmth absorbs the pure and drinkable mollicules."⁴ The idea is paralleled by a stray remark in Diogenes Laertius' life of Zeno: "The moon is more earth-like, being nearer the earth, and the fiery masses and the other stars are nourished from the great sea, and even the sun is intellectual and kindled from the sea."⁵ How they are nourished or from what particles of sea water they draw power is not clear. Such ideas were very old and had been threshed over again and again in various schools. Diogenes in the same article repeatedly cites men who are only names to us, and who had written book after book, not one of which has come down. Most of these confused theories are almost beyond definite location.

Basil throughout his works shows many traces of acquaintance with the early philosophers. For instance, he cites a teaching as in the case of Heraclitus, "The essence of fire is necessary to the universe."⁶ This was the thesis of Heraclitus, who entered many fields and endeavored to find the first cause of things. Basil remarks of these early philosophers that "Some had recourse to material principles and attributed the origin of the universe to the elements of the world."⁷

In this characterization he probably had in mind the Atomists. He seems to have had a poor opinion of the Stoics, saying, "Let the supporters of impiety hereafter be classed with the Stoics and Epicureans."⁸ In a letter to Amphilochius he brings up a quotation, perhaps not offered in earnest, speaking of "The weighty problem put by Eucratites, 'Why do we not eat everything?'"⁹ Eucratites does not appear among the pre-Socratics and was probably one of the quibbling sophists.

Basil speaks of the books of the philosopher Dionysius, writ-

⁴ 30, A. Καὶ προσέτι ἄλμυρὰν καὶ πικρὰν ἀπολείπεσθαι τοῦ λεπτοῦ καὶ ποτίμου ὑπὸ τῆς θερμῆς ἀναλωθέντος.

⁵ Diogenes Laertius, VII., Zeno. (145). γεωδεστέραν δὲ τὴν σελήνην ἄτε καὶ προσγειοτέραν ὅσαν τρέφεσθαι δὲ τὰ ἔμπυρα ταῦτα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀστρα, τὸν μὲν ἥλιον ἐκ τῆς μεγάλης θαλάττης νοερόν ὄντα ἀναμμα.

⁶ 27, C. 'Επειδὴ ἀναγκαῖα τῷ παντὶ τοῦ πυρὸς ἡ οὐσία.

⁷ 3, A. Διὰ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς ὑλικὰς ὑποθέσεις κατέφυγον, τοῖς τοῦ κόσμου στοιχείοις τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ παντὸς ἀναθέντες.

⁸ 36, C. 'Ονομαζέσθωσαν λοιπὸν μετὰ Στωικῶν καὶ 'Επικουρεῶν οἱ διαψηφιστὰι τῆς ἀσεβείας.

⁹ Letter 236. τοῖς δὲ κομποῖς 'Εγκρατίταις πρὸς τὸ σεμνὸν αὐτῶν πρόβλημα διὰ τί καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐχὶ πάντα ἐσθίομεν.

ing to Maximus, another philosopher, "What you mentioned of the writings of Dionysius reached us and, indeed, they were very many."¹⁰ This man was an Alexandrian, a scholar, a philosopher, a man of letters, and his books would naturally have an interest for Basil.

Diogenes Laertius appears in a secondary sense in some of Basil's allusions. His lives of the Philosophers gave him, of course, wide reputation, and in the case of many very old systems and men his word was, even in Basil's day, practically the only authority. His presentation is faulty and imperfect, but such as it is, his record is valuable. Basil does not name him at all, but tells incidents that Diogenes has recorded, offering a fair ground for comparison. The references are well scattered. There is one in a letter, two in the speech To the Youths, and four in three different homilies of the Hexaemeron.

The remark in the letter is to the story of Cleanthes, who was very poor and got the money to support himself and pay for education by working at night at a public well, drawing water. Basil refers to himself as a "Great admirer of Cleanthes, who drew water from a well for pay, whence he supported himself and paid his teachers."¹¹ Cleanthes was called the "Water-Drawer." Diogenes says that Cleanthes "Was poor and very anxious to get some money. He pumped water by night in the gardens and by day busied himself with his studies, hence he was called the Water-Drawer."¹²

Both of the references in the speech To the Youths deal with the Seven Wise Men of Greece. Basil says, "Is not rather the word of Pittacus true, who said, 'It is difficult to be good'?"¹³ The life of Pittacus was a theme for much legend. Diogenes says that the following saying (of Pittacus) has been handed down, "It is difficult to be good."¹⁴ The same remark is celebrated by Simonides, with whom, as already seen, Basil is acquainted. "Truly it is difficult for a man to be good," writes Simonides,

¹⁰ Letter 9. "Α δὲ ἐπιζητεῖς τῶν Διονυσίου ἤλθε μὲν εἰς ἡμᾶς καὶ πᾶν κολλᾷ.

¹¹ Letter 4. νῦν δὲ τὸν Κλεάνθη μισθῷ ὕδαρ τοῦ φδέατος ἀπαντλοῦντα ὅθεν αὐτός τε διέζη, καὶ τοῖς διδασκάλοις μισθοὺς ὑπετέλει.

¹² Diogenes Laertius, VII., Cleanthes. ὃς γε πένης ὦν ἄγαν ὥρμησε μισθοφορεῖν. Καὶ νύκτωρ μὲν ἐν τοῖς κήποις ἦντλει μεθ' ἡμέραν δ' ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἐγυμνάζετο. ὅθεν καὶ Φρεάντλης ἐκλήθη.

¹³ 181, C. Ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀληθὴς μᾶλλον ὁ τοῦ Πιττακοῦ λόγος, ὃς χαλεπὸν ἐφησεν ἐσθλὸν ἔμμεναι;

¹⁴ Diogenes Laertius, I., Pittacus. Εἰπέ τε, χαλεπὸν ἐσθλὸν ἔμμεναι.

naming Pittacus in connection with the idea, further in the poem.¹⁵

The other reference to a Wise Man is to Bias: "Bias, when going with his son to Egypt, said to him as he inquired what course of action he could please his father with, 'Prepare an allowance for your old age.'"¹⁶

The remark attributed to Bias by Diogenes reads, "From youth cultivate wisdom as a resource for old age. For this is surer than your other possessions."¹⁷ Basil had been arguing on the value of an education.

In homily three of the Hexaemeron he leads up to a view perhaps attributable to the philosopher Democritus: "For there are some among them (the pagan philosophers) who say that infinite heavens and worlds exist."¹⁸ This view may be referred likewise to Anaximander. Diogenes Laertius gives it as one of the opinions of Democritus: "The world is boundless, but it had an origin and is destructible."¹⁹ But Anaximander stated outright that "The Beginning and Principle (of all things) is the Infinite."²⁰ So that the exact origin of the idea is in some doubt and, like many other early speculations, had probably been long used before being assigned to one man or a few.

A fragment of verse attributed to Solon has already been seen. In addition one other and very vague possible reference appears in the Hexaemeron. Basil has compared the weakness of the pagan philosophical and scientific systems to a spider's web, which holds only the weak, "But when one of the stronger animals approaches it, it pushes through easily, dragging the thin substance with it."²¹ Solon's idea is parallel: "He said that the word was the image of the deed. That the king was strongest by reason of his might, but the laws are like spiders' webs, for they, if any-

¹⁵ Cf. Simonides, Anthologia Lyrica, fr. 3 (12).

¹⁶ 184, B. 'Ο μὲν οὖν Βίας τῷ υἱεὶ πρὸς Αἰγυπτίους ἀπαίροντι καὶ πυνθανομένῳ τι ἂν ποιῶν αὐτῷ μάλιστα κεχαρισμένα πράττοι. 'Εφόδιον, ἔφη, πρὸς γῆρας κτησάμενος.

¹⁷ Diogenes Laertius, I., Bias (88). ἐφόδιον ἀπὸ νεότητος εἰς γῆρας ἀναλαμβάνει σοφίαν. βεβαιότερον γὰρ τοῦτο τῶν ἄλλων κτημάτων.

¹⁸ 24, A. Εἰσὶ γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς οἱ ἀπείρους οὐρανοὺς καὶ κόσμους εἶναι φασίν.

¹⁹ Diogenes Laertius, IX., 7, Democritus (44). ἀπείρους τ' εἶναι κόσμους καὶ γενητούς καὶ φθαρούς.

²⁰ Diogenes Laertius, II., 1, Anaximander. οὗτος ἔφασκεν ἀρχὴν καὶ στοιχείον τὸ ἀπειρον.

²¹ 56, B. ἐπειδὴν δὲ τῶν ἰσχυροτέρων τι ζώων ἐγγίσῃ αὐτό τε ῥαδίως διεκλύπτεται καὶ τὰ ἀδρανῆ ὑφάσματα διέρρηξε καὶ ἠφάνισε.

thing light or weak falls in, stop it, but if anything strong, cutting through, it is gone."²²

In the eighth homily of the Hexaemeron, where he makes a final attack upon the pagan philosophers, Basil says, "Beware of those arrogant philosophers who are not ashamed to say that their souls resemble those of dogs, or believe that they were formerly women, or shrubs, or fish."²³ This statement, if Diogenes gives a correct account of Empedocles, is a direct attack upon that philosopher: "He taught that the soul put on the various forms of living and growing things."²⁴ Diogenes also credits Empedocles with the following statement, which, if true, explains Basil's remark very well: "Once, formerly I was a boy, then a girl, then a shrub, then a solitary bird, and a fish from the sea, a burnt offering."²⁵ The ideas about the transmigration of souls were very ancient. There is no absolute certainty that Empedocles was the man Basil had in mind, if indeed the saint were recalling a man and not a system.

Before Plato it might be well to trace out those authors of scientific work whose traces are found in Basil's writings. Strabo is the only one that can be referred to with any degree of probability. There are many ways in which a knowledge of geography could have been acquired besides by reading Strabo, and that Basil and Strabo use the same expressions proves nothing very definite. Basil says, for example, that "Some think the Hyrcanian and Caspian seas are enclosed in their own boundaries"²⁶ (meaning that they have no outlets), and the idea is possibly an echo of Strabo's statement that "From the Caspian sea the second sea takes its rise, into which the former empties. And this is called the Hyrcanian sea . . . It is a sea apart from the ocean."²⁷

²² Diogenes Laërtius, I., 2, Solon (58). ἔλεγε δὲ τὸν μὲν λόγον εἰδῶλον εἶναι τῶν ἔργων. βασιλέα δὲ τὸν ἰσχυρότατον τῇ δυνάμει. τοὺς δὲ νόμους τοῖς ἀραχνίαις ὁμοίους εἶναι μὲν ἐμπέση τι κοῦφον καὶ ἀσθενὲς στέγειν· εἰ δὲ μείζον διακόνῃαν οἴχεσθαι.

²³ 71, B. Φεῦγε φληγάφους τῶν σοβαρῶν φιλοσόφων, οἱ οὐκ αἰσχύνονται τὰς αὐτῶν ψυχάς, καὶ τὰς κυνείας ὁμοειδεῖς ἀλλήλαις τιθέμενοι. οἱ λέγοντες αὐτοὺς γεγενῆσθαι ποτε, καὶ γυναῖκας, καὶ θάμνους, καὶ ἰχθύας θαλασσίους.

²⁴ Diogenes Laërtius, VIII., 2, Empedocles (77). Καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν παντοία εἶδη ἔφωσεν καὶ φυτῶν ἐνδύεσθαι.

²⁵ Diogenes Laërtius, VIII., 2, Empedocles (77). "Ἦδη γάρ ποτ' ἐγὼ γενόμεν κοῦρός τε κόρη τε θάμνος τ' οἰανός τε καὶ ἐξ ἄλλος ἔμπαρος ἰχθύς.

²⁶ 36, A. Εἰ καὶ τὴν Ὑρκανίαν οἰονταὶ τινες καὶ τὴν Κασπίαν περιγεγράφθαι καθ' αὐτάς.

²⁷ Strabo, 507, C. Ἡ δὲ δευτέρα μερὶς ἀρchetαι μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Κασπίας θαλάττης εἰς ἣν κατέκτανεν ἡ προτέρα. καλεῖται δ' ἡ αὐτὴ θάλαττα καὶ Ὑρκανία . . . ἔστι δ' ὁ κόλπος ἀνέχων ἐκ τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ . . .

Strabo refers to an "inflow" with regard to this sea, but mentions no outlet. Even in the time of Herodotus the Greeks had collected much stray information about the country.

In a succeeding book of the *Hexaemeron* Basil uses an expression that Strabo employs. Speaking of different kinds of sea fish, Basil says, "Some are known to fishers of the Indian Ocean, others to Mauretanians."²⁸ In Strabo the word *Maurusia* or the *Maurusians* is used to signify Mauretania or the Mauretanians, Strabo mentioning these fishers who "With these boats sail as far as the river Lixus on fishing trips around *Maurusia*."²⁹

2. *Plato.*

Basil's studies in Plato cannot well be gauged by the way in which he names or instances the pagan writer, and yet it is interesting to note that he refers to Plato by name oftener than to any other Greek writer. He names Plato seven times and Aristotle but three. The number of passages that can be traced out in Basil as showing a dim connection are legion. This similarity shows itself in many fields besides that of literature itself. Naming an author, or a direct quotation, or a passage with obvious resemblances, can be recognized as a literary effort on the part of the man who produces them, for such citations generally have a direct literary purpose. But the fainter resemblances that are scattered throughout are more difficult to classify. In all such cases memory has undoubtedly been affected by past reading, but to say that such reminiscent passages, vague and half formed and totally beyond the grasp of an audience, unless one extraordinarily well read and informed and acute, are employed for literary effect, is passing beyond the bounds of legitimate direct effect. This is entering a department of thought which is individual, but affected by other men's ideas in the general way that every one's ideas are affected by the thoughts and opinions of those around him. Such sections of text are a legitimate field for speculation, but to judge that a close connection follows is making too little allowance for the effort of the writer in question. It must be remembered that Basil was himself something of a genius and had solved many philosophical problems.

Like any other sophistic speaker, he had the end in view all

²⁸ 64, B. "Ἄλλα γνωρίζουσιν οἱ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἀλιεῖοντες θάλασσαν . . . καὶ ἄλλα Μαυρούσιοι.

²⁹ Strabo, C., 99. Τούτοις δὲ πλεῖν μέχρι τοῦ Λίξου ποταμοῦ περὶ τὴν Μαυρουσίαν ἀλιευομένους.

the time. An impression was a great thing. He stood for the truth, but the truth had to be presented so as to suit his Asiatic audience, and the use of a famous name or of a striking story was a great stroke of oratory and well applauded among his eastern hearers. They liked that style of address.

Those references that occur in the *Hexaemeron* are generally of an uncertain nature. In this work Basil was reinforcing his sermons with a wealth of ideas partly his own, partly taken from all sorts of writers. About natural history he shows a vast series of notions, often incorrect, which may have been borrowed from Aristotle or Aelian. Similarly, other views that he advances may be cited from other authors. Yet topics of natural history would have been within the reach of anyone, and could hardly be assigned definitely to any one man. Some of these ideas are also partly theological or philosophical, and it is difficult to distinguish whether the trend of thought which led to their introduction and which influenced their quality and position in the discourse was more philosophical or more the hope of driving home an argument by the aid of a great philosopher's thoughts and reputation.

In the *De Misericordia et Judicio* Basil shows but one very noticeable instance, the use of an expression which Plato employs many times in a sense analogous to that which Basil evidences: "Pity him whom you have unjustly treated, and dispose yourself toward him with brotherly love."⁸⁰ Plato has the same use of the expression "to dispose" in many sections. For instance, "He disposed them for the strengthening of the state."⁸¹ A mental attitude is signified.

In the speech *To the Youths* there are three cases that are pretty certainly developed from Plato, and three more in which the philosopher is named outright. Some of Basil's references are, of course, extremely condensed. For example, he says, in referring to the pagan poets and their writings, "We shall strongly approve those passages in which they praise virtue, or condemn vice."⁸² This statement comes at the end of a section in which he assails the poets for their frequent representations of vicious con-

⁸⁰ *De Misericordia et Judicio*, 702, B. 'Εκείνον ἐλέησαν ὃν ἀδικεῖς. Εἰς τοῦτον καταχεῖσθαι τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ.

⁸¹ *Republic*, 520, A. ἀλλ' ἵνα καταχεῖται αὐτὸς αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν σύνδεσμον τῆς πόλεως.

⁸² 176, C. Ἄλλ' ἐκεῖνα αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἀποδεξόμεθα, ἐν οἷς ἀρετὴν ἐπηγεσαν ἢ πονηρίαν διέβαλον.

duct in men and gods. In a very concise form it is the summary of long arguments by Plato in the Republic.²⁵

Basil once uses an aphorism partly reproduced from Plato: "That which is seen is not the man."²⁶ It would be stretching the meager thread of evidence far to say that the expression is Platonic, but it is paralleled in the pseudo Axiochus. After the flight of the soul "The body remaining, which is earthy and irrational, is not the man."²⁷

Attacking deceitful appearances, Basil says, "If any belief is to be had in Plato, it is the last extreme of injustice for one to pose as good who is not."²⁸ Basil handles the idea well, for his statement is almost a replica of Plato's: "The worst injustice is to seem just when one is not."²⁹ Again in a succeeding passage Basil calls Plato by name and makes a significant mention of St. Paul: "One should indulge his desires, as Plato says, to that extent by which right living is served, or as Paul says, somewhere in a similar passage, 'Make no provision for the lusts of the flesh.'"³⁰

This is an excellent instance of the connections so called that sometimes appear in source studies. This idea is in the very basis of Christian doctrine, and set down by St. Paul. Here it is very well paralleled in Plato. But it would be ridiculous to say that Plato's view affected St. Paul's. Cases of so-called influence are frequently built up, though on no more evidence. Further in the same chapter Basil again names the philosopher, and urging restraint instead of too much attention to bodily comfort, reinforces his argument with an appropriate story: "Therefore, they say that Plato, looking forward to the harm that might come from undue attention to the body, selected with malice aforethought as his Academy the unhealthy part of Attica, so that he might cut

²⁵ Cf. Republic, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383.

²⁶ 181, C. *ὅτι οὐ τὸ ὁρώμενον ἔστιν ὁ ἄνθρωπος.*

²⁷ Axiochus, 365, E. *τὸ ὑπολειφθὲν σῶμα γεῶδες ὄν καὶ ἄλογον οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ ἄνθρωπος.*

²⁸ 178, A. *'Ἄλλ' οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἔσχατος τῆς ἀδικίας ὁρος εἰ τι δεῖ Πλάτωνι πείθεσθαι τὸ δοκεῖν δίκαιον εἶναι μὴ ὄντα.*

²⁹ Republic, 361, A. *ἔσχατη γὰρ ἀδικία δοκεῖν δίκαιον εἶναι μὴ ὄντα.*

³⁰ 182, B. *ὅσον φησὶ Πλάτων ὑπερβολὴν φιλοσοφίᾳ κταμένου ἐουκῆτα που λέγων τῷ Παύλῳ ὅς παραινεί μηδεμίαν χρῆναι τοῦ σώματος πρόνοιαν ἔχειν εἰς ἐπιθυμιῶν ἀπορμήν.*

Cf. Plato, Republic, III., 411. Throughout this and succeeding chapters Plato argues for temperance in athletics and education by which an even mean between physical and mental powers can be reached and the best sort of education result. Cf. St. Paul, To the Romans, XIII., 14.

away undue comforts of the body, as one cuts away excessive development of the vines."³⁹

In the letters Basil introduces three instances from Plato, all of which are brought in neatly for rounding out the general idea, and are very effective. It is worth noticing, too, that a student of Basil must beware of forming opinions of the saint's writings, based upon the letters. For Basil was not professedly literary in his works, and many of his productions are severely doctrinal. But the one field in which he did permit himself some relaxation was his correspondence. Letters addressed to literary and political great men show a style that seldom, if ever, appears in his other productions.

A letter to Candidianus, who was the governor of Cappadocia and a man of consideration, contains various allusions for a well-read man, and among them one to Plato: "As Plato says, in the storm and turmoil of business, you stand aside as if under some strong wall, letting none of this confusion affect your soul . . ."⁴⁰ Suggesting a resemblance between the affairs of this man and of Plato was something of a compliment, too. The idea is much the same with the philosopher. He compares the man who pursues philosophic tranquillity and thought to "One who, in a storm of dust and snow, driven by a rushing wind, retreats under the shelter of a wall."⁴¹

In a letter to Diodorus, Plato comes to the front as a graceful writer, and some other philosophers are compared with him not at all to their advantage. The letter itself is a discussion of the style of some books sent to Basil, and literary views come out naturally in such a composition: "Your good taste has perceived that those pagan philosophers who wrote dialogues, Aristotle and Theophrastus, went straight at the matter, knowing that they were not gifted with the graceful style of Plato. Plato, in contradistinction with his vigor of style, assails such and such opinions,

³⁹ 182, C. Διὸ δὴ καὶ Πλάτωνα φασὶ τὴν ἐκ σώματος βλάβην προῖδόμενον τὸ νοσῶδες χωρίον τῆς Ἀττικῆς τὴν Ἀκαδημίαν καταλαβεῖν ἐξεκρίτηδες, ἵνα τὴν ἄγαν ἐπαύθειαν τοῦ σώματος ὅλον ἀμπέλου τὴν εἰς τὰ περιττὰ φορὰν περιωρόνται.

It does not appear where Basil heard this story. In the neighborhood of Athens a great mass of legend grew up around Plato and such stories were on the order of the Platonic and Socratic teachings of self restraint and voluntary deprivations of comfort.

⁴⁰ Letter 3. ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἐν χειμῶνι καὶ ζάλῃ πραγμάτων ὅλον ἐπὶ τείχει τινὶ μακροφῶ ἀποστάς, οὐδενὸς θορύβου τὴν ψυχὴν ἀναπύμλασαι.

⁴¹ Republic, 496, D. ὅλον ἐν χειμῶνι κονιορτοῦ καὶ ζάλης ἐπὶ πνεύματος φερομένου ἐπὶ τείχιον ἀποστάς.

ridiculing the people in question, now rebuking the rashness and forwardness of Thrasymachus, now the light mindedness and ignorance of Hippias, and now the arrogance and pretensions of Protagoras. When he brings into his dialogue persons not introduced he uses the questioners to make a point clear, but brings into the dialogue nothing else about these persons. There is evidence of this in the *Laws*.⁴² The first book of the *Laws* offers a fair example of the introduction of characters to clarify a dialogue. An Athenian stranger talks to a Cretan Cleinas and at odd intervals a Spartan Megillus throws in explanatory remarks or questions designed further to bring out the truth. Megillus is in every sense a secondary character, whose statements are of the briefest sort, befitting his Spartan nature, it is true, but very curt and blunt nevertheless. The philosophers mentioned by Basil were all ridiculed by Plato in different works. He introduces Thrasymachus into the *Republic*, and throughout the first book has him worsted in a debate with Socrates. Hippias and Protagoras appear as the sophistic opponents of Socrates in the *Protagoras*, and at the end are seen refuted.

In a letter to Libanius, Basil brings in a reference to Plato. He says of Libanius in the letter, "This *γριπίζειν* is said to mean "to gain," and has this signification which your sophistic ingenuity has drawn from the depths of Plato."⁴³ *γριπίζειν* is a rare word, signifying "to fish," and the use of it here is figurative.

In none of the references in the *Hexaemeron* is the philosopher named outright. They are much scattered, showing that connections with Plato are well divided among Basil's different views. In the opening homily Basil states briefly a thought that Plato puts forth at great length in the *Timaeus*. Talking about the wordy arguments of philosophers upon the nature of the heavens, Basil says, "Some of them say that the heavens are composed of

⁴² Letter 135. 'Εκείνο γὰρ πάντως συνείδε σοῦ ἡ ἀρχίνοια ὅτι καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν φιλοσόφων οἱ τοὺς διαλόγους συγγράψαντες Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ Θεόφραστος, εὐθὺς αὐτῶν ἦσαν τοῦ χάριτος τὴν ἐνδειαν. Πλάτων δὲ τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τοῦ λόγου ὁμοῦ μὲν τοῖς δόγμασι, μάχεται ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ παρακωμωδεῖ τὰ πρόσωπα, Θρασύμαχου μὲν τὸ θρασὺ καὶ ἰταμόν διαβάλλον, Ἰππίου δὲ τὸ κοῦφον τῆς διανοίας καὶ χαῦνον, καὶ Πρωταγόρου τὸ ἀλαζονικὸν καὶ ὑπερόγκον. ὅπου δὲ ἀόριστα πρόσωπα ἐπεισάγει τοῖς διαλόγοις τῆς μὲν εὐκρινείας ἕνεκεν τῶν πραγμάτων κέχρηται τοῖς προσδιαλεγόμενοις οὐδὲν δὲ ἕτερον ἐκ τῶν προσώπων ἐπεισκηκεῖ ταῖς ὑποθέσεσιν διὰ τοῦτο ἐποίησεν ἐν τοῖς Νόμοις.

⁴³ Letter 348. Εἰ τὸ κερδαίνειν τοῦτο γριπίζειν λέγεται καὶ ταύτην ἔχει τὴν σημασίαν ἡ λέξις, ἦν ἐκ τῶν Πλάτωνος ἀδύτων ἡ σοφιστικὴ σου ἡμῖν προεχειρίσατο.

four elements, being tangible and visible, earth for its solidity, fire because it is perceptible, and for the rest air and water because of the mixture."⁴⁴ These theories are discussed through the seventh book of the *Timaeus*. As in the case of many of these repetitions of ideas, Basil expresses briefly what the pagan philosopher took a great deal of space to set forth and elucidate. In the second homily Basil states in a sentence a series of half paradoxical ideas that Plato dwells upon prosily in the *Phaedo*. Plato begins, "And some one of those present, hearing this, said—whoever he was, I do not recall clearly—'By the gods, did we not agree before in our debates on the very opposite of the things now said, that the greater is generated from the less and the less from the greater, and in the case of opposites that this absolutely was their origin, from opposites.'"⁴⁵ Plato goes on to talk about opposites and incorrect notions concerning them, wandering through a multitude of other ideas. Perhaps with the same thought in mind, Basil says, "Life does not engender death, darkness is not the origin of light, sickness is not the maker of health."⁴⁶ He had been arguing that evil could not come from God, but that like comes from like, and good from good, an idea that Plato clears up after considerable wandering.

In the third homily he returns to Platonic similarities. Writing about the philosophers, he says that "Indeed, they state as a principle that there is only one heaven."⁴⁷ The theory of Plato is worded clearly: "Then can we rightly affirm that heaven is one, or would it be more correct to speak of numerous and boundless heavens? One it must be, if it is created according to design."⁴⁸

Again Basil says of the motion of the spheres and of the stars that "These circles, as they (the philosophers) say, being carried in an opposite direction to the motion of the world, and striking

⁴⁴ 10, B. και οι μὲν σύνθετον αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων εἰρηκάσιν ὡς ἀπὸν ὄντα καὶ ὁρατὸν καὶ μετέχοντα γῆς μὲν διὰ τὴν ἀντιτυπίαν, πῶρος δὲ διὰ τὸ καθορᾶσθαι, τῶν δὲ λουπῶν διὰ τὴν μίξιν.

⁴⁵ *Phaedo*, 103. Καὶ τις εἶπε τῶν παρόντων ἀκούσας—δοσις δ' ἦν οὐ σαφῶς μένινμαι—Πρὸς θεῶν οὐκ ἐν τοῖς προδθεν ἡμῖν λόγοις αὐτὸ τὸ ἐναντίον τῶν νυνὶ λεγομένων ὁμολογεῖτο ἐκ τοῦ ἐλάττονος τὸ μείζον γίνεσθαι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μείζονος τὸ ἐλαττον καὶ ἀτέχνως αὕτη εἶναι ἡ γένεσις τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων;

⁴⁶ 16, C. οὔτε γὰρ ἡ ζωὴ θάνατον γεννᾷ οὔτε τὸ σκότος φωτὸς ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ οὔτε ἡ νόσος ὑγίαιας δημιουργός.

⁴⁷ 23, D. Ἐνα γὰρ ὑποτίθεται οὐρανόν.

⁴⁸ *Timaeus*, 31, A. πότερον οὖν ὁρθῶς ἓνα οὐρανὸν προσειρήκαμεν ἢ πολλοὺς καὶ ἀτείρους λέγειν ἦν ὁρθότερον; ἓνα εἴπερ κατὰ τὸ παράδειγμα δεδημιουργημένους ἔσται.

the aether, make a sweet and harmonious melody not to be equaled by the finest music."⁴⁹ There is no doubt that this is from Plato. The idea of the music of the spheres is very old.⁵⁰

In the fourth homily is an idea, also extremely condensed, which Plato gives at length. Speaking of musicians, whom he condemns, Basil says, "The notes of harpers and flute players are filled with sensuality."⁵¹ Plato would have all these piping musicians banished from his ideal state: "What then? Would you admit flute players and flute makers into the state? . . . Certainly not, said he."⁵² Most of these finely wrought forms of melody were connected in one way or another with the dissipations of the times, and both Plato and Basil recognized a danger that accompanied them. Basil's remark would be obvious to any one who had acquaintance with Plato and his theories upon government.

In the sixth homily the saint makes use of an expression practically proverbial, but well used by Plato. He mentions those "Who overstep the bounds," making scripture their argument for astrological forecasts of birth."⁵³ The first part of the expression is repeated in Plato: "I seem to be making longer question than is fitting and to be stepping over the bounds."⁵⁴ Basil endeavors to impress his hearers with the relativity of sizes: "If you have ever viewed a great flat plain from the peak of a lofty mountain, how large did the team of oxen look to you? And how large did the farmers look? Did they not resemble ants?"⁵⁵ Plato in the *Phaedo* makes use of a similar idea. He speaks of the different parts of the world and argues that they are not so large as the parts then unknown to the Greeks. "Moreover, then," said he, "the earth is very large, and we who inhabit the part from the river Phasis up to the Pillars of Heracles are living in a small part

⁴⁹ 24, C. τούτους δὲ τὴν ἐναντίαν τῷ παντὶ φερομένους περιοριζομένους τοῦ αἰθέρος αὐτοῖς εἰσὶν ἡχοὶ καὶ ἑναρμόνιον ἀποδιδόναι φθόγγον ὥστε πᾶσαν τὴν ἐν μελωδίαις ἡδονὴν ὑπερβάλλειν.

⁵⁰ Cf. Republic, 617, 618, for a detailed account of how this music is produced and the motion of the spheres.

⁵¹ 33, A. τὰ τῶν καθαρῶν ἢ τὰ τῶν αἰσθητῶν κρούματα μιμουμένους.

⁵² Republic, 399, D. τί δέ; αὐλοποιούς ἢ αὐλητάς παραδέξει εἰς τὴν πόλιν; . . . Δῆλα δὲ, ἢ δ' ὅς.

⁵³ 54, A. Ἄλλ' οἱ ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐσκαμμένα πηδῶντες ἐπὶ τὴν συνηγορίαν τῆς γενεθλιαλογίας τὸν λόγον ἔλκουσι.

⁵⁴ Cratylus, 413, A. δοκῶ τε ἤδη μακρότερα τοῦ προσήκοντος ἐρωτᾶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐσκαμμένα ἐλλεσθαι.

⁵⁵ 59, C. Εἰ ποτε ἀπὸ ἀκρωρείας μεγάλης πεδίον εἶδες πολὺ τε καὶ ὑψιτον, ἡλίκα μὲν σοὶ τῶν βοῶν κατεφάνη τὰ ζεύγη; πηλίκαι δὲ οἱ ἀροτῆρες αὐτοί; Εἰ μὴ μυρμηκῶν τινὰ σοὶ παρέσχον φαντασίαν;

around the sea, like frogs or ants around a pond, and elsewhere many other nations live in similar places."⁵⁶ The *Liber de Spiritu Sancto* is of a very technical nature, and the instances that occur here are not at all certainly of a literary nature. Basil remarks in one place upon the balance of the earth and its poise among the heavens in terms like these: "He it is Who holds the earth, surrounding it with His grasp, Who has arranged everything in order and adorned it, Who gave the mountains their poise and divided the waters."⁵⁷

The ideas about the divisions of the water and the poise of the hills are probably scriptural. Plato argues, "Well, then, first of all, I am persuaded, said he, that the earth is a round body in the center of the heavens, and that it has no need of air or any other such force to support it, but the equilibrium of the heavens is sufficient to keep it there, and then, too, there is the equipoise of the earth itself. For anything that is in an equipoise, being in the middle, will not incline in any way—will remain the same, without deviation."⁵⁸

Later Basil makes use of an expression well used in the Platonic vocabulary: "The 'of which' does not always indicate the material as it seems to them (the pagan philosophers)."⁵⁹

It is certain that besides these scattered and more obvious ideas that are partly taken from Plato and sometimes expressed in words borrowed or derived from him, many other passages contain notes that have a striking resemblance. A difficulty is to decide where the relationship of any particular section ceases to be a philosophical influence and begins to be a literary use. Since Basil shows little evidence of being engaged in producing literature with a literary taste or development and no more, while he is deeply interested in the thoughtful side, it is difficult to say how

⁵⁶ Phaedo, 109, B. "Ἐτι τοίνυν ἔφη παμμεγὰ τι εἶναι αὐτὸ καὶ ἡμᾶς εἰπεῖν τοὺς μέγροι Ἡρακλείων σπηλαίων ἀπὸ Φάσιδος ἐν σμικρῷ τιμὴ μορίῳ ὥστερο περὶ τέλμα μύρμηκας ἢ βατράχους περὶ τὴν θάλατταν οἰκοῦντας καὶ ἄλλους ἄλλοι πολλοὺς ἐν πολλοῖσι τοιοῦτοις τόποις οἰκεῖν.

⁵⁷ *Liber de Spiritu Sancto*, 7, C. Ὁὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ συνέχων τὴν γῆν καὶ περιδεσφαιμένος αὐτῆς. ὁ δὲ εἰς τὰξιν πάντα καὶ διακόσμησιν ἀγαγών. ὁ καὶ ὕδασι λωορροσίαν καὶ ὕδατι μέτρα.

⁵⁸ Phaedo, 109, A. Πέπεισμαι τοίνυν ἢ δ' ὅς ἐγὼ ὡς πρῶτον μὲν εἰ ἐστὶν ἐν μέσῳ τῇ οὐρανῷ περιφερῆς οὐσα μηδὲν αὐτῇ δεῖν μήτε ἀέρος πρὸς τὸ μὴ πεσεῖν μήτε ἄλλης ἀνάγκης μηδεμίας τοιαύτης ἀλλὰ βιανὴν εἶναι αὐτὴν ἰσχεῖν τὴν ὁμοιότητα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ αὐτοῦ ἑαυτῇ πάντῃ καὶ τῆς γῆς αὐτῆς τὴν ἰσορροσίαν, ἰσορροπὸν γὰρ πρᾶγμα ὁμοῖον τινὸς ἐν μέσῳ τεθὲν οὐχ ἔξει μᾶλλον οὐδ' ἥτιον οὐδαμῶς κλιθῆναι ὁμοίως δ' ἔχον ἀκλινὲς μενεῖ.

⁵⁹ 5, A. οὐ γὰρ πάντως τὸ εἶναι οὐ τὴν ὕλην σημαίνει καθὼς ἐκείνους δοκεῖ.

far literary influences are carried. Past question the general style and diction are much affected. A detailed analysis of any large section reveals many striking similarities in the trend of thought, the manner in which an idea is developed, and finally in the syntax.

But examining Basil's use of Plato, as evinced by citing the philosopher's name, the occasional partial quotation, and what was as effective, the occasional condensation of well known Platonic passages, shows that Basil made a general and open use of Plato to a great extent and an undersurface employment that in a hidden and half-conscious way enormously surpasses the visible use. Basil had sounder and more stable premises from which to reason, and the advantage of using the truths of revealed religion as a guide. In all these points a vague similarity is bound to exist, for they reasoned much alike, and in such thinking is always the tendency to use established terms, and for thought to follow well defined channels. These facts result in many places in a certain sameness of presentation. Keeping these points in mind, the true literary influence of Plato upon Basil will perhaps be more clearly recognized and better presented for an understanding of the two men.

3. *Aristotle.*

For the purpose of discussing Aristotle's connection with Basil, it will be best first to consider Basil's references and parallelisms with the Greek in connection with other early thinkers. Thus many of Aristotle's own views come out, expressed principally in the *De Caelo* and *Meteorologica*, with observations upon the theories of earlier men who wrote upon the same subjects. Basil gives such passages scant notice, yet it is significant that he always understands well the meaning of the part referred to, thus giving an index to his reading of the whole. Thales, the Milesian; Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, Democritus, and Pythagoras, and Xenophanes, of Colophon, are the men brought to light and criticized. Nine instances belonging to this class occur in the *Hexameron*, and two in the *Liber de Spiritu Sancto*. Four are in the opening homily, and three of these bear upon Aristotle's *De Caelo*. Basil's remark has to do with the old theory that the earth floated upon a bed of air: "If you say of the earth that it reposes upon a bed of air, you raise a difficulty."⁹⁹ Aristotle takes up the idea: "For Anaximenes and Anaxagoras and Democritus say that the

⁹⁹ 9. B. 'Εάν τε γὰρ ἀέρα φῆς ὑποστρεφόμεθα κλίνει τῆς γῆς ἀναρήσεις.

cause of its remaining as it is, is the breadth, for it does not cut through, but floats upon the aether that is beneath it.⁶¹ These speculations of Ionian nature philosophy are all repeated more or less throughout early philosophy. Basil notes the theory of Thales: "Again, do you suppose that the earth is supported by water?"⁶² But he gives no sign of where he learned it. Aristotle gives it, in speaking of different theories, and mentions the one "Which Thales, the Milesian, held, that the earth remained in space like a log floating, or some such thing, but it is no wise in the nature of these things to float upon air, but upon water."⁶³

Another idea from the *De Caelo* is paralleled when Basil says, in speaking of the immobility of the earth, that "By all necessity it is obliged to remain in its place, unless a movement contrary to nature should displace it."⁶⁴ Aristotle develops the idea in treating of the way bodies in motion sink toward a common center, where they remain as long as the conditions stay the same: "And moreover, the motion of the parts and of the whole body itself, according to nature, is toward the center of the whole."⁶⁵

The last instance of Aristotelian usage in the *Hexaemeron* is a remark about philosophers who tried to get beyond the four elements earth, air, fire and water. After arguing about certain hypotheses concerning them, Basil says, "It is because of the force of these reasons, say the inventors of the fifth kind of body for the genesis of heaven and the stars, that they are constrained to reject the system of their predecessors and have recourse to their own hypothesis."⁶⁶ Aristotle recognizes another vague and altogether unfathomable element, but he thinks that it is part of the composition of the soul, and hardly seems to use the notion

⁶¹ *De Caelo*, II., 13, 16. 'Αναξιμένης δὲ καὶ 'Αναξαγόρας καὶ Δημόκριτος τὸ πλάτος αἰτίον εἶναι φασὶ τοῦ μένειν αὐτήν. οὐ γὰρ τέμνειν ἄλλ' ἐπακρωματίζει τὸν ἀέρα τὸν κάτωθεν.

⁶² 9, B. Πάλιν ἐὰν ὑποθῇς ἑαυτῷ ὕδωρ εἶναι τὸ ὑποβεβλημένον, τῇ γῇ . . .

⁶³ *De Caelo*, II., 13, 13. ὅν φασιν εἰπεῖν Θαλῆν τὸν Μιλήσιον ὡς διὰ τὸ πρῶτον εἶναι μένουσαν ὥστερ ξύλον. ἢ τι τοιοῦτον ἕτερον καὶ γὰρ τούτων ἐπ' ἀέρος μὲν οὐδὲν πέφυκε μένειν ἄλλ' ἐφ' ὕδατος.

⁶⁴ 10, D. Πᾶσα γὰρ ἀνάγκη μένειν αὐτήν κατὰ χώραν ἢ παρὰ φύσιν κινουμένην τῆς οὐκείας ἔδρας ἐξίστασθαι.

⁶⁵ *De Caelo*, II., 14, 5. ἔτι δ' ἡ φορὰ τῶν μορίων καὶ δλης αὐτῆς ἢ κατὰ φύσιν ἐπὶ τὸ μέσον τοῦ παντός ἐστίν.

⁶⁶ 11, D. Διὰ μὲν δὴ ταύτας ὡς φασὶ τῶν λογισμῶν τὰς ἀνάγκας τοὺς τῶν προαγόντων ἀθετήσαντες λόγους οὐκείας ὑποθέσεως ἐδεήθησαν οἱ πέμπτῃ σῶματος φύσιν εἰς τὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἀστέρων γένεσιν ὑποτιθέμενοι.

in the same sense that Basil would appear to give it: "Therefore, the power of the whole soul seems to participate in another body, more godlike than those things that are called elements. And as souls differ among themselves by nobility or ignobility, such difference, therefore, is the distinction of the body."⁶⁷

Basil criticized Xenophanes, of Colophon. Speaking of the support of the earth, he refers to the idea that it stands upon a base: "Even if we are able to imagine that, our reason will demand another support, and thus we come to the infinite, always imagining a base for the base that is already assumed."⁶⁸

Aristotle offers a reason of Xenophanes' theory. He mentions philosophers who were "Saying that the earth was rooted down to infinity, like Xenophanes, of Colophon, so as not to have the problem of looking for a cause."⁶⁹ Plato mentions the same theory, saying, "One man keeps the earth below the heaven by setting a vortex around, and another considers the earth a flat trough, being supported by a base of air."⁷⁰

Basil makes one reference to the Pythagoreans in a sense that closely follows Aristotle's views of them: "They (the pagan philosophers) call a strong body one which is compact and full."⁷¹ It appears that *ναστόν* is taken in the sense of close or firm, as Democritus uses it. Democritus opposes it to *κένον*, empty or void: "Aristotle writes in the first book about Philosophy of Pythagoras that the heavens are one, and that from infinity sprung time, and air, and the void that ever distinguishes the place of each."⁷² Other similarities in this homily bear more upon Meteorology:

⁶⁷ De Gen, Ani, II., 3, 11. Πάσης μὲν οὖν ψυχῆς δύναμις ἑτέρου σώματος ἔκεικε κεκοινωνεμένη καὶ θειοτέρου τῶν καλουμένων στοιχείων. ὥς δὲ διαφέρουσι τιμότητι αἱ ψυχαὶ καὶ ἀτιμία ἀλλήλων, οὕτω καὶ ἡ τοιαύτη διαφέρει φύσει.

⁶⁸ 9, C. Κἂν τι δυνηθῶμεν ἐκείνῳ συμπλάσαντες ὑποθεῖναι τὸ ἐκείνου πάλιν ἀντέρευσμα ὁ νοῦς ἡμῶν ἐπαζητήσῃ, καὶ οὕτως εἰς ἀπειρον ἐκπεσούμεθα τοῖς δὲ εὐρισκομένοις βάθεσσι ἕτερα πάλιν ἐπανοοῦντες.

⁶⁹ De Caelo, II., 13. ἐπ' ἀπειρον αὐτὴν ἐρριζῶσθαι λέγοντες ὥστερ Xenophάνης ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἵνα μὴ πράγματ' ἔχῃσι ζητοῦντες τὴν αἰτίαν.

⁷⁰ Phædo, 99, B. διὸ δὲ καὶ ὁ μὲν τις δίνην περιτιθεὶς τῇ γῇ ὑπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ μένειν δὴ ποιεῖ τὴν γῆν. ὁ δὲ ὥστερ καρδόσῃ πλατεῖα βάθος τὸν ἀέρα ὑπερείδει.

⁷¹ 25, D. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔξωθεν στερεὸν λέγουσι σῶμα τὸ οἶον ναστόν καὶ πλήρες.

⁷² Aristotle, Fragments, No. 201. ἐν δὲ τῷ περὶ τῆς Πυθαγόρου φιλοσοφίας πρώτῳ γράφει (Αριστοτέλης) τὸν μὲν οὐρανὸν εἶναι ἓνα, ἐπεισάγεσθαι δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἀπειρου χρόνον τε καὶ πνοὴν καὶ τὸ κενὸν καὶ δὲ διορίζει ἐκάστην τὰς χώρας ἀεὶ.

"By nature the sun is not fiery, and its heat develops, they affirm, from the speed of its revolution."⁷³

Aristotle states at more length the same ideas: "So we see that motion is able to divide the air, and to ignite it so much that very frequently by this motion things appear to be liquefied, and therefore as coolness or heat is thus generated, the rapid motion of the sun is alone able to bring this about."⁷⁴ In the same homily the saint gives Aristotle's ideas of the formation of snow: "Water, whipped by the blast of the wind, changes into foam, and passing through excessive cold, freezes completely and, breaking from the cloud, falls as snow."⁷⁵ Basil did not pretend to be a scientist, and most of his guesses in this department are taken at second hand. Aristotle has it: "It is likewise with frost and snow. For when a cloud becomes condensed there is snow, and if vapor there is frost."⁷⁶ The final instance in the Hexaemeron occurs in the fourth homily. This case is touched by other writers and is difficult to place with accuracy. Speaking of a projected canal at Suez, Basil says, "Thus we have abandoned this undertaking, as also did the Egyptian, Sesostris, who conceived the scheme, and Darius, the Mede, who later planned to complete it."⁷⁷ The idea of putting a canal through the isthmus at Suez was an old one and had been tried out by different ancients. Aristotle agrees with the Sesostris theory: "Sesostris is said to have been the first of the ancients to put his hand to this, but he found the sea higher than the land (and hence desisted for fear of flooding the country)."⁷⁸

Herodotus has a different story, which is the same as regards the canal itself, but assigns a different reason for the cessation of efforts and gives another monarch credit for the attempt. "Neco," says Herodotus, "was the son of Psammetichus, and became king

⁷³ 29, B. Καίτοι γε οὐδὲ θερμὸν εἶναι τὸν ἥλιον ἐκείναι λέγουσι . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτου φασὶ τὸ θερμὸν ἐκ τῆς ταχέως εἶναι περιστροφῆς.

⁷⁴ Meteor, I., 3, 30: ὁρῶμεν δὴ καὶ κίνησιν ὅτι δύναται διακρίνειν τὸν ἀέρα καὶ ἐκποροῦν ὥστε καὶ τὰ φερόμενα τηρόμενα, φαίνεσθαι πολλάκις. τὸ μὲν οὖν γίγνεσθαι τὴν ἀλέαν καὶ τὴν θερμότητα ἱκανὴ ἐστὶ παρασκευάζειν καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἡλίου φορὰ μόνον.

⁷⁵ 30, B. ὅταν δὲ τὸ ὑγρὸν ἐξαφρισθῇ ταῖς βίαις τῶν ἀνέμων ἀνασπῶν εἴτα εἰς ἄκρον καταψυχθὲν ὅλον διόλου παγῇ θραυομένου τοῦ νέφους ἡ χιών καταφέρεται.

⁷⁶ Meteor, I., 9-12. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ πάχνη καὶ χιών. ὅταν γὰρ παγῇ τὸ νέφος χιών ἐστίν, ὅταν δ' ἡ ἀτμὶς πάχνη.

⁷⁷ 35, C. Διὰπερ ἐπέσχον τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ὃ τε πρῶτος ἀρξάμενος Σέσωστρις ὁ Αἰγύπτιος καὶ ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα βουλευθεὶς ἐπεξεργάσασθαι Δαρεῖος ὁ Μῆδος.

⁷⁸ Meteor, I., 14. λέγεται δὲ πρῶτος Σέσωστρις ἐπιχειρῆσαι τῶν παλαιῶν ἀλλ' εὗρεν ὑψηλοτέραν οὐσαν τὴν θάλατταν τῆς γῆς.

of Egypt. He was the first one to attempt the canal leading into the Red Sea, which Darius, the Persian, afterward dug . . . Neco then ceased in the midst of his digging, because an obstructing prophecy had arisen that he was laboring for a barbarian."⁷⁹

Outside the references already seen are a number of scattered ones, not to the philosophers, but to ideas they promulgated, and to Aristotle himself. The philosopher is named three times. One of these cases has been mentioned under Plato: "Those pagan philosophers who wrote dialogues, Aristotle and Theophrastus, went straight at the matter, knowing that they were not possessed of the graceful style of Plato." Other instances do not introduce comparisons. Two appear in the book against Eunomius. Aristotle's famous reasoning in syllogisms is first mentioned when Basil says, in general "There was need for us to learn of the syllogisms of Aristotle and Chrysippus."⁸⁰ The first book of the *Analytica Priora* is given over to a discussion of syllogistic reasoning. The other case in which Aristotle is named occurs further in the same work: "For there are, concerning habits and privations, the words of Aristotle, who says privations come after habits. Those are able to testify to this who have read the book inscribed with the *Categories* of Aristotle."⁸¹

The work that Basil had in mind is the *Categories* and section from chapter eight to a late part of chapter twelve is taken up with a discussion of habits and privations. The ready reference would indicate Basil's familiarity with the book.

Other notes in Basil's works are of a more indirect nature. One very striking one occurs with reference to the opening section of the *Nichomachean Ethics*. Basil says, "Hence, well have some men defined the good, as what all men seek."⁸² The second sentence of the *Ethics* begins, "Therefore, well have they defined

⁷⁹ Herodotus, II., 158. Ψαμμητίχου δὲ Νεκῶς παῖς ἐγένετο καὶ ἐβασίλευσε Αἰγύπτου, ὃς τῇ διώρυγῃ ἐπείχετο πρῶτος τῇ ἐς τὴν Ἑρυθρὴν θάλασσαν φερούσῃ, τὴν Δαρείου ὁ Πέρσης δεύτερα διώρυξε . . . Νεκῶς μὲν νῦν μεταξὺ ὁρύσσων ἐπαύσατο μαντηλίου ἐμποδίου γενομένου τοιοῦδε τῷ βαρβάρῳ αὐτὸν προεργάζεσθαι.

⁸⁰ *Liber adversus Eunomius*, 214, C. "Ἡ τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους ὄντως ἡμῖν καὶ Χρυσίππου συλλογισμῶν ἔδει πρὸς τὸ μαθεῖν.

⁸¹ 221, A. Ἀριστοτέλους γὰρ εἰσιν ὥς οἱ ἀνεγνωκότες εἰποῖεν ἂν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιγραφομέναις αὐτοῦ Κατηγορίαις. οἱ περὶ ἔξεως καὶ στερήσεως λόγοι δευτέρας εἶναι λέγοντος τῶν ἔξεων τὰς στερήσεις.

⁸² 160, A. Διότι καλῶς ὥρισαντο ἥδη τινὲς ἀγαθὸν εἶναι οὐ πάντα ἐφίεται.

the good, as that at which all men aim."⁸³ Others have had the same idea, but the concise wording of the two sentences gives them a noticeable resemblance. In the Hexaemeron occurs an example in the opening homily: "Among arts some have as their end production, and some theory."⁸⁴ Aristotle, in speaking of arts, says, "Every instance is either practical, poetical or theoretical."⁸⁵

In the opening chapter of the Ethics, Aristotle elaborates an idea much upon the same order. "Every art and every science," he says, "and likewise every activity and every act of choice, seem to aim at something good. Wherefore, well have they defined the good as that at which all men aim. But some distinction appears with reference to the ends. For some are energies and some are certain deeds outside the energies . . ."⁸⁶

In the second homily of the Hexaemeron, Basil gives Aristotle's philosophy in this fashion: "Matter is taken from the outside, art furnishes a form, and the work is thus composed simultaneously of matter and form."⁸⁷ Aristotle in his Metaphysics furnishes the germ for this argument: "All things developed are developed from something, and by something."⁸⁸ Many of the ideas of the older philosophers were worked over by later thinkers and more fully stated. In the third homily Basil returns to Aristotle: "What He holds as beautiful is that which shows in its perfection all the development of art, and that which points to the utility of its end."⁸⁹

In his Rhetoric the Greek philosopher has developed the idea thus presented: "That is beautiful which is praiseworthy also,

⁸³ Nichomachean Ethics, I., 1. διὸ καλῶς ἀπεφάνησαντο τάγαθὸν οὐ πάντ' ἐφίεται.

⁸⁴ 7, A. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ τῶν τεχνῶν αἱ μὲν ποιητικαὶ λέγονται αἱ δὲ πρακτικαὶ αἱ δὲ θεωρητικαί.

⁸⁵ Metaphysics, 5, 1. ὥστ' εἰ πᾶσα διάνοια ἢ πρακτικὴ ἢ ποιητικὴ ἢ θεωρητικὴ.

⁸⁶ Nichomachean Ethics, I., 1. πᾶσα τέχνη καὶ πᾶσα μέθοδος ὁμοίως δὲ πράξεις τε καὶ προαίρεσις ἀγαθοῦ τινος ἐφίεσθαι δοκεῖ. διὸ καλῶς ἀπεφάνησαντο τάγαθὸν οὐ πάντ' ἐφίεται. διαφορὰ δὲ τις φαίνεται τῶν τελῶν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ εἰσιν ἐνέργειαι, τὰ δὲ παρ' αὐτὰς ἔργα τινά.

⁸⁷ 13, B. Καὶ ἔστιν ἡ μὲν ὕλη ἔξωθεν παραλαμβάνομένη τὸ δὲ εἶδος παρὰ τῆς τέχνης ἐφαρμοζόμενον ἀποτέλεσμα δὲ τὸ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν συντιθέμενον ἐκ τε τοῦ εἶδους καὶ τῆς ὕλης.

⁸⁸ Metaphysics, VI., 7. πάντα δὲ τὰ γιγνόμενα ὑπὸ τέ τινος γίγνεται καὶ ἐκ τινος καὶ τι.

⁸⁹ 32, C. ἀλλὰ καλὸν τὸ τῷ λόγῳ τῆς τέχνης ἐκτελεσθὲν καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ τέλους εὐχρηστίαν σσηνεῖν.

besides being worthy, on its own merit, of choice, or that also which is good, and pleasant, because it is good."⁹⁰

In the eighth homily Basil again touches upon an Aristotelian theme, approaching this time to an idea in the Ethics. Speaking of the community life of birds, he says, "Very many others lead a common life, such as doves, cranes, starlings and daws."⁹¹ The community of daws was a proverb with Aristotle, "daw with daw"⁹² being commonly used in very much the same sense as "birds of a feather."

The seven references that occur in the *Liber de Spiritu Sancto* are all of a largely philosophical nature. Basil remarks upon the shallow systems of the pagan philosophers, "These cautious differences, which inexperienced thinking and empty error have given forth, our opponents in the beginning studied and admired, and then afterward took over these distinctions to the simple and unstudied doctrine of the Spirit, and this is for the disparagement of God, Who is the Word, and for the denial of the Divine Spirit."⁹³

Basil's idea is an insistence upon the vast difference between the pagan systems and the philosophy of the Christian life. Aristotle sets forth something of the same theory: "If there is any end for the activities which we choose on account of this end, and such other matters as we choose, and we do not select everything for either reason (for thus we would advance into infinity, as to an empty and vain desire), it is evident that this end must be what is good "and what is best."⁹⁴ Discussing the wording employed by pagan philosophers, Basil says, "They have led themselves into this error through their assiduous study of pagan authors, who employed the terms 'of whom' and 'through whom' to matters that were, according to their nature, distinct."⁹⁵

⁹⁰ Rhetoric, I., 9, 3. Καλὸν μὲν οὖν ἔστιν ὃ ἂν δι' αὐτὸ αἰρετὸν ὦν ἐπαινετὸν ἢ, ἢ ὃ ἂν ἀγαθὸν ὦν ἡδὺ ἢ ὅτι ἀγαθόν.

⁹¹ 73, B. Μυρία δὲ ἄλλα τὸν ἀθροισματικὸν ἡρηται βίον ὡς περιστεραί, καὶ γέραναι, καὶ ψῆρες, καὶ κολοιαί.

⁹² Nichomachean Ethics, VIII., 1, 6. κολοῖὸν ποτὶ κολοῖόν.

⁹³ 3, C. ταῦτα μαθόντες καὶ θαυμάσαντες οὗτοι τὰ ἐκ τῆς ματαιώτητος καὶ κενῆς ἀπάτης παρατηρήματα καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπλὴν καὶ ἀτεχνολόγητον τοῦ Πνεύματος διδασκαλίαν μετακομίζουσιν εἰς ἐλάττωσιν μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ Λόγου ἀθέτησιν δὲ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος.

⁹⁴ Nichomachean Ethics, I., 1. Εἰ δὴ τι τέλος ἐστὶ τῶν πρακτῶν ὃ δι' αὐτὸ βουλόμεθα τὰλλα δὲ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ μὴ πάντα δι' ἕτερον αἰρόμεθα (πρόβεισι γὰρ ὁστω γ' εἰς ἀπειρον ὥστ' εἶναι κενὴν καὶ ματαίαν τὴν ὁρεξιν), δῆλον ὡς τοῦτ' ἂν εἴη τάγαθόν καὶ ἀριστον.

⁹⁵ 5, A. ὠτηγάγετο μέντοι αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὴν ἀπάτην ταύτην καὶ ἡ τῶν ἔξωθεν παρατήρησις οἱ τὸ ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὸ δι' οὗ κεχωρισμένοι κατὰ τὴν φύσιν πράγμασι προσδιένεμαν.

The terms and their use, for which Basil lays Aristotle under contribution, are discussed at considerable length in the *Metaphysics* and *Physics* of Aristotle.⁹⁸ Later derivations and newer meanings that other philosophers might have read into these words are not available, and Basil may have had in mind other and quite different interpretations from the versions propounded by the thinker to whom the first statement can be attributed. But Basil's use of philosophic terms is very much like Aristotle's. For instance, "For thought cannot travel outside 'was' nor imagination beyond 'beginning.'" ⁹⁹ The term for imagination is Aristotle's and is defined by Aristotle as a movement of the mind, generated by sensation.⁹⁸ The ideas of "was" and "beginning" as philosophic terms were old and did not begin with Aristotle. Basil touches a note of the Pythagorean theories, which Aristotle also employs: "The variety of the universe sets forth well the excellence of His might."⁹⁹ The Pythagoreans use the same term that Basil employs for the variety, but give it the sense of arrangement: "They (the Pythagoreans) had such acknowledged principles to set forth in the numbers and the concords, and towards such things of the heavens as are affected and drawn, and toward the whole universe, inferring that these things fit the part with reference to the arrangement of the whole."¹⁰⁰

Again he makes use of an expression that was common among the pagan philosophers. Both the Pythagoreans and others used *συστοιχία* to signify a series of similar things. Aristotle has it in such a connection. Basil says, "When names are classified in the very same series of similar things, what chance is there for naming on this side connumeration and in that subnumeration?"¹⁰¹ Aristotle uses the same word in the *Ethics*: "The Pythagoreans would seem to speak more plausibly about this, putting in their

⁹⁸ Cf. *Metaphysics*, I., 3, and *Physics*, II., 3.

⁹⁹ 11, A. Ἀνέκβατον μὲν γὰρ διανοίας τὸ ἦν. ἀνυπέρβατον δὲ φαντασίας ἀρχή.

⁹⁹ De Anima, 429, a. ἡ φαντασία ὅν εἰς κίνησις ὑπὸ τῆς αἰσθήσεως τῆς κατ' ἐνέργειαν γινομένη.

¹⁰⁰ 15, A. Liber de Spiritu Sancto. Καὶ ἡ ποιικιλία τοῦ παντός διακόσμησις τὸ ὑπερέχον τῆς λογικῆς συνίστησιν.

¹⁰⁰ *Metaphysics*, 986, a., 5. Καὶ ὅσα εἶχον ὁμολογούμενα δεικνύναι ἐν τοῖς ἀρεθμοῖς καὶ ταῖς ἀρμονίαις πρὸς τὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πάθη καὶ μέρη καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὅλην διακόσμησιν ταῦτα συνάγοντες ἐφήμοσιν.

¹⁰¹ 37, A. τίνα ὅν ἔχει χώραν τὸ μὲν συναριθμεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ ὑπαριθμεῖσθαι λέγειν ἐν μιᾷ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ συστοιχίᾳ κατατεταγμένων τῶν ὀνομάτων;

series of the goods."¹⁰² In the twentieth chapter Basil dwells at length upon an idea that Aristotle develops at length in his *Politics*. Throughout the chapter Basil discusses slavery in a tone much like Aristotle's. The theory is this—that some people are naturally fitted to be slaves, for, being deficient in intelligence, and liable to be cheated or misused by unscrupulous persons, they are better off when attached to a wise and kind master, who will understand their difficulties and care for them properly. The theory was not an uncommon one.¹⁰³

Again in the twenty-sixth chapter Basil borrows an expression from Aristotle: "Form is said to be in matter, power is said to be in what can sustain it, and habit is in one who is moved by it, and so on."¹⁰⁴ Aristotle takes up an entire chapter with a discussion of definitions of matter and form.¹⁰⁵

Basil offers the following idea on the same lines as it is in Aristotle: "For if you take away the black, cold, weight and density, the characteristics that pertain to perception—in short, what we can see—a substance disappears."¹⁰⁶ Aristotle gives the same thought: "But with the length, and breadth, and depths taken away, we see nothing left, unless that which had been bounded by those qualities."¹⁰⁷

Speaking of various rivers, Basil is led into an error which Aristotle also commits. Basil says, "Others from the higher regions of the South flow through Aethiopia and discharge themselves, some into the outer sea and some into inaccessible seas—the Aegon, the Nyses and the Chremetes."¹⁰⁸ Aristotle writes, "And in like fashion those rivers flowing through Libya, from the mountains of Aethiopia, the Aegon, the Nyses, and the Chremetes

¹⁰² Nichomachean Ethics, I., 6, 7. Πιθανώτερον δ' εἰκόσιν οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι λέγειν περὶ αὐτοῦ τιθέντες ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀγαθῶν συστοιχίᾳ τὸ ἔν.

¹⁰³ Cf. Aristotle, *Politics*, I., sec. 5.

¹⁰⁴ 51, B. λέγεται μὲν ὅν τὸ εἶδος ἐν τῇ ὕλῃ εἶναι καὶ ἡ δύναμις ἐν τῷ δεστικῷ καὶ ἡ ἔξις ἐν τῷ κατ' αὐτὴν διακειμένῳ καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. *Metaphysics*, VI., 7.

¹⁰⁶ 9, B. Ἐὰν γὰρ ἀποστήσῃς τὸ μέλαν, τὸ ψυχρὸν, τὸ βαρὺ τὸ πυκνὸν τὰς κατὰ γεῦσιν ἐνυπαρχούσας αὐτῇ ποιότητας ἢ εἰ τινες ἄλλαι περὶ αὐτὴν θεωροῦνται οὐδὲν ἔσται τὸ ὑποκείμενον.

¹⁰⁷ *Metaphysics*, VI., 3. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἀφαιρουμένου μήκους καὶ πλάτους καὶ βάθους οὐδὲν ὀρώμεν ὑπολειπόμενον πλὴν εἴ τι ἔστι τὸ ὀριζόμενον ὑπὸ τούτων.

¹⁰⁸ 28, A. Ἄλλοι ἐκ τῆς μεσημβρίας ἀνωθεν διὰ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔρχονται θάλασσαν οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἔξω τῆς πλεομένης ἀποκεινούνται. ὁ τε Αἰγὼν καὶ ὁ Νύσης καὶ ὁ καλούμενος Χρεμέτης.

the greatest of them."¹⁰⁹ There are no large rivers in the section Basil had in mind, and the streams that flow from upper Egypt fall into the Nile. The remaining mass of reference and evident parallelism from Aristotle is practically all from the *Hexaemeron* and is very largely taken up with a discussion of birds and fishes and animals in the different days of creation. The ideas were all taken from some easily available natural history or from memory, and may have been learned in any of a great number of ways. Such references are treacherous, for while indicating a possible great familiarity with Aristotle's book, they do not by any means give conclusive proof of this, or even that conscious reference occurs. There is always the underlying possibility that they may be folklore or stories of personal observation.

Basil's whole address of the *Hexaemeron* is intended for a polished and effective homily, and it is to be presumed that such a scholar would reinforce his address with such literary assistance as he could bring to bear without obviously overdoing the matter.

He has his natural history allusions roughly divided into three groups. They consist of stories and remarks about fishes or other marine creatures, birds, and land animals. Basil dwells at length upon the virtues of the bee: "Imitate the talent peculiar to the bee, who, hurting none nor destroying alien fruit, collects its honey." Again, "Whence it (honey) was liquid from the first and in process of time was collected." And again, "The king bee has a sting, but does not use it to revenge himself."¹¹⁰ All these ideas are found in Aristotle: "So, indeed, it makes honey, as I have related . . . Spreading its wings in haste, the honey is collected, for from the beginning such water existed, and after some days it is a liquid . . . Bees have a sting, but drones do not. King bees have a sting, but do not use it, wherefore some think that they do not have them."¹¹¹ The theme of the bees and their

¹⁰⁹ *Meteorologia*, I., 13. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τὴν Λιβύην οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν Αἰθιοπικῶν ὄρων ὃ τε Αἰγὼν καὶ ὁ Νύσης οἱ δὲ μέγιστοι τῶν διωνομασμένων ὃ τε Χερμέτης καλούμενος.

¹¹⁰ 74, A., B. Μίμησαι τῆς μελίσης τὸ ἰδιότροπον ὅτι οὐδενὶ λυμαίνομένη, οὐδὲ καρπὸν ἀλλότριον διαφθείρουσα τὰ κηρία συμπήγνυται . . . ὅθεν καὶ ὕγρον παρὰ τὴν πρῶτην ἔστιν εἰτα τῷ χρόνῳ συμπεσθὲν . . . ἔστι μὲν γὰρ κέντρον τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀλλ' οὐ χρῆται τούτῳ πρὸς ἄμυναν.

¹¹¹ *Hist. Anim.*, 553, b., 31, 553, b., 29, 554, a., 13. These and many similar ideas appear throughout these passages. Τὸ μὲν οὖν κηρίον ποιεῖ ὥστε ἐλεῖται ἐκ τῶν ἀνθέων . . . συνίσταται δὲ τὸ μέλι πεττόμενον. ἐξ ἀρχῆς γὰρ ὁλον ὕδωρ γίνεται καὶ ἐφ' ἡμέρας μὲν τινας ὕγρον ἔστιν . . . κέντρον δ' αἱ μέλιτται ἔχουσιν οἱ δὲ κηφήνες οὐκ ἔχουσιν. οἱ δὲ ἡγεμόνες ἔχουσι μὲν κέντρον ἀλλ' οὐ τύπτουσι, διὸ ἔνιοι οὐκ ὀλονται ἔχειν αὐτοῦς.

give milk and suckle their young and take them in again when they are small."¹²⁶ Basil repeats the idea about seals in the following: "Are not those animals included which give living birth like the seals, dolphins and torpedoes, and those like them, which are called cartilaginous?"¹²⁷ In Aristotle it is, "Some animals give living birth as the human being, the seal, the horse and others that have hair, and of the marine creatures the whale, the dolphin and such are called cartilaginous."¹²⁸ A last similarity in their views of marine animals occurs when Basil says of eels, "Their genesis is from the earth."¹²⁹ Akin to this is the superstition about toads springing from the earth after a rain. And Basil says again in reference to field mice, "Around Egyptian Thebes after a heavy rain in hot weather the ground is covered with field mice."¹³⁰ The very natural explanation that the mice were forced out of their burrows by the sudden inflow of rainwater and thus compelled to appear in the open, which they would never have done under other circumstances, does not seem to have occurred to him. The remark about rain at Thebes in Egypt seems peculiar, in view of Herodotus' statement: "When Psammenitus, son of Amasis, reigned as king, a prodigy happened to the Egyptians, the greatest that had ever happened, for rain fell at Egyptian Thebes where rain had never fallen before, nor did it fall afterward down to my time. The Thebans tell this themselves, because in upper Egypt no rain falls at all, but on the occasion I mention rain fell in a drizzle."¹³¹ Either Herodotus was misinformed or the climate had changed in Basil's time. But if rain rarely fell it would be all the more natural that wild animals should have made little provision against it and, being caught unawares, would be compelled to appear on the surface. Concerning the whole theory of animals being generated spontaneously from the earth when conditions are favorable, Aristotle has probably supplied Basil's idea, for he says,

¹²⁶ Hist. Anim., 566, b., 16. ἔχει δ' ὁ δελφίς καὶ ἡ φάκη γάλα καὶ θηλάζονται. καὶ εἰσδέχονται τὰ τέκνα μικρὰ ὄντα.

¹²⁷ 63, D. οὐ τὰ ζωοτοκούντα ὅλον φῶκαι καὶ δελφίνες καὶ νάρκαι, καὶ τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις τὰ σελάχη λεγόμενα.

¹²⁸ Hist. Anim., 489, a., 35. ζωοτόκα μὲν ὅλον ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἱεπες καὶ φάκη καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα ἔχει τρίχας καὶ τῶν ἐνύδρων τὰ κητώδη, ὅλον δελφίς καὶ τὰ καλούμενα σελάχη.

¹²⁹ 81, A. ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἔστιν αὐτοῖς ἡ γένεσις.

¹³⁰ 81, D. ὅπου γε περὶ Θήβας τὰς Αἰγυπτίας, ἐπειδὴν ὕψη λάβρος ἐν καίμασιν, εὐθὺς ἀρουραίων μυδῶν ἡ χώρα κατακλιροῦται.

¹³¹ Herodotus, III., 10. ἐπὶ Ψαμμήνιτου δὲ τοῦ Ἀμάσιος βασιλεύοντος Ἀιγύπτου φάσμα Αἰγυπτίοισι μέγιστον δὴ ἐγένετο. ὕσθησαν γὰρ Θῆβαι αἱ Αἰγύπτῳ οὔτε πρότερον οὐδ' αὖθις ὕσθησαι, οὔτε ὕστερον τὸ μέχρι ἐμοῦ ὥς λέγουσιν αὐτοὶ Θηβαῖοι, οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὕεται τὰ ἄνω τῆς Αἰγυπτίου τὸ παρῶπαν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε ὕσθησαν αἱ Θῆβαι ψακάδι.

say a certain person, from observing the hedgehog doing these things, made forecasts, acquiring a great reputation."¹¹⁸

Drawing distinctions among animals, Basil writes, "Man, your head is erect toward the heaven, your eyes can look up."¹¹⁹ Aristotle gives it: "Of all living things, man is the only one that is erect."¹²⁰

The longevity of the elephant is noted: "We are told that the elephant lives three hundred years and more."¹²¹ Aristotle has it: "Some say that the elephant lives two hundred years, some say three hundred."¹²²

Discussing fish and marine animals, Basil says, "The species of testacea is of another kind, as muscles, scallops, sea snails, conches, and many varieties of oysters, and besides these kinds there are the other kinds, which are called crustaceans, like lobsters, crabs and creatures similar to them. After this the soft-shelled class."¹²³ The grouping is Aristotle's: "Of the testaceans there is another race called ostrean (oyster family), and one of the crustaceans which is without a name, such are lobsters and the whole race of crabs and crayfish, and there is another race of mollusks."¹²⁴ Of marine animals, Basil says, "There are dolphins and seals, which, it is said, receive their young, when recently born and delicate, into their stomachs. This is for purposes of protection or when the young have been terrified by anything."¹²⁵ Basil may have heard vague stories about animals, such as the kangaroo, which carries its young in a pouch. Aristotle writes, "The dolphin and the seal

¹¹⁸ Hist. Anim., 551, b., 9. Περί δὲ τῆς τῶν ἐχίνων αἰσθήσεως συμβέβηκε πολλοῦ τεθεωρεῖσθαι ὅτι μεταβαλλόντων βορέων καὶ νότων οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ γῇ τὰς ὁπὰς αὐτῶν μεταμειβουσιν οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις τρεφόμενοι μεταβάλλουσι πρὸς τοὺς τοίχους ὥστ' ἐν Βυζαντίῳ γε τινὰ φασὶ προλέγοντα λαβεῖν δόξαν ἐκ τοῦ κατανενοημέναι ποιῶντα ταῦτα τὸν ἐχίνον.

¹¹⁹ 81, A. Ἡ σὴ κεφαλὴ πρὸς οὐρανὸν διανέστηκεν. οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ σου τὰ ἄνω βλέπουσιν.

¹²⁰ Part. Anim., 689, b., 11. διότι μόνον ἔστιν ὀρθὸν τῶν ζῶων ἄνθρωπος.

¹²¹ 86, B. Νῦν δὲ ἤδη τινὲς ἱστοροῦσι καὶ τριακοσία ἔτη καὶ πλείω τούτων βιοῦν τὸν ἐλέφαντα.

¹²² Hist. Anim., 596, 12. τὸν δ' ἐλέφαντα ζῆν οἱ μὲν περὶ ἑτῆ διακοσία φάσιν, οἱ δὲ τριακοσία.

¹²³ 64, C. Ἄλλου γένους ἔστι τὰ δοτρακόδεσμα προσαγορευόμενα ὅλον κόγχαι, καὶ κτένες καὶ κοχλῖαι θαλάσσιοι, καὶ στρόμβοι καὶ αἱ μυρίαι τῶν δοτρεῶν διαφοραί. Ἄλλο πάλιν παρὰ ταῦτα γένος τὰ μαλακίστρακα προσειρημένα, κάραβοι, καὶ καρκῖνοι, καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια τούτοις.

¹²⁴ Hist. Anim., 490, b. ἄλλο δὲ γένος ἔστι τὸ τῶν δοτρακοδέσμων ὃ καλεῖται δοτρεον. ἄλλο τὸ τῶν μαλακιστράκων, ἀνώνυμον ἐνὶ ὀνόματι, ὅλον κάραβοι καὶ γένη τινὰ καρκίνων καὶ ἀστακῶν. ἄλλο τὸ τῶν μαλακίων.

¹²⁵ 64, A. δελφίνες καὶ φῶκαι ἃ καὶ νεαροὺς ἔτι τοὺς σκύμνους διαπτοθόντας ὑπὸ αἰτίας τινὸς, λέγεται πάλιν τῇ γαστρὶ ὑποδεχόμενα περιστέλλειν.

totle writes, "When they have finished breeding and accomplished what was designed, they straightway swim out again with the Pleiades."¹⁴⁰ In discussing their habits of breathing, Basil again relies upon Aristotle: "With them the motion of the gills in opening and shutting in succession, and inhaling and exhaling the water takes the place of respiration."¹⁴¹ The original has it, "Wherefore none of the fish have lungs, but in place of these they have gills, just as I have said in those matters concerning breathing. They are cooled by the water as those who respire are by the air. Wherefore, all things that respire have lungs."¹⁴² Basil develops the thought more fully when he says, "What air is to the terrestrial animals, water is to those that swim. The cause is evident. A lung lies in us, a thin and porous membrane which takes in the air by the distention of the chest and thus cools and airs our internal heat, and the distention and contraction of the gills in those creatures that inhale and exhale water takes the place of this form of respiration."¹⁴³ Aristotle has it, "From these things it is evident, and through what cause it happens, to breathers among animals, to be choked in the water, and to fishes in the air. To one the coolness, indeed, comes through the water and to one through the air, and either of these being changed from its place is deprived of its natural resources for breathing. And the cause of the movement of the gills among some and of the breath with others is the rising and collapse in some of the exhalation and inspiration, and in others of the receiving and expelling of the water."¹⁴⁴ Basil speaks of the manner of feeding or of the food

¹⁴⁰ Hist. Anim., 598, b., 6. όταν δὲ τέκωσι καὶ τὰ γενόμενα αὐξηθῇ ἐκπλέουσιν εὐθὺς μετὰ Πλειάδα.

¹⁴¹ 63, B. ἐκείνοις δὲ ἡ τῶν βραγχίων διαστολὴ καὶ ἐπαπτύξεις δεχομένων τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ διέντων τὸν τῆς ἀναπνοῆς λόγον ἀποπληροῖ.

¹⁴² De Part. Anim., III., 6. διόπερ τῶν μὲν ἰχθύων οὐδεὶς ἔχει πλεῦμονα ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τούτου βράγχια καθάπερ εἴρηται ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἀναπνοῆς. ὕδατι γὰρ ποιεῖται τὴν κατάψυξιν τὰ δ' ἀναπνέοντα τῷ ἀέρι διόπερ πάντα τὰ ἀναπνέοντα ἔχει πλεῦμονα.

¹⁴³ 63, B. ἀλλ' ὅπερ τοῖς χειρσαίοις ἔστιν ἀπὸ τοῦτο τῷ πλωτῷ γένει τὸ ὕδωρ. καὶ ἡ αἰτία δήλη. ὅτι ἡμῖν μὲν ὁ πνεύμων ἔγκειται ἀραιὸν καὶ πολὺπορον σπλάγχνον ὁ δὲ τῆς τοῦ θώρακος διαστολῆς τὸν ἀέρα δεχόμενον τὸ ἔνδον ἡμῶν θερμὸν διαρροῦσθαι καὶ ἀναψύχει.

¹⁴⁴ De Respiratione, 19. Δῆλον δ' ἐκ τούτων καὶ διὰ τίν' αἰτίαν τοῖς μὲν ἀναπνέουσι τῶν ἑξῶν ἀποπνίγεσθαι συμβαίνει ἐν τῷ ὑγρῷ τοῖς δ' ἰχθύων ἐν τῷ ἀέρι. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ διὰ τοῦ ὕδατος ἡ κατάψυξις γίνεται τοῖς δὲ διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος ὃν ἐκάτερα στερίσκεται μεταβάλλοντα τοὺς τόπους. ἡ δ' αἰτία τῆς κινήσεως τοῖς μὲν τῶν βραγχίων τοῖς δὲ τοῦ πνεύμονος ὃν αἰρομένων καὶ συνιζόντων τὰ μὲν ἐκπλέουσι καὶ εἰσπνέουσι τὰ δὲ δέχονται τὸ ὑγρὸν καὶ ἐξιδῶν ἔτι δ' ἡ σύστασις τοῦ ὀργάνου τὸν δ' ἔχει τὸν τρόπον.

of fishes upon four occasions. He begins once, as follows: "The majority of fishes feed upon each other, and the smaller among them is food for the greater."¹⁴⁵ For the first half of the statement Aristotle says, "They all eat each other, except the pike and conger eel."¹⁴⁶ While continuing the idea of their carnivorous habits he again says, "The stronger make war upon the lesser ones, for they devour them."¹⁴⁷ Again Basil says, "Food in the case of various fishes is divided according to race—some draw their nourishment from the mud and some from sea weeds, and some are satisfied with the herbs that are nourished in the water."¹⁴⁸ Aristotle has three statements closely connected in his text: "Some fish feed upon their own offspring at the time when they are born, and they have no other food . . . The pike is nourished by sea weeds and in the sand . . . The capitones feed upon the mud . . . But the river fish find food eating each other and herbs and roots and whatever they can take from the slime."¹⁴⁹ Aristotle's remark does not agree with modern versions of the pike's habits, which make it so savage and carnivorous that no other fish can exist in the same streams. In reference to the feeding of fish, Basil says that "They all have a very sharp row of teeth, which are set closely together so that their food may not escape in time that they are chewing it."¹⁵⁰ Aristotle gives it, "All of them have sharp teeth, so that they are able to tear, and tear quickly. For they do not spend time in consuming."¹⁵¹ Before making this statement Basil notes that "None among these fish ruminate except the scar."¹⁵² Aristotle explains it, "But of

¹⁴⁵ 65, c. 'Ἀλληλοφάγοι δὲ τῶν ἰχθύων οἱ πλείστοι. καὶ ὁ μικρότερος παρ' ἐκείνους βρώμιά ἐστι τοῦ μείζονος.

¹⁴⁶ Hist. Anim., 591, a., 17. ἀλληλοφαγοῦσι δὲ πάντες μὲν πλὴν κεστρέως μάλιστα δ' οἱ γόγγροι.

¹⁴⁷ Hist. Anim., 610, b., 17. ὁ δὲ πόλεμος ἐστὶ τοῖς κρείττοσι πρὸς τοὺς ἥττους κατεσθίει γὰρ ὁ κρείττων.

¹⁴⁸ 65, C. τροφή δὲ ἰχθύσιν ἄλλοις ἄλλη κατὰ γένος διωρισμένη. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἰλύι τρέφονται οἱ δὲ τοῖς φυκίοις. ἄλλοι ταῖς βοτάναις ταῖς ἐν τρεφομέναις τῷ ὕδατι ἀρκοῦνται.

¹⁴⁹ Hist. Anim., 591, a., 7, 591, a., 22, 592, a., 24. οἱ δ' ἰχθύες τοῖς μὲν καήμασι τρέφονται πάντες ὅταν οἱ χρόνοι καθήκωσιν οὗτοι τὴν δ' ἄλλην τροφήν οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν κοινοῦνται πάντες . . . τρέφεται δὲ πᾶς κεστρεὺς φυκίοις καὶ ἄμμι . . . οἱ δὲ κέφαλοι νέμονται τὴν ἰλύν . . . τροφή δὲ καὶ οἱ ποταμοὶ χρόνται ἀλλήλους τ' ἐσθίοντες καὶ βοτάνας καὶ ῥίζας κἂν τι ἐν τῷ βορβόρῳ λάβωσιν.

¹⁵⁰ 64, C. πάντα δὲ ὀξύταταις ὅμοιαι ὀδόντων κατατεπύκνυνται ἵνα μὴ τῇ χρονίᾳ μασήσῃ ἢ τροφῇ διαρρέῃ.

¹⁵¹ De Part, Ani., 675, a., 5. ὀξεῖς δὲ πάντες ἔχουσιν ὥστε διελεῖν μὲν δύνανται φαύλως δὲ διελεῖν. ἐνδιατρίβειν γὰρ οὐχ ὅλον τε χρονίζοντας.

¹⁵² 64, C. οὐδὲ γὰρ μηρυκίζει τι παρ' αὐτοῖς εἰ μὴ τὸν σκάρον μόνον ἱστοροῦσιν τινες.

fish it seems that the one called the scar is the only one that ruminates like quadrupeds."¹⁵³ Basil uses the same classification for animals that Aristotle gives: "Some are called Schizoptera, as eagles, and some Dermoptera, as bats, and others Ptilota, as wasps; others Coleoptera, as beetles."¹⁵⁴ These terms are taken from Aristotle, who uses them repeatedly in defining different varieties.¹⁵⁵ Basil's ideas about animals are introduced gracefully and serve to bring out his idea effectively. In many cases they can be traced directly to Aristotle, though not, of course, with absolute certainty. For instance, Basil says about the partridge, "The partridge is deceitful and jealous, lending traitorous help to the hunters to seize their prey,"¹⁵⁶ Aristotle, without giving any comment upon the nature of the partridge, explains the hunting case as follows: "But the guide (a tame partridge), taking his stand in front of a partridge from among the wild ones, as if about to fight, hastens the hunters."¹⁵⁷ The use of decoys is very ancient and, of course, afforded the rhetorician opportunity for a great display of feeling. Remarking upon the hooked beaks and talons of birds of prey, Basil says, "Swooping easily upon their prey, they tear apart their food after having seized it."¹⁵⁸ Aristotle says, "Such of the birds as are carnivorous have hooked beaks."¹⁵⁹ Basil discusses the migratory birds: "There is this distinction among them, that some are of the country itself and do not leave it, and some will undertake to journey for great distances, and the majority of them will migrate at the approach of winter."¹⁶⁰ Aristotle says, "Some, indeed, find places of refuge in the localities in which they are, some go forth from those places after the autumnal equinox from the Pontus and the cold regions, . . .

¹⁵³ Hist. Anim., 591, b., 23. δοκεῖ δὲ τῶν ἰχθύων ὁ καλούμενος σκάρως μηχανάζειν ὥσπερ τὰ τετράποδα μόνος.

¹⁵⁴ 72, C. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὀνόμασαν σχιζόπτερα, ὡς τοὺς ἀετοὺς. τὰ δὲ δερμόπτερα ὡς τὰς νυκτερίδας. τὰ δὲ πτιλωτὰ ὡς τοὺς σφήκας, τὰ δὲ κολεόπτερα ὡς τοὺς κανθάρους.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Hist. Anim., 489, b., and 490, a.

¹⁵⁶ 73, C. Δολερόν ὁ πέρδιξ καὶ ζηλότυπον, κακούργως συμπράττειν τοῖς θηραταῖς πρὸς τὴν ἄγρην.

¹⁵⁷ Hist. Anim., 614, a. ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν θηρευτὴν πέρδικα ὠθεῖται τῶν ἀγρίων ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἀντάσας ὡς μαχούμενος.

¹⁵⁸ 73, A. ὥστε καὶ συλληφθῆναι ραδίως τὸ θήραμα καὶ διασπαραγῆν, τροφὴν τῷ ἐλόντι γενέσθαι.

¹⁵⁹ Hist. Anim., 592, a. τῶν δ' ὀρνίθων ὅσαι μὲν γαμψώνυχες σαρκοφάγοι πάντες εἰσὶ.

¹⁶⁰ 73, B. Ἡδη δὲ τις καὶ ἑτέρα ἐν τούτοις ἐστὶ διαφορὰ καθ' ἣν τὰ μὲν ἐπιδημητικὰ τε ἐστὶ καὶ ἐγχώρια τὰ δὲ ἀπαίρειν πέφυκε πορρωτάτω καὶ χειμῶνος ἐγγιζοντος ἐκτοπάζειν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ.

fleeing the approaching winter."¹⁶¹ A bird like the eagle would naturally attract much attention and has long been a favorite theme for rhetoricians: "In the rearing of its young the eagle is most unfair, for though it hatches but two young ones, it hurls one of these out upon the earth, throwing it down with blows of its wings. And though it takes the care of the other upon itself, while the survivor is still growing, it leaves the other young bird because of the difficulty of finding food. But, as they say, the osprey will not permit the fallen bird to perish, but picking it up, rears it along with its own young ones."¹⁶² The same theme is treated by Aristotle: "The eagle lays three eggs, but abandons two of these, as is told in the verse of Musaeus, 'Which hatches out three, abandons two, and cares for one.'¹⁶³ The rest of the story, about the fish hawk, is told at another point: "That bird called the fish hawk, being well disposed and of a diligent nature, a food carrier and gentle, rears both its own young ones and the eagle's, for when the eagle casts out its young prematurely, not being far enough in life and not able to fly, the eagle seems to cut off its young through jealousy, as it is by nature jealous and greedy, and rapacious in grasping whatever it may take. Accordingly it envies its nestling young when they become large eaters and can tear with their claws. Then the young fight with each other for places and food. So, it strikes and throws them out, and they, falling, scream, and the fish hawk picks them up."¹⁶⁴ Discussing birds that

¹⁶¹ Hist. Anim., 596, b., 29. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς συνήθεσι τόποις ἐθίσσεται τὰς βοηθείας τὰ δ' ἐκτοπίζει μετὰ μὲν τὴν φθινοπωρινὴν ἰσημερίαν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου καὶ τῶν ψυχρῶν τόπων φεύγοντα τὸν ἐπύοντα χειμῶνα.

¹⁶² 76, C. Ἀδικώτατος περὶ τὴν ἐκγόνων ἐκτροφὴν ὁ ἀετός. Δύο γὰρ ἐξαγαγὼν νεοσσούς τὸν ἕτερον αὐτῶν εἰς γῆν καταρρήγνυσσι ταῖς πληγαῖς τῶν πετρῶν ἀπωσθόμενος. τὸν δὲ ἕτερον μόνον ἀναλαβὼν, οἰκιοῦται, διὰ τὸ τῆς τροφῆς ἐπύοντον ἀποποιούμενος ὅν ἐγέννησεν. Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὡς φασὶ διαφθαρήναι ἡ φήγη. Ἄλλ' ὑπολαβοῦσα αὐτὸν τοῖς οἰκείαις ἐαυτῆς νεοσσοῖς συνεκτρέφει.

¹⁶³ Hist. Anim., 563, a., 17. Ὁ δ' ἀετός φά μὲν τίκει τρία ἐκλέπει δὲ τοῦτων τὰ δύο ὥστερ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἐν τοῖς Μουσαίου λεγομένοις ἔπειν, δς τρία μὲν τίκει, δύο ἐκλέπει, ἓν δ' ἀλεγίζει.

¹⁶⁴ Hist. Anim., 619, b., 23. ἡ δὲ καλουμένη φήγη ἔστιν εὐτεκνος καὶ ἐθρίστος καὶ δειννοφόρος καὶ ἥπιος καὶ τὰ τέκνα ἐκτρέφει καὶ τὰ αὐτῆς καὶ τὰ τοῦ ἀετοῦ. καὶ γὰρ ταῦθ' ὅταν ἐκβάλῃ, ἐκείνη ἀναλαβοῦσα τρέφει. ἐκβάλλει δὲ ἀετὸς πρὸ ὄρας ἔτι βίου δεόμενα καὶ οἴκῳ δυνάμενα πέτεσθαι. ἐκβάλλειν δὲ δοκεῖ ὁ ἀετὸς τοὺς νεοττῶν διὰ φθόνον. φύσει γὰρ ἔστι φθονερός καὶ δξύπεινος, ἔτι δὲ δξύλαβής. λαμβάνει δὲ μέγα ὅταν λάβῃ. φθώνει οὖν τοῖς νεοττοῖς καὶ ἀδρυνομένοις ὅτι φαγεῖν ἀγαθὰ γίνονται καὶ αὐτὰ τοῖς θνητοῖς. μάχονται δὲ καὶ οἱ νεοττοὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ περὶ τῆς ἔδρας καὶ τῆς τροφῆς. ὁ δ' ἐκβάλλει καὶ κόπτει αὐτούς. οἱ δ' ἐκβαλλόμενοι βοῶσι, καὶ ὁσῶς ὑπολαμβάνει αὐτοὺς ἡ φήγη.

follow leaders, Basil says, "Returning to these again, there are some without government, and such are autonomous. But those that are under a leader do not rebel at being led, as the cranes, for instance."¹⁶⁵ Aristotle has it, "Of the birds, some are under a leader, and some are leaderless, those like the crane, and the whole race of bees being under a leader."¹⁶⁶ Anecdotes about the cranes now come out naturally. "After finishing his watch," Basil says, for according to his picturesque view they put out a set of sentries who keep guard, waking each other in turn, "the sentry gives a cry and goes to sleep, and the one that awakes in his turn repays the sense of security that he has enjoyed."¹⁶⁷ Something of the same version is given by Aristotle: "When the cranes rest, some sleep, having their heads under their wings, and standing upon one foot, but a sentry, keeping his head uncovered and looking out, when he perceives anything signifies it, crying out."¹⁶⁸ This account is a little less romantic than that given by the moralizing orator who is exhorting his hearers to a like faithful performance of their duties.

The kingfisher draws attention: "All winds are hushed and the waves of the sea grow calm during the seven days that the halcyon sits."¹⁶⁹ The waves would have had to be very calm, according to the prevalent superstition to which Basil refers, namely, that the halcyon makes her nest upon the water and floats about with it during the seven days' incubation. Aristotle gives the story: "The halcyon hatches with the returning winds of winter. And therefore the seven days before the winds, when the weather has become genial, are called halcyon days, and the seven days after the winds."¹⁷⁰ The turtle dove receives notice as being of a loving and constant disposition: "They say that the turtle dove, being

¹⁶⁵ 73, B. Πάλιν ἐν τούτοις τὰ μὲν ἀναρχὰ ἐστὶ καὶ ὅλον αὐτόνομα. τὰ δὲ ὑφ' ἡγεμονίᾳ τετάχθαι καταδεχόμενα ὡς αἱ γέραναι.

¹⁶⁶ Hist. Anim., 488, a., 10. πολιτικὰ δ' ἐστὶν ὧν ἐν τι καὶ κοινὸν γίγνεται πάντων τὸ ἔργον ὅπερ οὐ πάντα ποιεῖ τὰ ἀγελαῖα. ἐστὶ δὲ τοιοῦτον ἄνθρωπος, μέλιττα, σφήξ, μύρμηξ, γέρανος.

¹⁶⁷ 75, B. εἰ τὰ τοῦ καιροῦ τῆς φυλακῆς πληρουμένου ἢ μὲν βοήσασα πρὸς ὕπνον ἐτρόπετο ἢ δὲ τὴν διαδοχὴν ὑποδεξαμένη, ἥς ἔτυχεν ἀσφαλείας ἀντέδωκεν ἐν τῷ μέρει.

¹⁶⁸ Hist. Anim., 614, b. ὅταν δὲ καθίζωνται αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι ὑπὸ τῇ πτέρυγι τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔχουσαι καθεύδουσιν ἐφ' ἐνὸς ποδὸς ἐναλλὰξ ὁ δ' ἡγεμὼν ἔχων τὴν κεφαλὴν προορεῖ καὶ ὅταν αἰσθηταί τι σημαίνει βοᾶν.

¹⁶⁹ 75, B. ἀλλ' ὅμως κοιμίζονται μὲν πάντες ἀνεμοὶ ἡσυχάζει δὲ κῆμα θαλάσσιον ὅταν ἀλκυὼν ἐπαρῇ τὰς ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας.

¹⁷⁰ Hist. Anim., 542, b., 4. ἢ δ' ἀλκυὼν τίκτει περὶ τροπὰς τὰς χειμερινὰς. διὸ καὶ καλοῦνται ὅταν εὐδιδεῖναι γένωνται αἱ τροπαὶ ἀλκυονίδες ἡμέραι ἑπτὰ μὲν πρὸ τροπῶν ἑπτὰ δὲ μετὰ τροπᾶς.

separated from its mate, will not enter a new union, but remains in widowhood."¹⁷¹ Aristotle mentions the case without the flourish of the orator: "The turtle dove keeps the same one for its mate, and the pigeon does not approach another."¹⁷² Legend easily lends fanciful developments, and it was a good instance for a clever speaker. Telling of the resourcefulness of the swallow, Basil cites Aristotle's account. When the swallow has no mud to cement her nest, she has to make some: "Moistening the tips of her wings in water, she rolls in very fine dust and thus procures mud in abundance."¹⁷³ Aristotle tells it briefly, as is his wont: "If mud is lacking, wetting herself, she wallows with her wings in the dust."¹⁷⁴ Aelian, who is not always so frank in acknowledging his debts to Aristotle, says, "The swallow, when there is an abundance of mud, bears it in her claws and fashions the nest, but if there is any lack of it, as Aristotle says, she moistens herself and, flying to the dust, flutters her wings, thus producing mud."¹⁷⁵ The affection of storks for one another, and especially for their parents, is a theme for Basil to enlarge at length: "They surround their father when old age makes his feathers drop off, and warm him with their wings, and provide abundantly for his support."¹⁷⁶ The remark made by Aristotle is, "Therefore, concerning storks, it is a matter of common talk among the many, that they are nourished in turn."¹⁷⁷ The song of the nightingale gives Basil opportunity to dwell upon contentedness with one's lot: "How the nightingale is always awake when sitting on her eggs, and passes the night in continual melody."¹⁷⁸ Aristotle makes no statement from which Basil's remark would certainly follow, but he says, "And the

¹⁷¹ 76, C. τὴν τρυγώνα, φασὶ διαζευθεῖσαν πότε τοῦ ὁμόζυγος μηκέτι τὴν πρὸς ἑτέραν καταδέχεσθαι κοινωνίαν ἀλλὰ μένειν ἀσυνδύαστον.

¹⁷² Hist. Anim., 613, a. ἔχει δὲ τὸν ἀρρενα ἢ τρυγῶν τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ φάττα καὶ ἄλλον οὐ προσέεται.

¹⁷³ 75, A. τὰ ἄκρα τῶν πτερῶν ὕδατι καταβρέξασα εἰτα τῇ λεπτοτάτῃ κόνει ἐνειληθεῖσα οὕτως ἐπινοεῖ τοῦ πηλοῦ τὴν χρεῖαν.

¹⁷⁴ Hist. Anim., 612, b., 24. καὶν ἀπορῆται πηλοῦ, βρέχουσα αὐτὴν καλινθεῖται τοῖς πτεροῖς πρὸς τὴν κόνιν.

¹⁷⁵ Aelian. Hist. Anim., III., 24. Ἡ χελιδὼν ὅτε εὐποροίῃ πηλοῦ τοῖς ὄνυξι φέρει καὶ συμπλάττει τὴν καλιάν. εἰ δὴ ἀπορία εἴη ὥς Ἀριστοτέλης λέγει ἑαυτὴν βρέχει καὶ ἐς κόνιν ἐμπεσοῦσα φύρει τὰ πτερά, καὶ τοῦ πηλοῦ περιπαγέντος.

¹⁷⁶ 75, C. Ἐκεῖνοι τὸν πατέρα ὑπὸ τοῦ γήρως πτερορρυήσαντα περισπάντες ἐν κύλῳ τοῖς οἰκείοις πτεροῖς διαθάλκουσι καὶ τὰς τροφὰς ἀφθόνης παρασκευάζοντες.

¹⁷⁷ Hist. Anim., 615, b., 23. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν πελαργῶν, ὅτι ἀντεκτρέφονται, θεωρεῖται παρὰ πολλοῖς.

¹⁷⁸ 77, A. Πῶς ἀγρυπνῶν ἢ ἀηδὼν ὅταν ἐπαύσῃ, διὰ πάσης νυκτὸς τῆς μελωδίας μὴ ἀπολήγουσα.

nightingale sings continuously during fifteen days and nights."¹⁷⁹ The time required would be about the same, and the active imagination of the eastern orator would supply details. But no certain connection follows. Basil sees in the long neck of the swan an instance of utility in the purpose of the Creator. It is, "So that he may throw it like a line and take up food that is hidden at the bottom of the water."¹⁸⁰ Aristotle explains it thus: "Some of these birds have the beak long, just like the neck is, for they take their food from the depths."¹⁸¹ Aristotle cites a natural remedy which Basil has employed, but the instance is the same: "If any one of the young swallows should injure its eyes, the swallow has a certain remedy from nature through which it restores the vision of its offspring to health."¹⁸² Substantially the same story is told by Aristotle. Speaking of celandine and its healing qualities, he says, "And through this, if any of the young swallows injures its eyes, it is restored to health."¹⁸³ In spite of the fact that their locomotion is in the air, the winged creatures need feet, and Basil sees in this a provision of Providence: "Hence, no one of the winged creatures is without feet, since it finds its food upon the earth, and by every necessity is unable to do without feet."¹⁸⁴ Aristotle phrases it: "With good reason do winged things have feet, and fish lack feet. For with the former life is in the dry, but being hardly able to remain forever on the wing, there is necessity for having feet."¹⁸⁵ Basil contrasts the singing of the birds with the silences that follow: "For the twitterings and flappings of the wings are of the birds, as are the silences."¹⁸⁶ The bird songs, and especially the song of the nightingale, was a favorite in Greek literature. Aristotle's mention of the songs and silences is: "Their

¹⁷⁹ Hist. Anim., 632, b., 27. ἡ δ' ἀηδὼν ἄδει μὲν συνεχῶς ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας δεκαπέντε.

¹⁸⁰ 78, B. Ἰνα, ὥσπερ τινὰ ὀρμὰν κατάγων τὴν ἐν τῷ βάθει κεκρυμένην τροφὴν ἐκπορίζεται.

¹⁸¹ De Part. Anim., 693, b., 20. ἔνια δὲ τούτων μακρὸν ἔχει τὸ ρύγχος καθάπερ καὶ τὸν αὐχένα. τὴν γὰρ τροφὴν λαμβάνουσιν ἐκ τοῦ βάθους.

¹⁸² 75, A. ὅν ἐάν τις ἐκκεντήσῃ τὰ ὄμματα ἔχει τινὰ παρὰ τῆς φύσεως ἰατρικὴν δι' ἧς πρὸς ὑγίαν ἐπανάγει τῶν ἐγγόνων τὰς ὀφθαλμοὺς.

¹⁸³ De Gen. Anim., IV., 6. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῶν χελιδόνων ἐάν τις ἐτι νέων ὄντων ἐκκεντήσῃ τὰ ὄμματα πάλιν ὑγιάζονται.

¹⁸⁴ 72, A. Πλὴν γε οὐδὲν τῶν πτηνῶν ἄπουν, διὰ τὸ πᾶσι τὴν διαίταν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ὑπάρχειν καὶ πάντα ἀναγκαίως τῆς τῶν ποδῶν ὑπουργίας προσδεῖσθαι.

¹⁸⁵ De Incessu Anim., 18. Εὐλόγως δὲ καὶ τὰ μὲν πτηνὰ πόδας ἔχει. οἱ δ' ἰχθύες ἄποδες. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ὁ βίος ἐν τῷ ξηρῷ μετέωρον δ' αἰεὶ μένειν ἀδύνατον, ὥστ' ἀνάγκη πόδας ἔχειν.

¹⁸⁶ 73, C. οἱ μὲν γὰρ κωτίλοι καὶ λάλοι τῶν ὀρνίθων εἰσίν. οἱ δὲ σιγηλοί.

enunciation is inarticulate, the twitterings and the silences, the singings and the silences."¹⁸⁷

The diversity among kinds of birds and their characteristics is a theme for wonder: "There are also, however, ten thousand differences of species among birds, which if one catalogues according to their nature, which we touched upon in part in our examination of the fishes, he will find, indeed, that though there is one name for flying things, there is an infinity of differences among them in sizes, colors, forms, according to their lives, activities and customs . . ." ¹⁸⁸ Aristotle states it: "For each one of these has a difference, according to its race, and there are many species of fishes and birds. And the most part differ among themselves, according to their opposing characteristics, such as color and form, some being more different and some less than others. Besides these differences they vary according to number, fewness, size, smallness and, all in all, according to excess or defect."¹⁸⁹ Exhorting his hearers to acts of charity, Basil says, "Do not imitate the savagery of the hook-beaked birds, who, when they see their young already about to fly, beating them with their wings and forcing them out, cast them from the nest, and for the rest take no care of them. The love of crows for their young is to be praised. The crows accompany their young already flying, furnishing them support and nourishing them a very long time."¹⁹⁰ Aristotle speaks of the activities of crows, as follows: "Since all birds who have hooked beaks are predatory, and when they desire their young to

¹⁸⁷ Hist. Anim., 488, a., 33. καὶ τούτων τὰ μὲν διάλεκτον ἔχει τὰ δὲ ἀγράμματα, καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὰ δὲ σιγήλα, τὰ δ' ὀδυρά, τὰ δ' ἀνῶδα.

He uses ἀνῶδα to signify the sudden and hushed stillness that follows just after a prolonged burst of song, as opposed to σιγήλα, the ordinary word for stillness.

¹⁸⁸ 72, B. Εἰσὶ μέντοι γενῶν διαφοραὶ μυρία καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὄρνισιν δις ἑὸν τις κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐπὶ κατ' ὃν ἐν μέρει καὶ τῆς τῶν ἰχθύων ἐξετάσεως ἐφημέμεθα εὐρήσει ἐν μὲν ὄνομα τῶν πετεινῶν, μυρίας δὲ ἐν τούτοις διαφορὰς ἐν τε τοῖς μεγέθεσι καὶ ἐν τοῖς σχήμασι καὶ ἐν ταῖς χροαῖς. καὶ κατὰ τοὺς βίους καὶ τὰς πράξεις καὶ τὰ ἥθη.

¹⁸⁹ Hist. Anim., 486, a., 23. τούτων γὰρ ἑκάτερον ἔχει διαφορὰν κατὰ τὸ γένος καὶ ἐστὶν εἶδη πλείω ἰχθύων καὶ ὀρνίθων. διαφέρει δὲ σχεδὸν τὰ πλείστα τῶν μορίων ἐν αὐτοῖς παρὰ τὰς τῶν κατημάτων ἐναντιώσεις, ὅλον χρώματος καὶ σχήματος τῷ τὰ μὲν μᾶλλον ταῦτα πεπονθέναι τὰ δ' ἦττον ἐτι δὲ κλήθει καὶ ὀλιγότῃ καὶ μεγέθει καὶ σμικρότατι καὶ ὅλως ὑπεροχῇ καὶ ἑλλείψει.

¹⁹⁰ 76, A. Μὴ μιμήσῃ τῶν γαμψοκύνων ὀρνίθων τὸ ἀπηνές. οἱ ἐπειδὴν ὤψατο τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νεοττοὺς κατατολμώντας λουπὸν τῆς πτήσεως ἐκβάλλουσι τῆς καλῆς τάπτοντες, τοῖς περὶ καὶ ὠθοῦντες καὶ οὐδεμίαν ἐπαμέλειαν ποιοῦνται πρὸς τὸ λουπόν. Ἐπαινέτον τῆς κορώνης τὸ φιλότεκνον. ἢ καὶ πεπομένοις ἤδη παρέπεται, σιζέουσα αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐκτρέφουσα μέχρι κλειστού.

fly they cast them struggling from the nest, and as has been said, the greater part of birds do this, excepting the crows, and when the young are reared, take no further note of them. But the crow for some time, loving its offspring, feeds it while flying, for the most part."¹⁹¹ Basil sums up the many activities of the birds, their numerous kinds and the different colors, forms and characteristics by saying: "Innumerable, as we have said, are the activities and differences of their lives. Some among these irrational animals are political, as it were proper to a civil administration, as when they concentrate the individual energy of their number to the one common end, as in the case of the bees. This one may see."¹⁹² Aristotle develops the idea a little more elaborately: "And there are certain differences, according to their lives and activities, for some of them are gregarious and some are solitary, some walk, some fly, some swim, and some do two of these things. Of the gregarious, some lead a civil life, as it were, some are scattered, and the gregarious among winged things are such as the dove, the crane and swan. And of swimming things the whole race of fishes, such as are called runners, tunnies, pylameds and bonito. Man, however, has either nature. And there are the politics among them, in which one thing is common to all, as not among all gregarious beasts. Such are man, the bee, and the wasp, and the crane."¹⁹³ Aristotle means in these remarks that the man and the bee, and so on, belong to the politically organized, contrasting them with certain gregarious animals that, indeed, herd together, but do not appear to do anything toward a common end. The observation of any normal person who lived a retired life at Annesi, in an

¹⁹¹ Hist. Anim., 563, b., 7. ἐπει πάντες γ' ὡς εἰπεῖν οἱ γαμψόκνηχες δταν θάττον αἱ νεοττοὶ δύνωνται πέτεσθαι ἐκβάλλουσι τύπτοντες ἐκ τῆς νεοττιάς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ ὥσπερ εἴρηται σχεδὸν οἱ πλείστοι τοῦτο δρῶσι καὶ θρέψαντες οὐδεμίαν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιοῦνται τὸ λουτὸν πλὴν κορώνης. αὕτη δ' ἐπὶ τινα χρόνον ἐπιμελεῖται. καὶ γὰρ ἤδη πετομένων σιτίζει παραπετομένην.

¹⁹² 73, D. Μυρίαί ὡς ἔφαμεν καὶ τῶν πράξεων καὶ τῶν βίων διαφοραί. "Ἔστι δὲ τινα καὶ πολιτικά τῶν ἀλόγων εἴτερ πολιτείας ἴδιον τὸ πρὸς ἐν πέρας κοινὸν συννεύειν τὴν ἐνέργειαν τῶν καθ' ἑκαστον ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν μελισσῶν ἄν τις ἴδωι.

¹⁹³ Hist. Anim., 487, b., 33. Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ αἱ τοιαῖδε διαφοραὶ κατὰ τοὺς βίους καὶ τὰς πράξεις. τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἀγελαῖα, τὰ δὲ μοναδικὰ, καὶ πεζά, καὶ πτηνὰ, καὶ πλωτά, τὰ δ' ἐπαμφοτερίζει. καὶ τῶν ἀγελαίων (καὶ τῶν μοναδικῶν) τὰ μὲν πολιτικά τὰ δὲ σποραδικὰ ἐστίν. ἀγελαῖα μὲν οὖν ὅν οἶον ἐν τοῖς πτηνοῖς τὸ τῶν περιστερῶν γένος, καὶ γέρανος, καὶ κύκνος (γαμψόκνηχον δ' οὐδὲν ἀγελαῖον) καὶ τῶν πλωτῶν πολλὰ γένη τῶν ἰχθύων, οἷον οὖς καλοῦσι δρομάδας, θύννοι, πηλαμύδες, ἀμαί. ὁ δ' ἄνθρωπος ἐπαμφοτερίζει. πολιτικά δ' ἐστὶν ὅν ἐν τι καὶ κοινὸν γίγνεται πάντων τὸ ἔργον ὅπερ οὐ πάντα ποιεῖ τὰ ἀγελαῖα. ἔστι δὲ τοιοῦτον ἄνθρωπος, μέλιττα, σφήξ, μύμηξ, γέρανος.

unsettled locality, would enable him to make notes upon the habits of wild creatures inhabiting the near country and occasionally coming within view. This simple source would supply many of the reminiscences and theories that Basil later evinces.

4. *Aelian, Plutarch and late philosophers.*

Allusions traceable to Aelian are few. A superstition long prevailed among the ancients that vultures brought forth their young without mating. Basil mentions it casually: "Vultures, as people say, bring forth without mating, and are for the most part very long lived."¹⁰⁴ Aelian gives it thus: "Male vultures are said not to beget, but females altogether."¹⁰⁵

Speaking of the care of unreasoning creatures for their own safety and convenience, Basil says, "When the sea urchin foresees a disturbance of the winds, it gets under a great pebble and, clinging to it as to an anchor, it tosses about in safety, retained by the weight, which prevents it from becoming the plaything of the waves."¹⁰⁶ Aelian tells it thus: "The wave, rolling along the sea urchins toward the outer world and dashing them violently from the sea against dry land, casts them forth. But they, therefore, fearing this, when they perceive the waves heaving and about to rise up even stronger, with their spines lay hold of pebbles, which are easy to carry, and thus have a prop and are not easily rolled away, nor do they suffer what they feared."¹⁰⁷ Telling of the means of defense that wild creatures have, Basil expatiates upon the sea hare: "The sea hare is not less terrible, bearing with it swift and certain death."¹⁰⁸ Basil had been speaking of the sting ray, and probably had in mind some variety of the Portuguese man-of-war. Aelian gives it: "When the hare is sick, then being least able to swim, it is cast up on the beach, and whoever, being

¹⁰⁴ 76, B. τοὺς δὲ γῦπας φασὶν ἀσυνδυάστως τίκεται ὥς τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ταῦτα μακροβιωτάτους ὄντας.

¹⁰⁵ Aelian, Hist. Anim., II., 46. γῦπα δὲ ἄρρενα οὐ φασι γίνεσθαι ποτε, ἀλλὰ θηλείας ἀπάσας.

¹⁰⁶ 67, A. ὃς ὅταν προῖδη ταραχὴν ἐξ ἀνέμων ψηφιδά τινα ὑπελθὼν γενναίαν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ὥσπερ ἐπ' ἀγκύρας βεβαίως σαλεύει κατεχόμενος τῷ βάρει πρὸς τὸ μὴ ῥαδίως τοῖς κύμασιν ὑποσύρεσθαι.

¹⁰⁷ Aelian, De Nat. Anim., VII., 33. τοὺς ἐχίνους ὁ κλύδων κυλίων ἐς τὰ ἔξω καὶ προσαρράττων τῷ ξηρῷ τῆς θαλάσσης βιαιότατα. ἐκβάλλει τοῦτο τοῖνυν ἐκεῖνα δεδιότες ὅταν αἰσθῶνται φρίττον τὸ κύμα καὶ μέλλον ἀδρότερον ἱπαινίστασθαι ταῖς ἀκάνθαις ἀναιροῦνται λιθίδια ὅσα εὐκολα ἐστὶ φέρειν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἔχουσιν ἔρμα καὶ οὐ ῥαδίως κυλίσσονται οὐδὲ πάσχουσιν δὲ δεδοίκασιν.

¹⁰⁸ 69, C. καὶ λαγῶδες ὁ θαλάσσιος οὐχ ἡττιόν ἐστι φοβερά ταχέαν καὶ ἀπαράτησαν τὴν φθορὰν ἐπιφέροντα.

careless, is touched by it on the hand, perishes."¹⁹⁹ A popular fallacy about the lamprey and the viper comes in for notice in the same section: "The viper, cruellest of reptiles, unites itself with the sea lamprey, and announces its arrival by hissing. It calls the lamprey from the depths of the sea to conjugal union."²⁰⁰ Aelian tells it: "The lamprey, when it desires conjugal union, proceeds to the land, and is anxious to mate with an especially evil partner. For it repairs to the den of the viper."²⁰¹ In connection with the calculations of animals upon future events, Basil states that "You may see flocks of vultures following armies and calculating the results of warlike preparations."²⁰² Aelian has it: "Vultures, indeed, follow outgoing armies, knowing, as if by divination, that they are going to war, and that each fight results in dead men, and being aware of these things."²⁰³ The art of the bee is graphically presented: "See how the advances of geometry are but child's play to the sagacious bee."²⁰⁴ Aelian expresses the thought briefly: "The bees exhibit geometry and other plans and suitable moulds of their own accord, without the art either of regular canons or the compass of the mathematicians."²⁰⁵

Basil has a single instance probably from Aratus. Speaking of the new moon, he says, "If its horns appear thick and red, the weather portends for us heavy rains or a gale from the south."²⁰⁶ The verses as Aratus gives them are: "With all bright, it is a sign

¹⁹⁹ Aelian, Hist. Anim., XV., 19. όταν δὲ ἄρα νοσήσας ὄδε ὁ λαγῶδς εἶτα ἥμιστος ὦν νήχεσθαι ἐκβρασθῇ πᾶς ὅστις ἂν αὐτοῦ προσάψῃται τῇ χειρὶ ἀπόλλυται ὁμοληθεῖς.

²⁰⁰ 68, B. "Ἐχιδνα τὸ χαλεπώτατον τῶν ἐρπετῶν πρὸς γάμον ἀπαντᾷ τῆς θαλασσίας μυραίνης καὶ συριγμῶ τὴν παρουσίαν σημήνασα ἐκκαλεῖται αὐτὴν ἐκ τῶν βυθῶν πρὸς γαμικὴν συμπλοκὴν.

²⁰¹ Aelian, De Nat. Anim., I., 50. Ἡ μύραινα όταν ὀσμῆς ἀφροδίσου ὑποπλησθῇ πρόεισιν ἐς τὴν γῆν καὶ ὁμίλιαν ποθεῖ νυμφίου καὶ μάλα πονηροῦ. πάρεσι γὰρ εἰς ἔχως φωλεόν.

²⁰² 78, C. "Ἴδοις γὰρ ἂν μυρίας ἀγέλας γυνῶν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις παρεπομέναις ἐκ τῆς τῶν ὤπλων παρασκευῆς τεκμαιρομένων τὴν ἐκβασιν.

²⁰³ Aelian, De Nat. Anim., II., 46. καὶ μέντοι καὶ ταῖς ἐκδήμοις στραταῖς ἔπονται γῦτες καὶ μάλα γε μαντικῶς ὅτι ἐς πόλεμον χωροῦσιν εἰδότες καὶ ὅτι μάχῃ πᾶσα ἐργάζεται νεκροῦς καὶ τοῦτο ἐγνωκότες.

²⁰⁴ 74, D. κατὰμαθε πᾶς τὰ τῆς γεωμετρίας εὐρέματα παρεργά ἐστι τῆς σοφωτάτης μελέσης.

²⁰⁵ Aelian, De Nat. Anim., V., 13. Γεωμετρίαν δὲ καὶ κάλλη σχημάτων καὶ ὥραιας πλάσεις αὐτῶν ἀνευ τέχνης τε καὶ κανόνων καὶ τοῦ καλουμένου ὑπὸ τῶν σοφῶν διαβήτου ἀποδείκνυνται αἱ μέλιται.

²⁰⁶ 53, C. παχεῖα δὲ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς καὶ ὑπέρυθρος φαινόμενη ἡ ὕδωρ λάβρον ἀπὸ νεφῶν ἢ νότου βίαιαν κίνησιν ἀπειλεῖ.

of fair weather; with a reddish sky the ways will be windy, but when dark in all quarters it is a sign of rain."²⁰⁷

Among late influences Plutarch's ideas hold a place. Basil read Plutarch extensively, and effect is quite noticeable at times. For instance, "Those writing upon the nature of the world have written much about the shape of the earth. If it is spherical or cylindrical, if it resembles a perfect circle and is equally round at all points, or if it is like a winnowing basket or is hollow in the middle, . . . writers upon the world have suggested all these possibilities, each destroying what went before him."²⁰⁸ Plutarch states the theories: "Thales and the Stoics, and those after them, thought that the earth is spherical. Anaximander, that the earth is formed in a stone cone of plane surfaces. Anaximenes, that it is flat like a table. Leucippus, that it is shaped like a drum. Democritus, that it is quoit shaped and hollow in the middle."²⁰⁹ A theory of Empedocles is reviewed in the same manner. Basil says that "Rock crystal owes its metamorphosis to extreme congelation, they say."²¹⁰ Plutarch writes: "Empedocles thought that the heavens were hardened from congealed air, crystallized by fire, the fiery nature and the airy nature circling around in either of the hemispheres."²¹¹ Another early thinker is brought in. Speaking of the tides, Basil says, "And the moon draws the sea back again by her own respiration, and then by her respiration forces it again to its own boundaries."²¹² Plutarch gives the origin of the opinion: "Pytheas, the Massilian, thought that the flood tides

²⁰⁷ Aratus, *Diosemieia*, 70, ff. Πάντη γὰρ καθαρῇ κε μάλ' εὐδία τεμῆραιο. πάντα δ' ἐρευνδομένη δοκέειν ἀνέμοιο κελεύθους. ἄλλοι δ' ἄλλο μελαινομένη δοκέειν ὑετοιο.

²⁰⁸ 80, C. Οὐδὲ ἐπειδὴ οἱ τὰ περὶ κόσμου γράψαντες πολλὰ περὶ σχημάτων γῆς διελέχθησαν εἴτε σφαῖρα ἔστιν εἴτε κύλινδρος εἴτε καὶ δίσκος ἔστιν ἐμφερὴς ἢ γῆ, καὶ ἐξίσου πάντοθεν ἀποτετόρνυται, ἢ λυκνοειδὴς ἔστι καὶ μεσόκοιλος πρὸς πάσας γὰρ ταύτας τὰς ὑπονοίας οἱ τὰ περὶ τοῦ κόσμου γράψαντες ὑπενέχθησαν τὰ ἀλλήλων ἕκαστος καταλύοντες.

²⁰⁹ Plutarch, *De Plac. Philosophorum*, III., 10. Θαλῆς καὶ οἱ Στωικοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄπ' αὐτῶν σφαιροειδῇ τὴν γῆν. Ἀναξίμανδρος λίθω κίονι τὴν γῆν προσφερῇ τῶν ἐπιπέδων. Ἀναξίμανης τραπεζοειδῇ. Λεύκιππος τυμπανοειδῇ. Δημόκριτος δισκοειδῇ μὲν τῇ πλάτει κοίλῃν δὲ τῇ μέσῃ.

²¹⁰ 26, B. ὁποία ἔστιν ἢ τε τοῦ κρυστάλλου λίθου ὅν δι' ὑπερβάλλουσιν τοῦ ὕδατος πῆξιν μεταποιεῖσθαι φασιν.

²¹¹ Plutarch, *De Plac. Philosophorum*, II., 11. Ἐμπεδοκλῆς στερόμενον εἶναι τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐξ ἀέρος συμπλεγέντος ὑπὸ πυρὸς κρυσταλλοειδῶς τὸ πυρῶδες καὶ τὸ ἀερῶδες ἐν ἑκατέρῳ τῶν ἡμισφαιρίων περιέχοντα.

²¹² 61, C. Καὶ πάλιν ταῖς ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐκτενοίαις εἰς τὸ οὐκ εἶναι μέτρον κρυσταλλοειδῆ.

occurred from the increase of the moon toward full and the ebb from its decrease."²¹³ Pytheas was apparently the first man who connected the influence of the moon with tidal movements. Another trace of Plutarch appears in the following: "The tortoise, indeed, when it is gorged with the flesh of the viper, escapes harm from the venomous animal through the power of marjoram."²¹⁴ Plutarch says explicitly that "Tortoises eat marjoram when bitten by a snake, and wild rue also, and so do civets."²¹⁵ Basil touches a common idea concerning ants when he says, "You may be certain that you will not see rain fall from the sky so long as the ant has left out its grain."²¹⁶ The idea that ants carried out their hoarded grain and spread it on the ground to dry, when they feared it might mould, was common. Plutarch says, "Aratus makes this a sign of rain, 'And the ants bring in more quickly from without all the seeds of the hollow food.' And some do not write seeds, but grains, as referring to hoarded fruits. For when the ants find the collected grain damp, and they fear its decay and change, they bear it out. And the anticipation of the sprouting of the wheat surpasses all the forethought of intelligence."²¹⁷ The action of the moon's rays is a matter for comment: "Observe how fresh meat is soon spoiled under the action of the moon."²¹⁸ Plutarch says, "By far the greater part of what is gathered is changed by the moon, and it is difficult to decide concerning the cause."²¹⁹

The development of earthly things before the creation of the sun is a theory Plutarch credits to Empedocles. Basil writes, "If

²¹³ Plutarch, *De Plac. Philosophorum*, III., 17. Πυθέας ὁ Μασσαλιώτης τῇ πληρώσει τῆς σελήνης τὰς πλημμύρας γίνεσθαι τῇ δὲ μειώσει τὰς ἀμπώτιδας.

²¹⁴ 82, A. Χελώνη δὲ σαρκῶν ἐχίδνης ἐμπορηθεῖσα διὰ τῆς τοῦ ὀρίγανου ἀντιπαθείας φεύγει τὴν βλάβην τοῦ λοβόλου.

²¹⁵ Plutarch, *De Soll. Anim.*, 974, b. Χελῶναι μὲν ὀρίγανον γαλαῖ δὲ πῆγανον ὅταν ὄρεως φάγωσιν ἐπετίουσι.

²¹⁶ 83, A. 'Ἀμέλει οὐκ ἂν ἴδοις ὄμβρον ἐκ νεφῶν ἐπαρκεύετα παρ' ὅσον χρόνον ἐκ τῶν μυρμηκῶν ὁ σίτος προβέβληται.

²¹⁷ Plutarch, *De Soll. Anim.*, 967, F. ὅτε τοῦ ποιεῖται σημεῖον ὁ Ἄρατος. ἡ κοίτης μύρμηκας ὁχῆς ἐξ ὧσα πάντα θάσσον ἀνηνέγκαντο. καὶ τινες οὐκ φά γράφουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐὰ ὥς τοὺς ἀποκειμένους καρποὺς ὅταν εὐρεῖται συνάγοντες αἰσθῶνται καὶ φοβηθῶσι φθορὰν καὶ σῆψιν ἀναφερόντων. ὑπερβάλλει δὲ πᾶσαν ἐπίνοιαν συνέσεως ἢ τοῦ παρὰ τῆς βλαστήσεως προκατέληψις.

²¹⁸ 61, B. καὶ τὰ νεοφαγῇ τῶν κρεῶν ταχὺ κρεπόμενα τῇ προσβολῇ τῆς σελήνης.

²¹⁹ Plutarch, *Quæst. Conv.*, III., 10. ἄλλον ἔφη καλὸν μείζονα κομίζεμενον ὑπὸ τῆς σελήνης διαφθαγεῖν καὶ σφόδρα γε περὶ τῆς αἰτίας διαπορεῖν.

they are sure that the earth was adorned before the genesis of the sun, they ought to withdraw their vast admiration for the sun, because they believe that plants and grasses vegetated before it rose."²²⁰ He refers to pagan philosophers who had professed admiration for the sun, and Plutarch, in discussing Empedocles, says, "Empedocles says that the trees were the first of living things to spring from the earth, before the sun rose and before day and night were divided."²²¹ A Stoic theory comes also to note: "It is just as impious to say that evil originates from God."²²² Basil has been discussing one variety of error, and here turns to another, which Plutarch charges to the Stoics.²²³ The opinions of most ancient philosophers were well and freely misrepresented by friend and foe alike, and it is always difficult to judge them with certainty. Speaking of the skill in tracking displayed by a dog, Basil says that after scenting one of different trails he can knowingly take the right one: "What more is done by those who, philosophically occupied in theorizing, draw lines in the dust, rejecting two propositions to show that the third is true?"²²⁴ Such sophists, the saint contends, show no more intelligence than the dog, if as much, for after scenting trails he picks the right one, as it is the only one to follow, while the sophists, rejecting all theories except the one that they had beforehand decided to accept, must needs come to it at last. Plutarch tells stories of quibbles used by the sophists on the same point.²²⁵ Basil endeavors to explain the theory of sight: "Objects lose size in our sight when at a very great distance, because the sight can not clear the intermediate distance and is, as it were, exhausted in the middle of its rush, and

²²⁰ 40, B. 'Εάν ἄρα πεισθῶσιν ὅτι πρὸ τῆς ἐκείνου γενέσεως τὰ περὶ τὴν γῆν πάντα διακειόμενοι καὶ τοῦ ἀμέτρου περὶ αὐτὸν θαύματος καθυψῶσιν ἐνθυμηθέντες ὅτι χόρτου καὶ βοτάνης νεώτερος ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν γένεσιν.

²²¹ Plutarch, *De Placi Philosophorum*, V., 910, C. 'Εμπεδοκλῆς πρῶτα τὰ δένδρα τῶν ζῶων ἐκ γῆς ἀναδύναί φησι, πρὶν τὸν ἥλιον περιελθῆναι καὶ πρὶν ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα διακριθῆναι.

²²² 16, C. Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ παρὰ θεοῦ τὸ κακὸν τὴν γένεσιν ἔχειν εὐσεβές ἐστι λέγειν.

²²³ Cf. Plutarch, *Stoicos*, 1976. In this section Plutarch lays this error to the Stoics' account, but it is not certain that they ever said it or that it was their opinion.

²²⁴ 84, C. τί περισσότερον ποιῶσιν οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν διαγραμμάτων σεμνῶς καθεζόμενοι καὶ τὴν κόνιν καταχαράσσοντες τριῶν προτάσεων ἀναιροῦντες τὰς δύο καὶ ἐν τῇ λειπομένῃ τὸ ἀληθές ἐξευρίσκοντες.

²²⁵ Plutarch, *De Sollertia Anim.*, 726, ff. Most of these quibbles, which consisted in sleight of hand tricks, or verbal plays that confused the hearer, are too well known to need mention.

only a fraction of it gets to its visible object."²²⁶ Plutarch gives the idea as if it were really due to Plato: "Plato said that we see by the sunaugeia; that there was a flow of rays from the eye of a human being at a certain time through the air, and an outflow of rays from the object seen. This flow was easily dissolved midway in the air, and it was co-extensive or otherwise along with any inflammation of the eyes. It was called the Platonic sunaugeia."²²⁷ Plutarch's idea is confused, but he has approximately the same idea that Basil is trying to state.

A fair instance of the indirect way in which connections will sometimes appear is found in this remark. "For may not some word be found," says Basil, "a healer for such misfortune?"²²⁸ While Plutarch dwells upon the thought of words being healers, thus, "For words are like healers of a sick soul, when one's heart is weakened at a critical time."²²⁹ The thought is the same, but it has traveled through a very roundabout channel. Basil, as a regular reader of Plutarch, might be expected to give much from Plutarch and to refer to many ideas that Plutarch had formulated. His rendering of the thought would almost necessarily be less accurate than that of the earlier writer, and Plutarch is never celebrated for accuracy. Basil seldom tries to give the account as he got it, but rather to reproduce it as effectively and fluently as possible, and arrange the ideas to suit the case in hand. This destroys most of the possibilities for connecting instances.

A single case occurs that may have been taken from Marcus Aurelius, but like most of the other ideas upon moralizing, it lies open to doubt because of Basil's tendency to preach religion into all his compositions. He expatiates in the *Hexaemeron* upon the necessity of considering one's misfortunes not as injuries, but as helps on the road of moral perfection: "Sickness and poverty, obscurity, death, and in short, all human evils should be regarded really not as evils, because the things which are their opposites are

²²⁶ 59, B. Συναιρεῖσθαι γὰρ πέφυκεν ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις διαστήμασι τὰ μεγέθη τῶν ὁραμένων τῆς ὁρατικῆς δυνάμεως οὐκ ἐξικνουμένης τὸν μεταξὺ τόπον διαπερθεῖν ἄλλ' ὁλοῦσι ἐν δαπανωμένης τῇ μέσῳ καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον αὐτῆς μέρος προσβαλλούσης τοῖς ὁρατοῖς.

²²⁷ Plutarch, *De Placitis Philosophorum*, IV., 13. Πλάτων κατὰ συνανθειαν τοῦ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν φωτὸς ἐπὶ ποσὸν ἀπορρέοντος εἰς τὸν ὁμογενῆ ἀέρα τοῦ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων φερομένου τοῦ δὲ περὶ τὸν μεταξὺ ἀέρα εὐδιάχυτον ὄντα καὶ εὐτρεπτον συνεκταίνομένου τῇ πυρῶδει τῆς ὕψεως. αὕτη λέγεται πλατονικὴ συνανθγεια.

²²⁸ Letter 29. τίς γὰρ ἂν καὶ λόγος εὐρεθείη τοσαύτης συμφορᾶς ἰατρός; ²²⁹ Plutarch, *De Consolatione*, *Consolatio ad Apollonium*. ψυχῆς γὰρ νοσοῦσης εἶσιν ἰατροὶ λόγοι ὅταν τις ἐν καιρῷ γε μαλθάσῃ κέαρ.

not rated as unmitigated good."²³⁰ In a very general way the same ideas appear in the works of Marcus Aurelius.²³¹ Other dim resemblances could be traced out in different passages, and just as Basil approaches Marcus Aurelius, he also seems to touch upon the works of Epictetus and similar moralizing writers. But these similarities are vague. The general rules of the Christian religion would be preached in any case, and in many points they resembled the doctrines of the better pagan philosophers. The efforts of the Stoics and other moralists were vague and cloudy and offered but little ground for comparison with the strong light of revealed faith.

In the use of the philosophers, or such persons as can generally be classed among the philosophers, according to the ancient conception of philosophy, it would seem that the greatest borrowings are from Plato. Most of the Fathers, both Latin and Greek, were strong admirers of Plato, and found much in his writings which approached the Christian ideals, and they found these doctrines beautifully expressed. With good reason they liked him. In Aristotle, Basil has an influence far less direct than that of Plato, and yet Aristotle has had a force in Basil's writings which is very important. It is all the more to be considered for the fact that Aristotle's powerful thought and far reaching influence are so subtle. Of the other thinkers the influences are far to seek. Basil read Plutarch freely. He also read many of the earlier philosophers, and he doubtless knew their lives. Diogenes Laertius has the only record on a general scale of the careers of these men. Some remarks may be referred to Diogenes Laertius with at least the right to give him the greater degree of probability, but the case is simply one that cannot be sure. Basil's debt to the Greek philosophers then is very large. It is in no doubt. The literary obligations are mainly to Plato. Other men were used only as occasion demanded, and irregular citations give little clue to their literary bearing either upon Basil or such men as may have influenced him. In the vaguer class of usages Basil's expressions are always open to various uncertainties because of his many other associations, and a shadow of doubt must attach to any evidence of connections.

²³⁰ 17, B. Νόσον γὰρ καὶ πέναν καὶ δόξαν καὶ θάνατον καὶ ὅσα λυπηρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οἴωται καὶ ἐν τῇ μοίρᾳ τῶν κακῶν καταλογίζεσθαι ἄξιον διὰ τὸ μηδὲ τὰ ἀντικείμενα τούτοις ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις ἡμῶς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀρεθμεῖν.

²³¹ Cf. Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations*, II., 11, ff.

CONCLUSION

Fourth century learning was on the dividing line between Christianity and Paganism. A little before Basil's time education was almost all pagan; a few years later it had become Christian, and imperial edicts had closed the schools to pagan professors. The readings and studies open to a fourth century student are fairly well exemplified in the display of his erudition that Basil exhibits. Various universities and libraries in turn had exerted their influence upon Hellenism and its literature, and the passing nations had successively given their contributions. Jewish traders, who made up nearly one-seventh of the population of Egypt at this period, and Alexandrian scholars who labored with the resources of the Ptolemies, had played their part in affecting the language and literature that prevailed in their age. Basil is a product of the century.

His employment of Greek authors is such as might be expected of a rhetorician of his time and accomplishments. He shows a knowledge of more important writers, based upon thorough examination. His employment is everywhere that of a friendly and intelligent critic. At no time does he formally condemn either the pagan classics or the study of them. The distinctions that he makes are no more sharp and severe than had been made by Plato. Intelligent discrimination is his rule. There is, then, no ground for suspecting that he was an enemy to classical learning, and every reason for believing that he was its champion.

His education was obtained at the pagan university of Athens, and the works of pagan writers formed the curriculum. For four or five years Basil read and studied these books with a zeal and intelligence that drew attention and compliments from all teachers. His ready reference to the productions of the old masters, and his insight into their spirit are evident. In view of these facts alone, his attitude toward the pagan classics would seem to need no explanation. But in his Speech to the Youths, Basil reinforced his almost obvious stand by direct statement, saying in so many

words that when the pagan writers teach what is good, and noble, and true, they are to be read, while if they teach vice they must be shunned. There exists no more explicit declaration of the right position of the classics in education than this. Every educator from Plato down has maintained similar views. "If anyone," says Basil, "praises the good thus, we will listen to his words with satisfaction, for our objects are in common." And again, "Thus, then, we shall be influenced by those writings of pagan authors which have an exposition of virtue." His stand is clear enough. The pagan classics have a place in Christian education, and when properly selected and intelligently taught and received, their influence in education is beneficial and necessary.

It was but natural that he should champion the classics, for he understood them. He could admire them, for he appreciated the great minds that had produced them, and he had a true sense of their power and worth. As he had no thought of appearing as a formal literary critic, the remarks that give an index to his views of Greek literature are of necessity scattered and casual, yet none the less they ring true, and time, while confirming most, has not changed one of them.

From the consideration of the poets, the following points are reasonable inferences: There are twenty-eight instances, all told, leading up to epic poems, while but nine appear in lyric, and eight in dramatic verse. Epic verse had taken the strongest grasp upon his mind, with lyric and dramatic about an even second, for the difference between the two is too slight for consideration. The overwhelmingly preponderant reputation of Homer accounts for the first case. But, considering lyric and dramatic verse together, and in view of the vast bulk of plays that had been produced, one might have expected a wider range of dramatic reminiscence from such a scholar. It is an established fact that with the later Greeks Euripides was the popular dramatist. He was the materialist, the scoffer even. He was read almost to the complete exclusion of Aeschylus and Sophocles. Basil does not even name Sophocles and gives Aeschylus but passing mention, drawing almost all his real dramatic references from Euripides. It shows how well Basil followed the canons of his age, and how truly he may be judged a fair representative of it. Still, this does not account for the small number of dramatic references. But in this consideration a significant fact occurs. In the first chapter of his *Life of St. Macrine Gregory of Nyssa*, is discoursing upon Basil's early

education and laying stress upon the predominant religious phases. He says that when the Greek poets were read the noble sentiments of tragedy were commended, while comic poetry was banned, and its indecent or irreligious points held up to horror. This is a very interesting statement and perhaps accounts for the fact that Basil, who gives evidence of being so widely read in other Greek literature, and who quoted freely from authors in many other fields, does not quote from comedy and makes no reference to known comedians. But if comedy were subtracted from the body of dramatic writings, the bulk of the total would be largely reduced and the range of possible quotations would be very much lessened. So, if it is considered that Euripides occupied the attention of dramatic readers, to the great detriment of Aeschylus and Sophocles, and that comic writers were absolutely excluded, the small number of Basil's dramatic references may be in some measure explained.

His other literary views among the poets are very clear. "Assuredly we want some Simonides or like poet," he says, when indulging in a condolence, "to bewail our misfortunes from personal experience, but why name Simonides? I would rather mention Aeschylus, or any other who has set forth a great calamity in words like his, and uttered lamentations with a mighty voice." The verses of Simonides bewailed Greeks killed in the Persian wars. The characterization of Aeschylus is excellent. Basil accords popularity and high motives to Hesiod when he says that Hesiod's verses are sung by everyone: "What else can we suppose Hesiod had in mind in making those verses that are sung by everyone, if not to exhort the youthful to virtue?" He mentions the Margites, long attributed to Homer, expressing a doubt that the production is truly Homeric. Modern criticism has agreed with his doubt and definitely separated the work from real Homeric verse.

Basil's use of quotation is strictly rhetorical and subservient to the needs of the case in hand, the verse being given accurately where possible and in a loose manner when memory fails. His use of the poets is effective and in some instances accurate. His reading would seem to have been very wide, and it indicates an acquaintance with some of the first figures of Greek literature. The friendly way in which he regards them is shown fairly in the use and criticism that he makes of them.

His usages of history and of historical events is that of a

rhetor who pretended to no scientific knowledge of history, but who employed historic incidents as tales that adorn a speech when well and dramatically introduced. He gives no clue as to where he gets them, but leaves that out as a matter of no importance in the case at hand. His use, therefore, is never precise, nor can it be called either definite or informative.

In considering philosophical ideas it must be remembered that certain forms of thought are common to many schools, and have survived through centuries, and have been used by so many men and in so many systems that assigning them a definite place is next to impossible. Basil, who was well read in philosophy and who shows traces of a wide knowledge of the very early thinkers, has hints of many forms of philosophy and many systems of thought. In his use of the philosophers Aristotle, Pythagoras and others are mentioned, but Plato is the outstanding figure. The obligations to Plato are more evident than those to other thinkers, for Plato was also one of the great literary lights. Of the Greek prose writers and, most of all, of the philosophers, there was not one who was so poetical and imaginative, or who was so elevated in theories and brilliant in delineations as Plato. Without question the more elaborate passages of oratory approach closer to poetry than anything else in prose. And Basil was at one time a teacher of rhetoric. So a certain easily recognized literary kinship existed between his field and the bright imagery of Plato's fancies. The poetical flights of the Greek appealed to Basil's sensitive mind and vivid imagination, and the philosopher's diction was at once a model and a despair to succeeding imitators. If the saint's attitude toward Plato could be gauged merely by the number of times that he names him, this alone would show how much preference Basil gave him. Basil makes a shrewd characterization in this remark: "Your good taste has perceived that those pagan philosophers who wrote dialogues, Aristotle and Theophrastus, went straight at the matter, knowing that they were not possessed of the graceful style of Plato." The criticism is just. The respective styles of the extant works of Aristotle and Plato are too well known to need comparison. The lesser philosophers are of small importance in a literary way, and the fragments of their works which exist leave little trace for study of literary abilities or tendencies.

In Attic literature the only men whom Basil seems to have left out of his ready references are the Attic orators. A mention, indeed, is made of Demosthenes. But Antiphon, Andocides,

Lysias and others, who were widely and favorably known, do not appear. The great predominance of the sophistic rhetoric of his own day had undoubtedly much to do with this situation. But an orators' works do not lead themselves to quotation so readily as the verses of the poets and the apothegms of the philosophers.

The extent of his knowledge of Greek literature is evinced by his citation of names and of well known authors. He names thirteen men whose works have come down to us, prominent among whom are Homer, Hesiod, Theognis, Plato, Aristotle and Demosthenes. He names ten philosophers whose works have perished, or survive only in fragments, or who have left no regularly recorded works, citing such figures as Anaximander, Anaximenes, Democritus, Leucippus, Empedocles and Xenophanes, of Colophon. He gives anecdotes readily connected with Xenophon, Plutarch, Thucydides and Herodotus. In short, the range of his ready references takes in almost the whole sweep of Greek literature and leaves no room to doubt that he did not know his classics thoroughly. Basil's use of literary adornment, and figures, and citations is, in general, decidedly sparing,¹ and far from the extreme developments of such men as St. Chrysostom.² There is no passage in Basil in which it does not appear that he could have said more if he had wished. But rather there is a trace of reticence, and a use of classic allusion in a way graceful and effective instead of showy. It proves that he not only understood the classic spirit of moderation, but acted upon it.

Among other Fathers of the Eastern Church, Basil stands out prominently in his views of education. While not one of them was opposed in a blind and destructive way to pagan learning, not one took the extremely enlightened and advanced position that Basil assumed. In his theory of education Basil favored the rational study of the pagan classics. Some of the Fathers were undecided, and their attacks upon pagan writers gave the impression that they were unalterably opposed to the whole theory of pagan literature, from which it would follow, of course, that its use in the schools is to be condemned. St. Chrysostom, by his violent invectives against the vice and error of paganism, has long been thought an enemy of Greek classicism from every angle.³

¹ Cf. Campbell, J. M., *Influence of the Second Sophistic upon the Sermons of St. Basil the Great.*

² Cf. Ameringer, T., *Stylistic Influence of the Second Sophistic on the Panegyric Sermons of St. John Chrysostom.*

³ Cf. Nægele, A., *Johannos Chrysostomos und sein Verhältnis zum Hellenismus.*

The falsity of such impressions is well established. But in contradistinction to the men who were not so outspoken, Basil's stand is clear. His education at the pagan university of Athens alone would give an index to his ideas upon the question of education, and the readiness with which, in contrast to the other Fathers, he grasped the non-christian writings, and selected from them such as suited the christian purposes of education, training and philosophy of life, indicates satisfactorily how favorably and logically he considered the case of the classics in education. His viewpoint was certainly the most enlightened of his time, and deserves especial mention in an age when paganism was dying and christianity wavering whether or not to accept the heritage of beauty, thought and culture bequeathed to it by the civilization that was passing away.

Basil's acquaintance with pagan literature is that of an understanding friend, not blind to its worse qualities, but by no means condemning the whole on that account. His use is rhetorical and sophistic. He quotes the poets and paraphrases their famous lines and expressions. He tells the stories that the historians had made celebrated. He knows the names and theories of the philosophers. He employs each and every one as the oratorical occasion demands, but never in a hostile or bigoted manner. Examination of Basil's works makes these points evident. At no time does he formally condemn or reject the pagan classics. Whenever his subject permits he uses them in an elaborate and sympathetic way, and with evident understanding of their spirit and purpose. It follows that he was in every sense a true friend to the better productions of pagan literature.

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**THE INFLUENCE
OF THE SECOND SOPHISTIC ON THE
STYLE OF THE SERMONS OF
ST. BASIL THE GREAT**

BY

JAMES MARSHALL CAMPBELL A. M.

A DISSERTATION

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PREFACE

Since M. Puech proposed the question of the indebtedness of patristic eloquence to the contemporary sophistic in the *Revue de synthèse historique* for June 1901; three dissertations have been published bearing directly on phases of that ample problem. M. Méridier has studied the influence of the Second Sophistic upon St. Gregory of Nyssa; Guignet has studied St. Gregory of Nazianzus, in his contacts with the contemporary rhetoric; Father Ameringer, out of the vast bulk of St. John Chrysostom, has traced the sophistic influence on the style of the panegyrical sermons of that orator. The following study aims to furnish such a paragraph in answer to M. Puech's question as will result from a careful study of the style of the 46 sermons of St. Basil that are found in the Benedictine edition.

My study differs from theirs, however, in method, and to a slight degree in purpose. They have devoted their efforts largely towards establishing the fact of sophistic influence in their respective orators. I have been concerned more with the extent of that influence on St. Basil. It is true that the extent of influence is inextricably bound up with the fact of influence, but, had the extent of influence been their chief concern, they probably would have used a method differing somewhat from that which obtains among them. However this may be, my method is different. It is an attempt to make use of something declared by them to be highly desirable but not practicable in such studies, i. e. statistics.

Guignet gives the case against the use of statistics.¹ He objects to them because of the uncertain state of the patristic texts. Even if the present state of the text of Basil should finally call for radical changes, which the work of Bessières²

¹ 12.

² Abbé J. Bessières, *La Tradition manuscrite de la correspondance de Saint Basile*. *The Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. XXI, 1919 (Several installments, beginning No. 81, 1).

and Deferrari³ does not indicate, the variant statistics would not change the conclusions in this study because of the very pronounced tendencies which the statistics gathered from the present text reveal. Further on in his study Guignet⁴ protests the futility of statistics in determining sophistic influence in the comparison. The same objection, if valid, applies to the metaphor as well. It is worth considering therefore at some length. Guignet's objection may be stated somewhat as follows. The mere total of the comparisons will indicate the extent of profuseness in the use of the figure, and profuseness is a sophistic eccentricity. But such a total will not indicate precisely the sophistic profuseness, not necessarily the profuseness due to the sophistic manner of the times. The Fathers of the Fourth Century realized and acknowledged the utility of the comparison for illuminating the obscure.⁵ There will thus be much in such a total (how much is indeterminable) to be attributed to Christian inspiration, and not to the sophistic. Thus far Guignet. I do not think that Guignet's objection is a valid one here. The studies which he himself has made, together with those of M. Méridier and Father Ameringer,⁶ show that most of the comparisons of the two Gregories and Chrysostom "may be reduced to a limited number of stereotyped forms, slightly modified to suit the occasion"⁷ and that these stereotyped forms are characteristic of the sophists. The indefinite results alleged against a mere count may therefore be remedied by carefully classifying all the sophistic figures found under their proper heads. A comparison of the totals of the sophistic and non-sophistic categories will show us how often St. Basil resorted to genuinely sophistic categories. In any case, whether the disciple of the sophists or the Christian preacher and expounder is the dominating personality in these results interferes not at all with the value of the results themselves. If sophistic display is the leading motive that called forth a given

³ St. Basil's Letters, Vol. I, Loeb Classical Library.

⁴ 159.

⁵ Cf. P. G. Gregory of Nyssa 45, 345 A; 352 A; 585 D: Chrysostom 56, 165; 32; 57, 199.

⁶ Cf. Méridier, 117; Guignet, 161; Ameringer, 69.

⁷ Ameringer, 69.

comparison, then St. Basil is revealing his sophistic training. If the preacher's anxiety to clarify his point is the leading motive, then again St. Basil reveals himself the pupil of the sophists, employing familiar pagan devices to an anti-pagan purpose.

Besides the evident value of statistics there is another consideration which makes their use really necessary in a study of this kind. The very strength of some sophistic figures impresses the mind of the reader so deeply that he is blinded to their possible infrequency, and the relative frequency of a given figure is always an index of sophistic influence, if the character of the figure is valued aright. It has been my purpose therefore to consider the manner of the figures found in St. Basil's sermons and the frequency of each figure, dividing the statistics on a figure into appropriate groups where its nature seemed to demand it. From these two view-points, equally important in a study of the Second Sophistic, I have constructed my conclusions.

In gathering statistics much circumspection has been necessary. As has been said above, the nature of each figure had to be taken into account. Three examples of *arsis* and *thesis* and three examples of *prosopopoiia*, for instance, are not equivalents in rhetorical value. *Arsis* is capable of many repetitions without becoming obtrusive, while *prosopopoiia* need recur only a very few times to become a very marked element of style. Figures also differ in the readiness with which they may be recognized as such. *Arsis* and *thesis* and rhetorical questions, for instance, have only to be seen to be justly accounted figures. In the *Figures of Sound*, however, much care is needed. In a language so highly inflected as the Greek, rhetorical design must be very obvious before one is justified in calling what appears to be a figure of sound truly such. To a lesser extent *antithesis* must be closely examined because of the antithetical bent of the Greek language. Metaphors too present some difficulties because of our meagre lexicographical knowledge of Fourth Century Greek. Because of the problem raised by these three figures it is sometimes said that rhetorical design must be evident in every apparent figure and that therefore the whole process of gathering figures is a purely, or highly, subjective one. To this I do not

agree. Such a view rests upon a misconception of the nature of the Sophistic. The Second Sophistic in its rhetorical aspect is not one phase of the rhetoric of the Empire. Contrariwise it includes all the rhetoric of its day. The term describes an epoch in the history of rhetoric, when narrowed to its rhetorical meaning. It includes the present and all of the past that has come down to it. Outside of the figures mentioned above, then, rhetorical design need not be established in every case. The form of the figure St. Basil derived from contemporary rhetoric and its heritage, regardless of any conscious purpose on his part.

In this study, under Figures of Parallelism, names are employed not found in the progymnasmata or elsewhere. St. Basil's alleged lack of preparation and its possible effect on the Figures of Parallelism have led me into these distinctions. These distinctions the results have justified I believe.

Many figures included in this study go back to the Athenian law-courts. At the outset of this investigation it was thought worth while to keep in mind all the figures of rhetoric, so far as might be, even the unimportant. This seemed only consistent with the essential connection of the Sophistic with earlier epochs of rhetoric. There thus would be revealed any little rhetorical mannerism that Basil might possess, liable to be ignored in the exclusive consideration of the more usual figures. While the results in this small province have yielded little in proportion to the attention given it, while the results are almost negative in figures associated with the law-courts, yet this much is not without value as illustrating what Basil did not do, or what unusual device he sometimes used. Thus am I enabled to present his art more nicely and more completely than would otherwise be possible.

Despite the uncertainties that may be due to the state of the text, to the exigencies of prose-rhythm, to personal predilection, I thought that scrupulous care would give an approximation in statistics which, coupled with a study of the manner of development of the figures themselves, would be decidedly worth while. In this I do not feel disappointed. Despite the lack of data on other orators and sophists of the time precise enough to allow for detailed comparisons, I have been able, by constant reviews of the text and by the

aid of general conclusions on other orators and sophists, to come to very definite conclusions on St. Basil's use of most of the figures and, consequently, on the extent of influence exercised by pagan rhetoric on his homiletical style. These statistics are so pronounced in their testimony that even with a less detailed knowledge of the period than is actually available, I could arrive at positive conclusions.

Sophistic dialectic has not been treated in this study. Dialectic borders too dangerously on theological studies for a thorough study here, and the superficial account that I could give would be inconsistent with the character and purpose of this dissertation. Although many evidences of sophistic dialectic appear in the sermons, especially in the comparisons, so difficult a subject is here left to the thorough treatment of a special monograph. The question of prose-rhythm is so unsatisfactory and so extensive that rhythmical clausulae are also excluded.

To explain fully the Second Sophistic I have prefixed some account of its precursors. All the material used in the first chapter of this dissertation and much in the second chapter is familiar to students of rhetoric. An explanation of the Second Sophistic in English, however, seems highly desirable and such a narrative must necessarily include some account of the Sophistic's precursors. Besides if an historical account always explains a movement, this is all the more true in the case of the Second Sophistic and its disciples, because of its attempt on its Attic side to cling exclusively to the traditions of the past. Moreover, my account of the development of rhetoric has led me to a definition of the Second Sophistic historically considered—a definition not given heretofore.

The Benedictine text has been used. Migne is a very poor reprint of the Benedictine and contains many errors.

The author wishes to express his gratitude to Dr. Roy Joseph Deferrari, Chairman of the Greek and Latin Departments at the Catholic University of America, who suggested the subject and directed its development. Thanks are also due to Dr. Romanus Butin S. M. of the Catholic University for several valuable suggestions.

CHRONOLOGICAL

BASIL

330 circa. Born in Caesarea in Cappadocia, apparently. [Tillemont, 9, 638; Maran 1, 3; Allard in Dictionnaire de Theologie Catholique, art. "Basilie" conclude that 339 is the year. Batiffol, 392, defends 331]. Studies in Neo-Caesarea under his father, in Caesarea in Cappadocia, and in Constantinople.

351 circa. Goes to Athens.

356 circa. Return to Caesarea.

357 circa. Visit to Egypt, Palestine, Mesopotamia.

358 circa. First retirement to Pontus.

360 circa. Attends Council of Constantinople.

362 circa. Ordained priest. Nine Homilies on the Hexaëmeron. Homilies on the Psalms [Bardenheuer, 3, 148-9].

370 Bishop of Caesarea.

379 January 1, Death.

RHETORICAL

306 circa. Julian of Cappadocia begins lectures at Athens.

310 circa. Himerius born.

314 Libanius born at Antioch.

317 Themistius born.

334-8 Libanius student at Athens.

337 Themistius student at Athens.

340 Prohaeresius of Caesarea succeeds Julian of Cappadocia at Athens.

341 Libanius opens his school at Constantinople.

344 circa. St. John Chrysostom born at Antioch.

345 circa. Julian student at Constantinople.

346 Libanius transfers school to Nicomedia.

354 Libanius opens school at Antioch.

355 Julian student at Athens. Themistius member of Senate at Constantinople.

357 Themistius at Rome.

362 Himerius at Antioch.

368 Himerius at Athens.

388 circa. Death of Themistius.

393 circa. Death of Libanius.

TABLE

POLITICAL

ECCLESIASTICAL

323 Constantine sole Emperor.

330 Dedication of new city of Constantinople.

337 Death of Constantine.

340 Death of Constantine II. Constans supreme in the West.

350 Assassination of Constans. Accession of Magnentius.

353 Suicide of Magnentius. Re-union of empire under Constantius.

361 Accession of Julian.

363 Death of Julian. Accession of Jovian.

364 Death of Jovian. Valentinian, emperor of the West. Valens, emperor of the East.

365-6 Revolt of Procopius.

375 Death of Valentinian. Gratian and Valentinian II, emperors in the West.

378 Revolt of Goths and death of Valens.

379 Theodosius, emperor in the East.

325 Council of Nicaea.

335 Council of Tyre.

336 Death of Arius.

341 Dedication Council of Antioch.

343 circa. Council of Sardica.

351 Council of Sirmium.

357 Second Declaration of Sirmium.

359 Council of Ariminum. Council of Seleucia.

360 Council of Constantinople.

362 Eusebius consecrated Bishop of Caesarea.

367 Council of Tyana.

370 Death of Bishop Eusebius.

371 Modestus and Valens vs. Basil.

372 Gregory consecrated to see of Sasima.

381 Council of Constantinople.

ABBREVIATIONS

Hex. 1 = Homily on Hexaëmeron 1

"	2 =	"	"	"	2
"	3 =	"	"	"	3
"	4 =	"	"	"	4
"	5 =	"	"	"	5
"	6 =	"	"	"	6
"	7 =	"	"	"	7
"	8 =	"	"	"	8
"	9 =	"	"	"	9
Ps.	1 =	"	"	Psalm	1
"	7 =	"	"	"	7
"	14 =	"	"	"	14
"	28 =	"	"	"	28
"	29 =	"	"	"	29
"	32 =	"	"	"	32
"	33 =	"	"	"	33
"	44 =	"	"	"	44
"	45 =	"	"	"	45
"	48 =	"	"	"	48
"	59 =	"	"	"	59
"	61 =	"	"	"	61
"	114 =	"	"	"	114

De Grat. Act. = Homily De Gratiarum Actione.

In Fam. et Siccit. = Homily In Famen et Siccitatem.

Deus non est auct. = Homily Deus non est Auctor Malorum.

Advers. Iratos = Homily Adversus Iratos.

In Princip. Proverb. = Homily In Principio Proverbiorum.

In Sanct. Baptisma = Homily In Sanctum Baptisma.

In Princip. erat V. = Homily In Principio erat Verbum.

Quod Mundanis. = Homily Quod Mundanis non Adhaerendum sit.

Contra Sabellianos = Homily Contra Sabellianos, et Arium et Anomoeos.

The number in parenthesis after the name of each sermon in the statistical tables refers to the number of lines occupied by the sermon in the Benedictine edition.

CHAPTER I

OUTLINE HISTORY OF GREEK RHETORIC¹

In iambic and elegiac poetry the reflective mind of Hellas first found extended literary expression. The passage from poetry to literary prose largely paralleled the progress of reflection. The fragments of the old philosophers, chronologically considered, show a long hesitation in abandoning the more familiar medium, poetry, for the more congenial medium, prose. In the field of narration was a like reluctance. From poetic legend to prose legend, from prose legend to historiography, from historiography to history might be three chapters in an account of the advance of criticism. Narrative was passing from historiography to history, philosophy was already deep in a metaphysical conflict before oratory, as an art, began to develop among the Greeks. Eloquence abounded in the Homeric poems—of a kind unsystematic, and the property of of the gifted few. Natural eloquence was the weapon of talented demagogues in the early democracies, but oratory, known and studied as an art, and not merely admired as the offspring of natural fire and fluency, came to life in Greece only after the Persian Wars in a movement which may be called, on analogy with its descendant, the "First Sophistic."

This name may be applied to the whole of that curious intellectual revolution which profoundly influenced all intelligent Athenians living around 450 B.C. Its beginnings are bound up in the current problems of philosophy. Its opportunity is found in contemporary society and politics. Originally it includes all branches of knowledge—is a popular exposition of contemporary culture—a system of studies designed to make

¹ On the subject of Greek rhetoric, cf. especially Blass, Chaiguet, Navarre, Norden.

its devotees leaders in the state or at least ideal members of the state. In origin non-Athenian, it finds in the first city of the Greek world and under a democratic form of government conditions that make it eminently profitable as a profession but eminently narrow as an art.

Prosperity came to Athens after the Persian wars; and with prosperity, leisure; and with leisure, a vague desire for "culture," such as the Ionian Greeks of Asia had been developing since the Seventh century. This desire, confined not alone to Athens, forthwith created a class called sophists—men who proposed to give the people (or that part of the people who could pay for it) just exactly what they wanted in the way of *σοφία*. *σοφία*, which among the Ionians had been largely given to speculation, now became a practical culture. All Greece was weary of the metaphysical tangle in contemporary philosophy. The hard-headed Athenians in particular welcomed the negative epistemology of Protagoras with its convenient repudiation of all research not immediately connected with practical life. The comprehensiveness of this program varied with the locality, but in Ionian Greece dialectic was its basis, sometimes combined with a wide variety of erudition; sometimes, with literary and grammatical studies.

In Sicily meanwhile the first methodic study of persuasive discourse had been developed. In 465 B.C. the tyrants had been expelled and many lawsuits had arisen over their confiscations of property. Out of this experience came a theory of pleading first formulated and taught by Corax and his pupil Tisias. Caring little for style, their instruction concerned itself solely with the production of plausibility in speech. Commercial relations and consequent commercial disputes brought the art of Corax to Athens sometime before Gorgias' arrival in 427 B.C.²

The practical turn which under-lay the Sophistic from the beginning soon centered its energies in the study of effective speech-making. The sophists, in responding to the desires of their rich and ambitious clients, found in contemporary philosophy materials suited to their purpose. Starting with the

² Navarre, 22.

tenet that all knowledge is relative, that the only reality is appearance, they combine with it eristic, psychology, their own linguistic studies, and the practiced art of Sicily to form that science with which the name sophistry is generally associated.

The Sophistic, then, in the very beginning developed one characteristic which never left it. It was born of the desire of the Athenians for instruction. It was opportunistic. It arose to eminence on a wave of philosophical reaction. It emphasized oratory more than other branches of knowledge because the popular government and the popular will placed the emphasis there. It elaborated, adorned, and embellished; employing other sciences and arts only in so far as they furthered the art stamped by popular approval. Other movements, literary and philosophical, have been conditioned by the popular will; popular approval was the very life-blood of the Sophistic.

In practice it was a school of scepticism, manifesting supreme indifference to truth, impatient of research, anxious to persuade above all things because in effective persuasion lay the immediate means to political power. Thus, from the first, the Sophistic was superficial. It aimed to please. It gradually pushed aside matter to worship form. Hence, the invention of all those devices that perfected and beautified eloquence; hence, further on in its course, that jingle of words and ideas that degraded it. The sensitive ear of the Greek, once indulged in the beauties of form, must be pampered ever after. He must never grow weary of ingenious display and musical combinations. Hence the progress in artificiality that marked the course of the Sophistic—the continuous parade of form-device rather than the elaboration of matter.

Protagoras of Abdera, the first leading sophist, specialized on the teaching of eristic and founded Greek grammatical science. The Sicilian Gorgias, the second sophist to appear in Athens, also included subtle reasoning in his curriculum, but he devoted himself mainly to a beauty of expression attained through the conscious study of vocabulary and sentence-structure. Despite his Sicilian-Ionic origin, he adopted the Attic dialect—the shrewd sophist's infallible instinct for the trend of the times—but an Attic made from the

sonorous words of poets and from new words created for fine shades of meaning. With Gorgias Attic Oratory really begins. From his school flow influences that are never effaced in all the changes to which Greek rhetoric was subsequently subject.

The teaching of rhetoric persisted from the Fifth century down. Social and political conditions of succeeding ages at times repressed its practical manifestation in oratory, but on its academic side it was always a discipline of the schools. The sophistic profession lasted as long as antiquity.

The First Sophistic as a distinct literary and intellectual revolution may be said to end with the close of the Fifth Century with Gorgias, Antiphon, and their schools. By that time the Sophistic has become definitely rhetorical. The Fourth Century Sophistic is but a continuation of the Fifth Century tradition—the theoretical training of men for the practical use of oratory in the struggles of the agora.

Of the Ten Attic Orators, Antiphon alone belongs entirely to the Fifth Century. Of the rest, Andocides, Lysias, Isaeus, and Isocrates overlap the two centuries, while Demosthenes, Aeschines, Hyperides, Lycurgus, and Dinarchus belong to the Fourth. The three types of oratory which developed in Greece grew to perfection in succession. Judicial oratory, cultivated first in Sicily, attained its highest perfection with Lysias. The oratory of declamation, inaugurated by Gorgias, reached its high mark in Isocrates. Political oratory, out of the turmoil of the latter Fourth century, was at its best in Demosthenes. It is sufficient here to call attention to the exquisite artistry of their work; the polished products of sophistic training, inborn genius, and mighty, or at least moving, subjects. Lysias studied in Sicily. Isocrates was probably the disciple of Gorgias. Under Isocrates the long periodic sentence was developed, and declamatory oratory looked to grand themes and glorious occasions for its display. He followed his master Gorgias in his efforts to ennoble diction, but produced a revolution in Greek prose by the use of the purest Attic, by smoothly-running rhythm, by the absolute avoidance of the hiatus, by substituting variety and flexibility for the stiff artistry of his master.

The last Attic orator worthy of the name and the first to

suffer from a lack of great national subjects was Demetrius of Phaleron, who grew to maturity during the Macedonian ascendancy and later flourished at Ptolemaic Alexandria. He was an Atticist of the purest type and a pupil of Theophrastus, but even these assurances did not save his art from the charges of slackness and effeminacy. With him Attic oratory came to an end. Athens lost her liberty and with her liberty, the only support of civil eloquence. There was no longer political power in the spoken word. Judicial oratory became a mere barrister's trade. Political oratory was crushed under the ascendancy of Philip and Alexander. Epideictic oratory went back to the schools and class-room exercises to await another hey-day. Rhetoric did not die. It was merely eclipsed for a while.

From about 300 B.C. the decline of oratory goes hand-in-hand with the extinction of Attic life and liberty, and the darkening of purely Greek originality. What the Grecian language gained in territory, it lost in content. The cosmopolitan thought of Alexandrian times is utterly non-Greek, although the Alexandrians did their best to preserve the Greek ideal. This period of oratorical decadence merits our attention, for in it are contained the elements that join the Second Sophistic with the First. In an age devoted to artistry and erudition, the rhetorical tradition lives on in the schools, developing characteristics that explain historically features of later Hellenic eloquence.

The rhetorical activity in the schools now developed a form of school-declamation that reveals significantly the course of rhetoric after the death of Alexander—the diatribe. We see its fore-runner in the dialogue; in those passages of Plato, for instance, where Socrates abandons his customary dialectic and introduces a feigned antagonist or a personified thing with whom or which he disputes.³ Such introductions and conversations are characteristic forms of the diatribe of Alexandrian times. The declaimer, reciting this school-declamation, places himself and a feigned party in place of two persons speaking in dialogue. With this feigned party,

³ Cf. Protagoras, 352 ff.; Crito, 50 A ff.; Phaedo, 87 A; Centiphon, fr. 131.

the declaimer engages in a logomachia. The diatribe of the schools was nothing but dialogue in the form of declamation. We observe here one characteristic of the Alexandrian period—the prosaic present harking back to a brilliant past for suggestion and inspiration.

In style the diatribe was not so intimately connected with the glorious past. Its diction was slovenly. In it the period created by Isocrates was dissolved into short sentences. In the emptiness of the times it took to moralizing; pouncing upon the follies of men, reprehending them or ridiculing them. In this declamatory censoriousness it often hit upon a pathetic tone which now reminds one of comedy and now of tragedy. From this came the second characteristic of its style, a leaning towards theatrical pathos. This form of school-exercise became typical of declamations and blended in the later rhetorical schools with Asianism, an eccentric offshoot of the old-time rhetoric that developed in another part of the Orient after the breaking-up of Alexander's empire.

The dissolution of Alexander's empire saw political oratory, the tradition of Demosthenes, crushed along with the political life of the Greeks; forensic oratory, the tradition of Lysias, pursuing a useful, quiet career in the Athenian Law-courts; and declamatory oratory, the tradition of Isocrates and Gorgias, forced back into the schools. For a while this last-named ventured forth in the form of epideictic and panegyric speeches; then it became a tradition in the schools. Its active practice passed from Athens to the flourishing, populous cities of Asia Minor, now again immensely rich in the new order of things.

To appreciate thoroughly that literary movement in history called "Asianism," it is necessary, first of all, to recall characteristics of the peoples of Asia Minor; for eloquence is an immediate expression of the national character. Aristotle traced the non-serious character of Sicilian diction from the ingenious, waggish originality of the Sicilian people. In Attic eloquence the moderateness and gracefulness of the Athenians is hypostasized. Only by reviewing the characteristics of the Asiatics is it possible to understand a school of eloquence so completely at odds with the Attic.

OUTLINE HISTORY OF GREEK RHETORIC

In Asia arose those orgiastic cults whose passionate music was at once an expression and an aggravation of Asiatic hollowness and effeminacy. The dithyrambic songs of Asia were soft and sad melodies typical of a national enervation deep-seated and long-established. The very prevalence of the soft sound "e" in the Ionian dialect of Asia is sometimes called an index of the softness of the people who used it. Protestantism in art, superficiality, ages of luxury, intellectual energy, a habit of dabbling in philosophy, the mild climate of the Eastern Aegean conspired to produce a softness and hollow pathos in Asiatic character that was re-echoed in Asiatic eloquence.

An Ionian from Sicily, Gorgias, had first dislodged nature by fashion. Now Ionians from Asia Minor took a further step along the same path. They neglected the strict laws of rhetorical *τεχνή* and, in place of the regularity hitherto existing, substituted personal choice. But with all its individualism Asiatic eloquence falls readily enough into two classes of style, corresponding to the two sides of the Asiatic character:—its effeminacy and wantonness are revealed in the sensuality and voluptuousness of a style whose chief characteristics are elegant short sentences and soft rhymes; its emptiness, its tendency to inflation, stand out in the pompousness of the other style. Although both these styles appear with the beginnings of Asianism, the elegant style is more pronounced in the man who is generally known as the "*archegetes*" of Asianism, Hegesias of Magnesia.

The following
setting out of
its
characteristic
formations
suggests
rules rather
than the
absence of rules

Dionysius of Halicarnassus⁴ dates Asianism from the death of Alexander the Great. Hegesias was flourishing not long after this event. The elegant style, as represented by Hegesias, contained the following innovations:—

1. The long, flowing period of Isocrates and Demosthenes was abolished. Short, choppy sentences were substituted. This feature became an important factor in the history of style.

2. These short sentences were so constructed that every sentence had a marked cadence, oft-times of a lascivious

⁴ De Antiquis Oratoribus 1 ff.

character. Hegesias was over-fond of the ditrochaeus (— ∪ — ∪) at the end of the sentence.⁵ In order to attain the desired rhythm, the Asiatics did not scruple to employ expletives and to use word-arrangements unwarranted from any standpoint, linguistic or practical. These rhythmical speeches, recited in a modulated voice, frequently took on the regularity of a chant.

3. The phraseology in every case put a premium on the exceptional. Meaningless metaphors and insipid circumlocutions abounded. *ἡ κατ' οὐρανὸν μερίς*, for instance, was used for simple *οὐρανός*. Verbal witticisms found frequent employment. Hegesias made the Olynthians, on the occasion of the destruction of their city, say; "*ὄνομα κατελάβομεν πόλιν καταλιπόντες*" and Alexander, at the destruction of Thebes: "*τὸν γὰρ μέγιστα φωνήσαντα τόπον ἄφωτον ἢ συμφωρὰ πεποιήκε.*"

These eccentric characteristics indicate from what elements of the old heritage Asianism drew. The short, equi-syllabled, carefully-measured, strongly-rhythmed sentences; the verbal witticisms readily assuming an antithetical form; the highly poetic words; the audacious metaphors—all are found earlier in Gorgias and his comrades.

The Second Asiatic style is thus described by Cicero:⁶ "*aliud genus est non tam sententiis frequentatum quam verbis volucre atque incitatum, quali est nunc Asia tota, nec flumine solum orationis sed etiam exornato et facto genere verborum; in quo fuit Aeschylus Gnidius et meus aequalis Milesius Aeschines, in eis erat admirabilis orationis cursus, ornata sententiarum concinnitas non erat.*" This pompous output of rhetorical agility has been described as a dithyramb in prose⁷, a strange, ranting kind of grandiosity which finds expression in a lofty style and yet withal is not outspoken. Specimens of this style⁸ teem with words highly poetic or newly constructed; the hiatus is avoided with a severity that tries to outdo Isocrates; the position of the words is completely at the mercy of the rhythm.

⁵ Cf. Cicero, Brutus 286; Dionysius, De Compositione Verborum, Chapter XVIII.

⁶ Brutus, 325.

⁷ Norden I, 145.

⁸ For examples cf. Norden I, 141—145.

Distinct threads of the Second Asiatic style lead back to the old sophistic prose. It is not that the rhetors of Asia deliberately chose certain of the earlier sophists as models, but these Asiatics were pressed by their own predispositions into the display of passionate pathos and fantastic grandness. They used the weapon already forged for such expression by Gorgias, Hippias, and Alcidas—bacchantic, dithyramb-like prose, varying in its degree of abuse according to the personality employing it. One needs but to compare the turbulent, dithyrambic bombast in the speech of Hippias⁹ and the insufferable flourishing in the fragments of Alcidas¹⁰ with the remains of the Asiatic style, both First and Second,¹¹ to appreciate the connection of Asianism with the old sophistic prose. Asianism was the school of Gorgias and his fellows descended upon and adapted to the times and temper of Third Century Asia Minor.

Asianism spread so rapidly that by 300 B.C., or only 23 years after Alexander's death, it prevailed in rhetoric. In so short a period of time it could not have developed so completely. The germs had been there since Gorgias' day and in the character of the Asiatic Greeks. When Demosthenes was still delivering his Philippics, Asianism was gathering force. With the loss of liberty and forensic opportunity the tradition of Gorgias picked up its belongings and went to Ionia where an effete, superficial people welcomed it and moulded it to their own sensuous pattern. One must not get the impression that Asianism went blazing through the world soon after its triumph in the field of rhetoric. The Alexandrian Age was a learned age primarily, and rhetoric was under an eclipse. It lived in schools throughout the Greek world even as the Classics live in modern schools—as a discipline of education. It flourished quietly in Asia Minor and gathered strength in the rest of the world as the luxury and leisure of Alexandrian days drew men from the realities of existence and made the Hellenic world progressively superficial. With

⁹ Plato, Protagoras, 336 ff.

¹⁰ Aristotle, Rhetoric, III, 3.

¹¹ Norden, I, 135—139, 141—145; Susemihl II, 448—516.

the coming of prosperity to the later Roman republic, the Romans flocked to Asia Minor for instruction. For a short time this show-oratory was transplanted to Rome, but unable to cope with the problems of the Republic, it withdrew to the East. With the coming of the Empire, however, and the loss of liberty of speech at Rome, Asianism swept over the world of culture, feeding on those elements of social and political degeneration that had fostered its growth in Asia Minor. By the middle of the First Century A. D., Ephesus, Smyrna, Miletus, and Mytilene were become world-centers for the instruction of rhetoric, and the sophist was a great economic asset to his city. But in the full tide of its new success, the extravagant excesses of Asianism brought to a head a reaction which had been gathering long before.

Formal Asianism is dated from the death of Alexander, or from around 300 B. C. It had run its course about a century before a counter-current was distinctly felt. Shortly after 200 B. C. that reaction set in known as Atticism to literary history. And yet its beginnings were not so much a natural reaction from an extreme as a natural love for the old Attics and all their works. Asianism, despite its extravagance, was not dispersed enough in the beginning, and national disintegration and Alexandrian softness had not spread far enough to awaken that violent recoil which these characteristics afterwards caused. The learned Alexandrian Age lived on the products of classical Greece. The germs of an Atticistic reaction were bound up in the very tissue of Alexandrian times. *μίμησις* was the watch-word—imitation of those creative epochs that ended with Demetrius of Phaleron. In its beginnings Atticism was probably unconscious of its reactionary character. It proceeded almost necessarily from that classical movement which, as a result of the exertions of the great savants at the courts of the Greek Orient, spread to every province of literature. That at Alexandria, where men had so sentimental an interest in the old Attic poets, men should have ignored the old Attic orators is unthinkable. In the beginning then the extremes of one movement did not call forth the other. There was nothing of propaganda about them. The courts of Alexandria and Pergamus applied themselves passionately to that archaic-

classical tendency that featured all their intellectual activities. The Asiatics moulded the heritage of Gorgias into the natural expression of a brilliant, frivolous people. About 200 B.C. their purposes for the first time formally cross when Agatharchides of Alexandria and Neanthes of Pergamus attacked Asiatic rhetoric.

About the middle of the First Century B.C. this reaction, by means of which uniformity of rule took the place of individual preference and Attic moderation took the place of unbridled emotion, had gained the victory in the learned circles at least. Asianism, that "drunken," "frenzied," "sick," "vulgar," "whorish" eloquence, in the words of its opponents, was pronounced the worst of literary and linguistic abuses. The Atticists believed that they possessed the exact pattern of the Attic manner. In this it may be seen that the reaction against Asianism in its developed form was only partially a protest against the violation of good taste: sentiment was also a factor—a sighing for the glories of the past.

Asianism did not die out under these attacks. Asianism had an interior authorization. It was the natural expression of a people, no matter how superficial they might be. Its existence was in accord with the highest law of literary development, the law of continuous progress. Whether this progress was for better or for worse militates not at all against its authority. This interior sanction Atticism did not have. It sprang from a learned antiquarianism. It grew on the excesses of Asianism. It finally triumphed because the literature became dominantly antiquarian. But in its triumph Asianism had a part, as we shall see. And pure Asianism still continued to be cultivated long after Atticism had become the vogue. For it had an interior authorization which could only fail with a change of taste in the people who first fashioned it.

A long war now followed between the two movements. By the time of the empire these two stylistic tendencies were clearly differentiated. The Atticists were properly enough called *οἱ ἀρχαῖοι* and the Asiatics, *οἱ νεώτεροι*. Each of these two schools had gradations. Among the Atticists Demosthenes held the highest place as an orator and Plato rather than Isocrates became the model for the panegyric style. Even

the historians copied the old patterns; Xenophon, Herodotus, Thucydides, and in extreme cases even Hecataeus. There were thus all variations from the Moderates to the Hyper-Atticists. The modernistic Asiatics were all of them influenced by the new rhetoric, but differed in the measure wherewith they abandoned themselves to it. The extremists were veritable continuators of the old Gorgian "Sophistic" with all its Asiatic out-growths. The most temperate wrote in the Asiatic style, but restrained themselves from its degeneracy. A third group even sought to compromise between the old and the new styles. To this last group belonged the better representatives of what became the Second Sophistic.

All this time Asianism had been practiced in the East and, upon the restoration of peace under Augustus, it enjoyed great popularity. If anything the study of rhetoric became more superficial. The Asiatics swarmed through the Orient, putting practice before theory and facility before taste. In the peace and leisure which began to settle over world-society in the latter half of the First Century A. D., these traditional exercises first awoke to a quickened intellectual life and took on a new brilliance in the rich commercial Greek cities of Asia; especially at Smyrna, Ephesus, Miletus, and Mytilene. Important orators and oratorical teachers came forward to whom auditors and disciples streamed. Mutual commercial jealousies ages old now found a new opportunity, and the Greek cities of Asia strove to outdo one another in the splendor and fame of their schools. To dabble in rhetoric became the fashion and passion of this rich and idle people. To their schools came men for instruction from all parts of the world. It was the extravagance that attended the second revival of Asianism that produced so violent a reaction in Atticism. At the juncture of the First and Second Centuries A. D., Quintilian and Pliny the Younger raised the banner of classicism at Rome. They gathered together all the pent-up protests and archaistic tendencies that had come down from Alexandrian times and, drawing new strength from the ever-increasing abuses of Asianism, began to strive for a return to the essentials of rhetoric and a study of classic models in other fields. Disgust at the Asiatic excesses now

fostered a tendency which led straight back to the golden days of Attic culture; a wide-spread worship of Attic purism and everything connected therewith.

As a preliminary to understanding why archaistic Atticism could make headway against modernistic Asianism, it is well to recall at this point the divorce between the language of the courts and the language of the people which Alexandrian days had brought about. The higher Alexandrian poetry, through its formal, superficial, pretentious treatment of even popular materials, had produced a cleft between it and the common people. The literature of early Greece was essentially popular. But when Atticism became more and more the vogue, the artistic prose drew away from the people with a romanticized and learned superciliousness which later became the main-spring of Byzantine literature. The people became more and more themselves for themselves. They became resigned to influences essentially distinct from contemporary culture. Fostered mainly in the court circles and in circles equally learned emanating from the courts, the literary ideals of the time were peculiarly adapted to the encouragement of Atticism. This style-ideal, therefore, finally carried its point. It produced a fateful dualism between the language of literature and that of everyday life which has endured to the present day. Atticism, like Alexandrianism generally, was the language of books, the natural expression of sterility. It was an artistic mimesis; archaistic collections of literary reminiscences patched-up and repaired with the help of purists. This forcing back of the literary language for several centuries was not accomplished without varying degrees of violence to good taste. Thus many authors of the time threw poetic expressions and phrases profusely about because they were Attic and stood in the lexica. Atticism gradually grew down to and into the Empire, when the revival of Asianism gave it its opportunity. All literary norms were now set up at court, the center of absolute authority. Atticism was favored there, and thus the imperial patronage reinforced the possibilities presented by the excesses of Asianism.

CHAPTER II

THE NEW OR SECOND SOPHISTIC¹

The world of Hadrian and the Antonines was a peaceful world. Its quiet was rarely disturbed. Greece beckoned men as the fountain-head of culture. Northern Italy afforded pleasant landscapes for country homes. The charms of Athens, Naples, Rome were the mainsprings of a pleasing cosmopolitanism. Greeks lived in Rome and in the provinces. The emperors regularly courted the favor of Grecian authors, caused them to dedicate their works to them, appointed them as secretaries and as tutors of their children. Men turned their eyes backward and over the prosaic present was spun the web of a brilliant past.

The conflict between the old and the new styles proceeded with the old style in the ascendancy. But between the extremes of Asianism and Atticism, at the beginning of the Second Century A. D., a third intermediate course developed. In a sense the Second Sophistic was Asianism crowned with Atticism; the reduction of Asiatic exuberance to the discipline of Atticized grammar; the mingling of incompatible with incompatible; a brilliant hodgepodge in which Atticism dominated, but Atticism permeated with the rhetorical fireworks of Asia. Hadrian found pleasure in the works of Ennius, and then composed in the style of the *novelli poetae*. This was a far cry from the Fifth Century B. C., but it was probably the best compromise that could be struck between the desire to be Attic and the Asiatic temper of the day.

As far as oratory is concerned, the Second Sophistic may be described as the epideictic show-oratory of Asia upon which

¹ On the New or Second Sophistic, cf. Norden I, 351—391, Schmid I 27ff; Rohde 310 ff; Meridier, 7—47; Susemihl, II 448—516; Arnim, 4—114.

a romantic Atticism had been super-imposed. It is very doubtful whether this Atticism alone could have developed the astounding parade-speeches of the Second Sophistic. The Atticists were vain enough for such a venture, but their vanity would probably have found an outlet in written discourses. The virtuoso-declamer is a product of Asia Minor.

But it is an error to confine the Second Sophistic to oratory or style. It is because all its exertions are subordinated to this higher one of style and because of its traditional connection with the old sophistic art-prose that one may make this mistake. It seizes and conquers wider fields. It pursues all branches of culture in speech and written discourse, religion and art and habits of life, that seem to revive the idealized past. It even gives an impetus to the old religion in the Second Century A. D. by artificially awakening old forms of faith and worship. Neo-Platonism, the fairest product of this reactionary religious phase, shares a characteristic common to the whole Sophistic: it is too burdened with all the heritage of Greek literature and culture.

The Second Sophistic, so far as it is concerned with science, without producing anything new, lives on the treasures of Alexandrian research. It owes its abundance of Attic purisms solely to the philology extant in Alexandrian traditions. Thus it is easy to understand how many Hellenistic elements crept into, or remained in, this classicized culture.

The important position enjoyed by the Sophistic in the time of the Empire is almost too much for the modern mind. But if we try to transpose ourselves back into the feelings of a company which had nothing better to do than to discourse, which saw the accepted intellectual amusement in the charm which the spoken word exercised upon the ear, which possessed a considerably higher average of "culture" than is found today; |? which was predisposed by long prosperity, progressive degeneration, and traditional rhetorical training to welcome the show-oratory of revived Asianism, which inherited from the Alexandrian age a sentimental veneration for Periclean Athens, then our surprise vanishes.

In the newly awakened school life of the Second Century, the Sophists assume leading positions. Besides their school-

courses, they hold travel-lectures—not as the old sophists, for objective instruction, but solely as a medium of display. Thus they execute a carefully polished parade-speech upon an imaginary subject from classical times. Improvisations are offered on subjects which the audience suggests. At times two sophists come to an ἀγών in such exercises. The delivery, in voice and gesticulations, is thoroughly theatrical and exercises even upon an audience knowing no Greek a strange fascination.

again

On the other hand, sophists gradually rise to occupy public offices in communities and at court. From the fees of pupils, from the steady municipal or civil salary for their teaching activity, from special privileges showered upon them by the emperors, enormous incomes come to them. The more the rhetorical activity penetrates the center of intellectual life, the higher becomes the social position of the rhetorical professors. Their munificence manifests itself variously in foundations and donations, public buildings, and festivals. Even in their philanthropy vanity and a desire for display move them more than actual social needs.

Thus while Asianism and Atticism still flow along as two distinct streams, their side-currents mingle to form in the time of Trajan a river whose sweep in an increasing degree becomes the master-current down to the close of antiquity. The brilliancy, the artificiality, the long-developed parade-speech of Asia Minor crossed with the romantic yearnings of decadent, subjugated Greece for a taste of her former glories—men forgetting that the glories of Greece arose from the strife of real life; that their imitation of these glories depended upon the laborious exactness of Alexandrian research; that research, however exact, is a record, not a reality.

We can understand, then, how these people with all their energy and brilliancy went to such extremes. Life was so orderly, the administration of the provinces so strict and excellent, the activities of the cultured classes so circumscribed, the world so artificial that people, starving for self-expression, went mad. Kept from action, they concentrated on form, and wealth of phrase and quantity of thought presented the illusion of a pure Atticism, a phantom of the study-room.

The reformed oratory of the Asiatics had certainly an object noble and honorable enough and a field useful and serious enough for its legitimate development in legal trials, municipal and provincial business, and serious lectures. But to this matter of fact field it could not confine itself. The sentimental, imaginative, repressed Hellenist, in looking back and longing for Greek eloquence in her hey-day, also longed for the mighty occasions that had called forth the Philippics of Demosthenes, and these mighty occasions were not to be had in the prosperous, well-governed Second Century. Since the mighty occasions did not exist, he did the next best thing. He imagined them in his intense desire to become a new Demosthenes, a new Isocrates, a new Thucydides, a new Herodotus. So he combated tyrants dead four hundred years, mourned over the fall of cities which were enjoying a second lease of life, lashed and tore and raved about in an oratorical Utopia before leisurely audiences who came as to the theater. Oratory became a theatrical fiction, an empty pageant that strove more and more to dazzle as it became less and less a novelty. In their improvising the sophists oft-times trotted out on parade well-decked common-places previously prepared and everywhere applicable. By rapidly linking these together and with the proper voice and gestures they convinced their hearers that this was the way that Demosthenes damned Philip or Lysias lashed Eratosthenes.

The Sophistic had two periods of brilliancy, separated from each other by a period of eclipse. The first floruit extended from Hadrian or Trajan to Gordianus III. After the latter's reign all Greek culture for almost a century was jeopardized by the stirring of political strife. The second period of brilliance begins with Constantine and endures to the end of antiquity. The historian of the earlier period is the second Philostratus; of the latter, Eunapius. Their biographies are our only compensation for the great losses in artistic prose literature of these times. Of most of the Sophists, nothing has come down to us and several of the most celebrated are for us mere names. In the canon of the Ten Sophists, corresponding to the number of the canonical Attic orators, were placed Dio Chrysostom, Nicostratus, Polemo, Herodes Atticus, Philostratus,

Aelius Aristides, and probably Libanius, Themistius, Himerius, and Eunapius.

Despite its extravagances, the Second Sophistic was of incalculable value. By it the tradition of the old classical Greek literature was conserved down and past the Fourth Century in the schools of rhetoric where Basil, Gregory, and Chrysostom studied. It made for a purer Atticism. It preserved many classics which would otherwise have perished. Hardly a line of Aristophanes would now be available, had not the sophists considered him a classic. On the other hand, witness the mutilated condition of the immensely popular Menander, whom the sophists passed by as non-classical.

The most curious result of the Second Sophistic is that it furnished the ground-work for the romance. The sophists, in their striving for over-nicety, drew upon the gorgeous diction of the Alexandrian poets,—the elegy, idyll, toy-epic. To furnish a new setting for their oratorical display they frequently borrowed the amorous themes of Alexandrian poetry—laudatory speeches of gods and heroes, intricate descriptions of pastoral scenes, roses, hyacinths, nightingales, swans, muses, swallows, flutes, rivers, springs, the laurel, the sun, the stars, the Nile, works of art. Averse to treating practical subjects and bent upon stirring the emotions and imagination, they introduced themes of a passionate, violent, or bloody nature. The rhetors gloated over scenes portraying the wildest conflicts of unbridled passion and violence and over themes of a highly pathetic, sentimental, even suggestive turn; varying these at times with accounts of imaginary long travels involving a vast display of geographical allusion. From these discourses on seductions, rapes, separations, attacks of pirates, recognitions, the Greek mind acquired a taste for improbable adventures and multiplied incidents and conflicts extraordinary. The long love-romance was the result of a union of fabulous travels with all the hair-raising incidents of adventurous love-stories.

From erotic themes borrowed by the Sophistic the rhetors developed the fictitious love-letter—a very suitable vehicle for the portrayal of excited love-passion and the author's skill. These love-letters were a recognized convention of later Greek novels. Indeed they played the major role in many novels, the

love-plot being a mere framework whereon the sophist displayed all the extravagances of the Sophistic in epistolary elegance.

Of the three periods of the Sophistic, the third, beginning with Constantine, has a special interest for us. The representative sophists of this period are Libanius, Himerius, Themistius, and Julian of Cappadocia. Although it was diffused through all the provinces of the East and officially established in the imperial capitol at Byzantium, Athens, where rhetorical training had continued from the days of Gorgias, was the chief center of the movement. Libanius, the most celebrated Sophist of the time, the teacher of Basil, Gregory, and John Chrysostom, wrote that "Athens and Antioch held aloft the torch of rhetoric; the former illuminating Europe, and the latter, Asia." At the University of Athens Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Gregory of Nyssa were fellow-students.

By the end of the Fourth Century Athens had totally declined, and with it declined the Sophistic. Though historically bound up with paganism, the advent of the first Christian emperors did not injure the exterior condition of the sophists. Of the Emperor Julian, with his pagan leanings, the friends of sophistry entertained high hopes. After Julian's death, 363 A.D., appear many laments over the decline of culture and rhetoric. Libanius mourns over the desertion of young students to the law school of Berytos, over the diminishing influence of parents in the intellectual development of their sons, over the possibility that people uneducated and incapable of oratory may be placed in high public offices. In his thirty-first oration, he addresses himself to the Council of Antiochaea to obtain an improvement in the material lot of the lesser rhetorical masters. Thus the Sophistic passes with the Fourth Century. In the Fifth Century there was an unimportant revival in the school founded by Procopius at Gaza, but long before Justinian closed the schools of heathen philosophy (529 A.D.) it had run its feeble course.

The Second Sophistic is not then a phase of a rhetorical epoch. It is itself an epoch of pagan rhetoric, a lineal descendant of Gorgias and the Fifth Century B. C. operative in the Fourth Century A. D. in all circles of culture, Christian and Pagan. The extent of its influence on the style of St. Basil's sermons is the quest of the following pages.

CHAPTER III

MINOR FIGURES OF RHETORIC

From what has gone before, an obvious division of the figures of rhetoric suggests itself. The Second Sophistic, which dominates literature so thoroughly in the time of St. Basil that its name describes the epoch, has its antecedents in the Fifth century B. C., and howsoever the First Sophistic may differ from the Second, the tradition of the First is represented in the Second by those devices at least which constitute the one the ancestor of the other. The Second Sophistic created some new devices, others already existing it made its own by its peculiar development of them, while a still larger group it simply included as embellishments of style. These facts indicate the following division of the figures for purposes of exposition:

I. Minor Figures of Rhetoric (including minor figures receiving a peculiarly sophistic development).

II. Figures and Devices peculiar to the Second Sophistic¹ as either its creations or adaptations.

On the basis of a common characteristic, the Minor Figures of Rhetoric may be grouped as follows:—

1. Figures of Redundancy.
2. Figures of Repetition.
3. Figures of Sound.
4. Figures of Vivacity.
5. Devices of the Court-room and the Public Assembly.
6. Minor Figures Sophistically Developed.

1. Figures of Redundancy in some way represent the paraphrase of an idea through more words than are necessary,

¹ This second group will be discussed in Chapter IX.

for purposes of ornament and amplification. The following classification is used here:

a) *Periphrasis*—redundancy proper—the distribution of an idea over unnecessary words without elaborating the thought—*τὸ ἡλιακὸν σῶμα*—Hex. 6, 51 C.

b) *Pleonasm*—the joining of several words or phrases which have about the same meaning. Two words thus joined constitute the commonest variety.—*καθρός ἐστι καὶ ὀκνου πλήρης*—Hex. 9, 87 A.

c) *Arsis and Thesis*—the presentation of an idea first negatively and then positively, the positive idea being introduced by *ἀλλὰ*—*οὐκ αἶς τὸν τυχόντα τόπον, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸν ναὸν*—Ps. 44, 169 A.

d) *Arsis and Thesis (positive-negative)*—the presentation of an idea first positively and then negatively.—*γέλωτα ἀγούσης ἐν τῷ παλαίῳ, οὐ στέφανον*.—Quod Mundanis, 166 E.

2. *Figures of Repetition* refer to the intentional repetition of entire words in certain well-defined places. Such devices have little to do with emphasis. Their purpose is rather artistic. Their skillful employment produces something of a musical quality.

a) *Anadiplosis*—the repetition of the same word within the same clause.—*τότε δῆ, τότε*—Advers. Iratos, 84 D.

b) *Epanaphora*—the repetition of the same word or words at the beginning of two or more consecutive cola.—*νῦν—, νῦν—*, —Hex. 1, 3 B.

c) *Antistrophe*—consecutive clauses end with the same word or words.—*ἠκούετο Γόρδιος· ἐθεωρεῖτο Γόρδιος*—In Gordium, 145 D.

d) *Anastrophe*—one clause begins with the last word of the preceding clause.—*καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὦν· ὦν, οὐχὶ προσγενόμενος*.—De Fide, 132 A.

e) *Kuklos*—the repetition of the initial word of a sentence or period as the concluding word of either the succeeding clause or the succeeding sentence.—*ἕτερον γένος τὸ κητῶδες καὶ τὸ τῶν λεπτῶν ἰχθύων ἕτερον*—Hex., 7, 64 C.

f) *Climax*—the repetition of the last word of the preceding clause through several succeeding clauses of a period.—*μήτε οὖν ὁ πλούσιος τὸν πένητα ὑπερηφανείτω, μήτε ὁ πένης τὴν δυναστείαν τῶν εὐπορούντων ὑποπτισσέτω· μήτε οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοὺς γηγενεῖς ἐξουθενέωσαν, μήτε οἱ γηγενεῖς etc.*—Ps. 48, 178 C.

g) *Repetitive Paronomasia*—the rhetorical repetition of the

same word in the same sense.—*ὅπερ πολλαχοῦ μὲν τῶν νήσων, πολλαχοῦ δὲ τῶν παραλίων τόπων ζέσταιν ἱστορήσαι.*—Hex. 4, 39A.

3. Figures of Sound also have an element of repetition, but here the words need only approximate one another in sound, and their position is not precisely fixed.

a) Paronomasia—a similarity in the sound of words of the same root, plus a dissimilarity of sense. Their relative position in the cola is not important.—*ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν ἔλθων πολέμον εἶπεν. ἀλεξιφάρμακα περιλήτων,*—Ps. 14, 108B.

b) Polypoton—a repetition of the same word in different cases, either directly or after an interval.—*ἵππον μὲν γὰρ ἵππου ποιεῖται . . . καὶ λέοντα λέοντος*—Hex. 9, 81B.

c) Alliteration—the recurrence of the same initial letter or letters in succeeding words. Only rarely the succession is not immediate.—*πάλιν πανδημεὶ πάντες*—Hex. 7, 67B.

d) Assonance—succeeding words end in similar sounds.—*τὴν ἀνάπαισιν ἔχουσιν*—Hex. 2, 17D.

e) Parechesis—a similarity in the sound of the words of different roots plus a dissimilarity of sense.—*νύξ βαθύα καὶ νόσος βαρεῖα*—In Divites, 60D.

4. Figures of Vivacity in this study include all those figures whose chief mission is to lend a vivacious and sometimes dramatic effect to a passage.

a) Asyndeton—the ellipsis of grammatical connectives to attain energy of style.—*ἡ μακαρία φύσις, ἡ ἀφθονος ἀγαθότης, τὸ ἀγαπητὸν πᾶσι τοῖς λόγον μεταληφόσι, τὸ πολυπόθητον κάλλος, ἡ ἀρχὴ τῶν ὄντων, ἡ πηγὴ τῆς ζωῆς, τὸ νοερὸν φῶς, ἡ ἀπρόσιτος σοφία, οὗτος etc.*—Hex. 1, 3E.

b) Polysyndeton—the repetition of conjunctions for cumulative effect.—*τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ ἀγγέλοις καὶ ἀνθρώποις.*—In XL Martyres, 156C.

c) Rhetorical Questions—questions asked for effect and not for information.—*ποία ἀκοὴ τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν λεγομένων ἀξία*—Hex. 1, 1A.

d) Exclamatio—an exclamatory utterance.—*ὦ τοῦ θαύματος.*—In XL Martyres, 155B.

e) Parenthesis—the interruption of the development of a sentence by intervening clause or clauses, sentence or sentences.—(*πῶς γὰρ οἱ καταβάντες εἰς ᾄδου;*)—Deus non est auct., 77A.

f) Hypostrophe—the orator catches up the thread of the narrative after a parenthesis and makes a fresh start by either repeating the subject or adding the demonstrative.—ὁ γὰρ ὑποκείμενος τῷ φύλλῳ κόκκος () τοῦτο σπέρματος ἔχει δύναμιν—Hex. 5, 45 B.

g) Litotes—the emphatic affirmation of an idea through the negation of its opposite.—οὐ μικρῶς—In Barlaam, 138 E.

h) Irony and Sarcasm:—irony, wherein the speaker clothes his thought in a form that literally expresses its opposite; sarcasm, irony plus personal enmity or scorn.—δεικνύτωσαν ἡμῶν οἱ τὰ πάντα δεινοί.—Hex. 3, 29 B.

5. Devices of the Court-room and the Public Assembly here refer to those peculiar devices of the old rhetors forged for a practical rather than an artistic effect. Their manner of development affects the style of a passage wherein they are used, adding something of the dramatic to it.

a) Diaporesis—a pretended doubt as to where to begin, where to leave off, especially what to say.—τί οὖν ποιήσομεν—In Mamantem, 185 C.

b) Epidiorthosis—the correcting or restricting of a previous assertion—μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ κακὸν—Hex. 2, 15 C.

c) Prokataleipsis—a real argument is seriously anticipated or overthrown.—καὶ πῶς δυνατόν, φασί, τοῦτο γενέσθαι, ψυχὴν καταΐδονον συμφοραῖς, καὶ οἷον ἐπερικεντουμένην τῇ αἰσθήσει τῶν ἀλγεῶν, μὴ πρὸς θρήνους ἐκφέρεσθαι καὶ δάκρυα, ἀλλ' εὐχαριστῶν ὡς ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς τοῖς ἀπεκταίους κατὰ ἀλήθειαν;—In Julittam, 36 C—D.

d) Paraleipsis—while pretending to pass the point over in silence, the speaker manages to say all that he desires.—καὶ τί δέ τοις ἄλλοις ἀπαριθμεῖσθαι οὓς αἱ Ῥωμαῖοι γεννώσι τὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐνδοξάτης Σκυθίας ὄρη;—Hex. 3, 28 A.

e) Prosopopoiia—that form of statement in which the speaker places a long or short speech in the mouth of another, whether that person is actually before him or is merely feigned.—πῶς οὖν κατὰ γένος, φασίν, ἡ γῆ προφέρει τὰ σπέρματα, ὅποτε σῖτον πολλάκις καταβαλόντες, τὸν μέλανα τοῦτον πυρὸν συγκομῶμεν;—Hex. 5, 43 E.

f) Dialektikon—the speaker elucidates a point by a combination of question and answer.—πῶς δὲ πρῶτον σωθῆναι εὐχεται ἐκ τῶν διακόντων, εἴτα ῥησθῆναι; ἡ διαστολὴ σαφὴ ποιήσει τὸν λόγον—Ps. 7, 99 A.

g) Hypophora—the raising of an objection for the sake of immediate refutation.—*πλήκτης; ἀλλ' ἀνὴρ. πάρονος; ἀλλ' ἠνωμένος κατὰ τὴν φύσιν. τραχὺς καὶ δυσάρεστος; ἀλλὰ μέλος ἤδη σόν, καὶ μελῶν τὸ τιμώτατον.*—Hex. 7, 68 B.

h) Prodiorthosis—a promise to be brief.—*πολλοὶ τεχνῆται . . . οἱ τὸν λόγον ἡμῶν συντέμνουσιν, ἵνα μὴ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς ἐργασίας ἀφέλκωνται.*—Hex. 3, 22 C.

6. Under Minor Figures receiving a peculiarly sophistic development are here grouped those figures whose use in St. Basil's time admits of that extravagance and poor taste which characterize largely the Second Sophistic.

a) Hyperbaton—a transposition of words from their natural order, sometimes for emphasis, but generally for elegant affectation.—*ἡ τῆς συναγωγῆς ἐμφαίνει προσηγορία*—Hex. 4, 36 C.

b) Hendiadys—the placing on an equal grammatical plane two expressions, one of which is logically subordinate to the other.—*ἔμοι δοκοῦσι μὴ συνειδότες τινές, παραγωγαῖς τισι καὶ τροπολογίαις σεμνότητά τινα ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας αὐτῶν διανοίας ἐπεχείρησαν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ἐπιφημίσαι.*—Hex. 9, 80 E—81 A.

c) Adjective Substantive Abstract—an idea properly adjectival is raised to substantive rank as an abstract noun.—*πρὸς τοὺς φαύλους τῶν λόγων*—Ad Adolescentes, 175 D.

d) Paradox and Oxymoron—an expression self-contradictory when separated from its context.—*ἀνευ γῆς φυτεύεις· ἀνευ σπορᾶς θερίζεις*—Ps. 14, 113 C.

e) Hyperbole—emphasis and comparison through exaggeration.—*βουνοὶ τινες σάρκινοι* (likening elephants to hills of flesh).—Hex. 9, 86 A.

f) Antonomasia—the designation of a person by one of his qualities or accomplishments.—*τοῦ κτίσαντος.*—(for God)—Attende Tibiipsi, 24 A.

g) Antimetathesis—the repetition of the same word in a sentence, with a different meaning.—*ἀλλ' ἀπὸ ζωῆς* (life on earth) *εἰς ζωὴν* (life in heaven).—In Gordium 148 C.

CHAPTER IV

FIGURES OF REDUNDANCY

a) PERIPHRAISIS.

Periphrasis in prose—the representation of an idea through deliberate verbal turgescence—goes back to Gorgias at least.¹ Isocrates, in his development of the period, gave periphrasis a sanction which the excesses of Gorgias had denied to it. This unnecessary fullness of expression, this “padding” for grand effects, became incorporated into the tradition of the schools. In the rhetoric of the Empire the vanity of the rhetors and the poverty of real themes emphasized the tendency of the times to out-do Attic masters in many of their collective peculiarities. One must not forget that other tendency equally characteristic of the times towards loss of inflection and simplification of syntax. This fact accounts for many expressions which, judged from Attic standards, are decidedly pleonastic.² Thus, of the multitude of examples found in Basil's sermons, a careful review has eliminated many. The uncertain line separating the grammatical from the rhetorical makes any treatment of the figure, at best, subjective.

The following are representative examples:

- οὐκ ἀμαρτήσεις τοῦ προσήκοντος — Hex. 2, 15 E. ⚡ οὐκ ἀμαρτήσεις.
- τῶν ποταμίων ὑδάτων — Hex. 4, 39 A. ⚡ τῶν ποταμῶν.
- τοῖς ἐν σαρκὶ ὧσι — Ps. 7, 103 A. ⚡ τοῖς ὧσι.
- εἰς λήθην ἦλθετε — Ps. 29, 127 B. ⚡ ἐπελάθεσθε.
- τοῖς ἔχουσιν ὧτα κατὰ τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον — Ps. 44, 159 D.
- τὴν συνηγορίαν τοῦ λόγου πληρώσω — In Julittam, 35 D. ⚡ συνηγορήσω.
- εἰς ἐνοίαν ἔρχομαι — Contra Sabellianos, 194 E. ⚡ ἐννοῦμαι.

¹ Cf. Plato; Gorgias 456 A—457 C and the fragments of Gorgias in Blass, *Antiphontis Orationes*, 150 ff.

² Cf. Trunk, 29.

Excellent examples may be found in the following places. Hex. 1, 6C; Hex. 2, 14C; Hex. 4, 38E; Hex. 5, 45B; Hex. 6, 59C; De Jejunio 2, 11A; In Julittam, 136D; In Gordium, 143B; Ad Adolescentes, 184E.

FREQUENCY OF PERIPHRAIS IN THE SERMONS.

Hex.	1	(530)	14	De Jejunio 2	(330)	3
"	2	(507)	12	Attende Tibiipsi	(480)	5
"	3	(579)	25	De Grat. Act.	(459)	2
"	4	(393)	7	In Julittam	(580)	6
"	5	(570)	17	In Illud Lucae	(406)	3
"	6	(746)	24	In Divites	(601)	5
"	7	(425)	8	In Fam. et Siccit.	(584)	4
"	8	(572)	9	Deus non est auct.	(598)	7
"	9	(507)	11	Advers. Iratos	(452)	2
Ps.	1	(449)	5	De Invidia	(359)	—
"	7	(541)	14	In Princip. Proverb.	(895)	5
"	14	(372)	3	In Sanct. Baptisma.	(522)	1
"	28	(636)	10	In Ebriosos	(423)	3
"	29	(418)	5	De Fide	(185)	—
"	32	(651)	7	In Princip. erat V.	(248)	3
"	33	(963)	1	In Barlaam	(141)	3
"	44	(687)	5	In Gordium	(425)	1
"	45	(407)	—	In XL Martyres	(392)	3
"	48	(682)	4	De Humilitate	(353)	3
"	59	(242)	1	Quod Mundanis.	(633)	5
"	61	(336)	—	Ad Adolescentes	(627)	1
"	114	(276)	1	In Mamantem	(244)	—
De Jejunio	1	(475)	1	Contra Sabellianos	(444)	2

The preponderance of examples found in the Hexaameron and in some of the homilies on the psalms may be due in part to the demands of the subject-matter in each case treated. Beyond a certain pompousness, the fullness of expression which this figure affords was a necessary vehicle in voicing fine philosophical distinctions. Such distinctions abound in the Hexaameron. The above table shows a liking for the figure in exegetical passages. But whether Basil was restrained or

generous in his use of it we cannot tell, for we have not the materials for a comparison with his contemporaries on this point and, did we possess statistics of the other Christian orators of the time, their value would be questionable in drawing conclusions because of the highly subjective character of such statistics on periphrasis.

b) PLEONASM.

A far more tangible evidence of Basil's tendency towards diffuseness is his generous employment of pleonasm—the juxtaposition of synonyms, whether of words, phrases, or clauses. This very rudimentary device had been used by Athenian advocates to concentrate the attention of the juries more clearly upon a desired point. It produced a kind of pause in the development of the thought and emphasized the desired point by the very time consumed in synonymous repetition. Ideas not readily grasped by a single enunciation frequently justified the use of synonyms in all epochs of Greek rhetoric. The growing tendency towards turgescence in the Isocratic tradition explains a third use of this figure.

Examples.

Cumulative emphasis:—*συναρμόζοντα καὶ τὸ πᾶν ὁμολογον ἑαυτῷ καὶ σύμφωνον καὶ ἑναρμονίως ἔχον.*—Hex. 1, 8 A.

Metaphorical pleonasm:—*ἡ βρύουσα πηγὴ, ἡ ἀφθονος χάρις, ὁ ἀδαπάνητος θησαυρός.*—Ps. 1, 92 C.

The first phrase is amplified by its synonym:—*οἱ πρότερον διὰ τὸ ἐμβαθύνειν τῇ κακίᾳ καὶ ταῖς ἀκαθαρσίαις τῆς σαρκὸς ἐμολύνεσθαι.*—Ps. 29, 127 B.

Synonymous clauses:—*ὅταν ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ τὸν Κύριον ἀποβλέπωμεν καὶ ᾤσιν ἡμῶν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ πρὸς αὐτόν.*—Ps. 32, 141 B.

—*σὺ δὲ κατέχεις τὸν παραβρέοντα καὶ περιφράσσεις τὰς διεξόδους.*—In Illud Lucae, 47 D.

Time distinction:

—*ποιῶν εἰρήνην καὶ εἰρηνοποιήσας.*—Ps. 33, 153 E.

Exceedingly empty are:—*αὐτὸς ὁ εἰρηνοποιός, ὁ ποιῶν εἰρήνην.*—Ps. 33, 148 A.

—*ἐκλογὴν τοῦ συμφέροντος καὶ ἀποστροφὴν τοῦ βλαβεροῦ.*—De Grat. Act., 27 A.

—*ὅτε ἦται παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου τὴν εὐαγγέλιον, ὅτε ἡξίου γενέσθαι τέκνων πατὴρ.*—In *Divites*, 59C.

For further examples consult *Hex.* 2, 16A; *Hex.* 8, 73E; *Ps.* 38, 121A; *Ps.* 44, 162B; *De Jejuni* I, 8A; *Attende Tibiipsi*, 16E; In *Julittam*, 39E; In *Fam. et Siccit.*, 70B; *Advers. Iratos*, 88D; In *Princip. Proverb.*, 100E; In *XL Martyres*, 155C; *Contra Sabellianos*, 194E.

FREQUENCY OF PLEONASM IN THE SERMONS.

Hex.	1	(530)	42	De Jejuni	II	(330)	9
"	2	(507)	39	Attende Tibiipsi		(480)	24
"	3	(579)	41	De Grat. Act.		(459)	26
"	4	(393)	14	In Julittam		(580)	33
"	5	(570)	13	In Illud Lucae		(406)	9
"	6	(746)	23	In Divites		(601)	9
"	7	(425)	27	In Fam. et Siccit.		(584)	35
"	8	(572)	23	Deus non est auct.		(598)	15
"	9	(507)	14	Advers. Iratos		(452)	17
Ps.	1	(449)	26	De Invidia		(359)	6
"	7	(541)	27	In Princip. Proverb.		(895)	21
"	14	(372)	11	In Sanct. Baptisma		(522)	9
"	28	(636)	31	In Ebriosos		(423)	22
"	29	(418)	17	De Fide		(185)	3
"	32	(651)	33	In Princip. erat V.		(248)	9
"	33	(963)	50	In Barlaam		(141)	—
"	44	(687)	23	In Gordium		(425)	13
"	45	(407)	23	In XL Martyres		(392)	9
"	48	(682)	16	De Humilitate		(353)	4
"	59	(242)	7	Quod Mundanis		(633)	11
"	61	(336)	9	Ad Adolescentes		(627)	16
"	114	(276)	8	In Mamantem		(244)	2
De Jejuni	I	(475)	11	Contra Sabellianos		(444)	7

Dignity and emphasis and verbal splendor are alike attained by the varying employments of pleonasm. The examples in Basil, with rare exceptions, are designed for the last of these three effects. Their number, 837 in all, bespeaks a generous but not excessive use of the figure as a whole.

c) ARSIS AND THESIS.

A third form of amplification, very common in all epochs of Greek rhetoric and designed for the same general purposes as the figures immediately preceding, is arsis and thesis—the presentation of the idea first negatively and then positively. A less common form, wherein the positive statement precedes the negative, is not mentioned by the rhetoricians, although it is often more rhetorical.³ Unless designated “positive-negative”, all references hereafter refer to the more common form.

Examples.

In four successive sentences occur the following:—οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις αὐτοῦ μέρεσιν, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν ἀλύπῳ.—οὐκ ἐκ τῆς τῶν μερῶν συμμετρίας, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῆς εὐχροίας μόνης.—οὐ διὰ τὸ ἀναλογοῦντα ἔχειν τὰ μέρη ἐξ ὧν συνέστηκεν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ ἀλυπὸν τινα καὶ ἡδεῖαν τὴν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ αὐγὴν.—οὐ πάντως πρὸς τὸ ἐν ὄψει τερπνὸν ἀποβλέποντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν εἰς ὑστερον ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ὠφέλειαν.—Hex. 2, 19 D—E.

A prolonged example:—μὴ γίνου κριτῆς ἀνιστος σεαυτοῦ, μηδὲ πρὸς χάριν ἐξέταλε· εἰ μὲν τι δοκεῖς ἔχειν καλόν, τοῦτο ἐν ψήφῳ τιθεῖς, τῶν δὲ πταισμάτων ἐκὼν ἐπιλανθάνομενος, μηδὲ ἐφ’ οἷς μὲν σήμερον κατορθοῖς μεγαλυνόμενος, ἐφ’ οἷς δὲ πρῶην καὶ πάλαι κακῶς εἰργάσω, συγχώρησιν σεαυτῷ διδούς· ἀλλ’ ὅταν σε τὸ παρὸν ἐπαίρη, τὸ παλαιὸν εἰς ἀνάμνησιν ἀγέτω, καὶ παύσῃ τῆς ἀναισθήτου φλεγμονῆς.—De Humilitate, 160 E.

A fivefold example of the positive-negative variety.—ὦν, οὐχὶ προσγεγόμενος· ὑπάρχων πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων, οὐχὶ προσκτηθεὶς ὑστερον· νῖός, οὐχὶ κτῆμα· ποιητής, οὐχὶ ποίημα· κτίστης, οὐχὶ κτίσμα.—De Fide, 131 E—132 A.

For further examples of the positive-negative variety, consult Hex. 1, 8 E; Ps. 1, 91 D; Ps. 29, 130 D; De Jejunio 2, 11 E; Deus non est auct., 78 E; Quod Mundanis, 163 B; Ad Adolescentes, 179 C; In Mamantem, 188 C; Contra Sabellianos, 191 B. Of the negative-positive variety representative examples may be found in Hex. 3, 23 C; Hex. 6, 52 B; Ps. 1, 95 E; Ps. 48, 186 C;

³ Cf. Robinson, 18.

De Grat. Act., 32C; In Julittam, 36B; In Sanct. Baptisma, 116A; In Gordium, 144D; Contra Sabellianos, 190B.

FREQUENCY OF ARSIS AND THESIS IN THE SERMONS.⁴

Hex.	1 (530) 16; p-n. 2	De Jejunio II	(330) 9; p-n. 2
"	2 (507) 24; p-n. 6	Attende Tibiipsi	(480) 15;
"	3 (579) 10; p-n. 1	De Grat. Act.	(459) 18; p-n. 1
"	4 (393) 8; p-n. 2	In Julittam	(580) 31; p-n. 1
"	5 (570) 9;	In Illud Lucae	(406) 13;
"	6 (746) 27; p-n. 1	In Divites	(601) 17; p-n. 1
"	7 (425) 10;	In Fam. et Siccit.	(584) 14;
"	8 (572) 18;	Deus non est auct.	(598) 23; p-n. 3
"	9 (507) 20; p-n. 1	Advers. Iratos	(452) 12;
Ps.	1 (449) 10; p-n. 1	De Invidia	(359) 11; p-n. 1
"	7 (541) 13;	In Princip. Proverb.	(895) 22; p-n. 3
"	14 (372) 10; p-n. 2	In Sanct. Baptisma	(522) 17; p-n. 2
"	28 (636) 19;	In Ebriosos	(423) 5; p-n. 1
"	29 (418) 8; p-n. 1	De Fide	(185) 13; p-n. 5
"	32 (651) 20;	In Princip. erat V.	(243) 7;
"	33 (963) 28; p-n. 2	In Barlaam	(141) 7;
"	44 (687) 24; p-n. 2	In Gordium	(425) 12;
"	45 (407) 7;	In XL Martyres	(392) 12;
"	48 (682) 27;	De Humilitate	(353) 17;
"	59 (242) 8; p-n. 1	Quod Mundanis	(633) 9; p-n. 3
"	61 (336) 9;	Ad Adolescentes	(627) 21; p-n. 4
"	114 (276) 14;	In Mamantem	(244) 10; p-n. 6
De Jejunio I	(475) 16; p-n. 1	Contra Sabellianos	(444) 18; p-n. 6

A certain preciseness is attained by the sharp, clear-cut juxtaposition of the positive and negative. In discussing theological questions before popular audiences, arsis was oft-times indispensable to an orator. In its cumulative form Basil shows arsis capable of great rhetorical power and efficacious for strong emphasis. But a perusal of the examples of the figure found in his pages shows that, for the most part, arsis is for Basil merely a rhetorical mannerism, a third manifestation of

⁴ p-n. refers to the positive-negative variety.

that leaning towards turgescence which the parade-orators of the Second Sophistic considered elegant.

The varying purposes of the dissertations on the rhetoric of the Empire so far produced deprive us of a standard whereby to judge the pleonastic aspects of St. Basil's style. A distinct tendency in the direction of turgescence is established, but at all events not an excessive tendency. When we consider that 1836 examples (if we include all of the somewhat uncertain instances of periphrasis in this total) occur in 563 pages of text, we are justified in characterizing St. Basil's use of the Figures of Redundancy as generous. A glance at the tables shows his use of these figures consistent on the whole. They do not, however, partake of that excess which our knowledge of the Second Sophistic leads us to expect in a faithful disciple, whose taste for grandiloquence is evident.

CHAPTER V

FIGURES OF REPETITION

a) ANADIPLOSIS.

Anadiplosis—the repetition of the same word within a clause—comes down from the poets. In Homer it is merely a device of cumulative emphasis. In the lyric and tragic poets it represents excitation or pathos. It was thus used moderately by Demosthenes.¹ Its intense, passionate feeling is generally reinforced by asyndeton. Only one example occurs in the sermons.—*τότε δὴ, τότε, τὰ οὔτε λόγῳ ῥητὰ οὔτε ἔργῳ φορητὰ ἐπιδεῖν ἔστι θεάματα.*—Advers. Iratos, 84D.

The same effect is produced by the following, wherein two successive sentences begin with the same words.—*δός μοι τέκνα, ἵνα παρακούσω τῶν ἐντολῶν σου· δός μοι τέκνα, ἵνα μὴ φθάσω εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν.*—In Divites, 59C.

b) EPANAPHORA.

As a mechanism of style, epanaphora—the repetition of the same word at the beginning of two or more succeeding cola—makes for emphasis by putting the repeated word first; for clearness, by forecasting the construction of the succeeding colon and thus allowing the mind of the hearer to concentrate the more upon the thought.² In its artistic repetition, it exercises a certain charm upon the ear. Even with unimportant words like *τότε μὲν*—, *τότε δὲ*—, the figure has some rhetorical value, and this value increases with the increase

¹ Sihler. Volkmann 2, 466—7.

² Rehdantz, 6.

of successive repetitions. It is found in literature from Homer down. In this study the repetition of the same word at the beginning of two or more succeeding clauses is called clause epanaphora; of two or more succeeding sentences, sentence epanaphora. The following are noteworthy examples of Basil's use of the figure:—

In clause epanaphora the very common *οὐ* is not without rhetorical effect, as in the five-fold arsis—*οὐχ ὑπέχουσι τὰς ἀκοὰς λόγοις θεοῦ, οὐ λαμβάνουσιν αἰσθῆσιν τῆς ἐαυτῶν φύσεως, οὐ λυποῦνται... ὑπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας· οὐ λυποῦνται εἰς μνήμην τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἀφικνούμενοι, οὐ τρέμουντι τὴν κρίσιν.*—Ps. 28, 123 A. For a seven-fold example with *οὐ* consult Ps. 1, 91 C; for a four-fold with *τὸ*, Quod Mundanis, 172 E; for a five-fold with *ἐπεὶ*, In Fam. et Siccit., 66 D.

A very artificial example with parison, asyndeton, and paronomasia.—*λίθος ἐστὶν ὁ χρυσός, λίθος ὁ ἄργυρος, λίθος ὁ μαργαρίτης, λίθος τῶν λίθων ἕκαστος.*—In Divites, 58 E.

Epanaphora of two words:—*οὐ γὰρ μόνος ἔπεισας φλόγα μὴ βιάεσθαι χεῖρα· οὐ μόνος ἐκτήσω θυσιαστήριον δεξιάν· οὐ μόνος δεξιᾷ φλεγομένη τὰ τῶν δαιμόνων ἐβρόμπισας πρόσωπα.*—In Barlaam, 141 A.

With paronomasia:—*σοφὸς ἂν διὰ τὴν οἰκίαν ὁρμήν, σοφώτερος γέγονε διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς διδασκαλίας τελείωσιν.*—In Princip. Proverb., 110 E. For a like example with polyptoton consult, In Mamantem, 185 C.

Of sentence epanaphora, the following contain interesting variations from the usual two-fold or three-fold variety: Ps. 28, 151 D and E, wherein four succeeding sentences begin with the word *εἴτα*; Quod Mundanis, 163 D–E, wherein six succeeding sentences begin with *μηδέ*.

A whole clause is used as epanaphora in the following sentences, already quoted under anadiplosis:—*δός μοι τέκνα, ἵνα παρακούσω τῶν ἐντολῶν σου; δός μοι τέκνα, ἵνα μὴ φθάσω εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν ὑπερβύτων;*—In Divites, 59 C–D.

Two corresponding clauses of two succeeding sentences begin with the same words:

—*εἰ γὰρ τὰ πρόσκαιρα τοιαῦτα, ποταπὰ τὰ αἰώνια; καὶ εἰ τὰ ὁρώμενα οὕτω καλὰ, ποταπὰ τὰ ἀόρατα;*—Hex. 6, 50 D–E. Consult also Hex. 8, 79 B; Ps. 1, 92 E; Ps. 28, 144 B; 150 A; Ps. 61, 197 E; 198 E.

Sentence and clause epanaphora with polyptoton:

—οὐδείς ἐκραιπάλησεν ἀπὸ ὕδατος·

οὐδανὸς κεφαλὴν ὠδυνήθη ποτὶ ὕδατι βαρηθῆσα.

οὐδείς ἀλλοτρῶν ποδῶν ἐδαψή, ὕδροποσίᾳ σὺλῶν.

οὐδανὸς ἐδέθησαν πόδες,

οὐδανὸς χεῖρες ἀπηχρεώθησαν, ὕδατι καταρδόμενα.—De Jejunio 1, 7 C.

FREQUENCY OF EPANAPHORA IN THE SERMONS.

		Clause	Sen- tence		Clause	Sen- tence
Hex.	1 (530)	10	3	De Jejunio 2	(330) 3	1
"	2 (507)	8	1	Attende Tibiipsi	(480) 15	2
"	3 (565)	7	1	De Grat. Act.	(459) 9	1
"	4 (393)	4	2	In Julittam	(580) 15	1
"	5 (570)	9	1	In Illud Lucae	(406) 15	1
"	6 (746)	8		In Divites	(601) 39	8
"	7 (425)	14	3	In Fam. et Siccit.	(584) 16	4
"	8 (572)	10	5	Deus non est auct.	(598) 11	
"	9 (507)	5	2	Advers. Iratos	(452) 5	1
Ps.	1 (449)	13	2	De Invidia	(359) 7	
"	7 (541)	6	1	In Princip. Proverb.	(895) 17	
"	14 (372)	18	6	In Sanct. Baptisma.	(522) 22	4
"	28 (636)	10		In Ebriosos	(423) 11	2
"	29 (418)	5	1	De Fide	(185) 7	1
"	32 (651)	14	5	In Princip. erat V.	(248) 10	1
"	33 (963)	10	6	In Barlaam	(141) 4	
"	44 (687)	4	2	In Gordium	(425) 15	
"	45 (407)	7	2	In XL Martyres	(392) 6	
"	48 (682)	11	3	De Humilitate	(353) 8	
"	59 (242)	5		Quod Mundanis	(633) 4	6
"	61 (336)	7	2	Ad Adolescentes	(627) 4	
"	114 (276)		1	In Mamantem	(244) 16	1
De Jejunio 1	(475)	30	5	Contra Sabellianos	(444) 9	4

The elaboration of the examples quoted above and the consistent use of the figure throughout the sermons, excepting in Ps. 114 show, that St. Basil had a liking for epanaphora. Its beauty, its clarity, its emphasis alike appealed to him. Its frequency—565 examples in all—does not, however, indicate

an excessive use of the figure, judged from standards of taste far less exuberant than the Asiatic.

c) ANTISTROPHE.

Antistrophe—the repetition of the same word at the end of two or more succeeding clauses—is called by Hermogenes a device of beauty.³ Very rarely does it occur in Basil.

The following are representative examples:

—ἡ ὁδὸς οὐκ ἔστι σὴ ἀλλ' εὐδὲ τὰ παρόντα σά—Ps. 1, 94 E.

—ψάλλον ἔχεις, προσφητεῖαν ἔχεις—Ps. 28, 123 B.

—νῦν δακρύεις, ἀλλ' ἐγέλασας πρότερον·

νῦν πτωχεύεις, ἀλλ' ἐπλούτησας πρότερον—Quod Mundania, 172 D.

The remaining instances in the sermons are to be found in Hex. 8, 70 C; Ps. 32, 137 E; Ps. 32, 138 D; Ps. 45, 176 E; Ps. 114, 203 A; In Ebriosos, 128 A; In Ebriosos, 129 D; In Gordium, 145 D.

The eleven examples found are excellent representatives of this highly artificial device. Their quality bespeaks St. Basil's adaptability to the requirements of the figure. Their rarity in so ample an expanse of text argues restraint even in the use of a figure unsuited to prolonged or frequent development.

d) ANASTROPHE.

Anastrophe—the repetition of the final word of one clause at the beginning of the next clause—occurs not at all in the early Attic orators, although Homer and the Tragic Poets exemplify it. Isaëus and Demosthenes use it only rarely. St. Basil too is very sparing in his employment of it. An excellent example was not found in his sermons.

Typical of its use in his pages are:—*λαβόμεν διὰ τῆς μετανοίας·*

μετάνοια δὲ χωρὶς νηστείας ἀργή.—De Jejuniis 1, 3 B.

μετὰ τὴν καρποφορίαν τῶν ἐπιεικτουμένων, ἀναγκαῖα ἡ προσκύνησις.

προσκύνησις δὲ ἡ οὐκ ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας.—Ps. 28, 116 D.

The remaining examples in the sermons, some of them presenting merely the form of the figure, in all probability, are to be found in Hex. 1, 10 C; Hex. 6, 58 C; Ps. 48, 182 A; In Illud

³ II, 335.

Lucae, 48B; De Invidia, 92D; In Sanct. Baptisma, 116E; De Fide, 131E.

The infrequency of its occurrence, even allowing for dubious examples, and the uncertain quality of many of the examples found reveal anastrophe as still less an element of St. Basil's style than antistrophe.

e) KUKLOS.

Kuklos—wherein the first clause of a period begins, and the next or last clause ends, with the same word—is obviously so artificial a figure that its frequent use would blight the style it tried to embellish. Only one instance of its use occurs in the sermons.—*ἑτερον γένος τὸ κηῶδες καὶ τὸ τῶν λεπτῶν ἰχθύων ἑτερον.*—Hex. 7, 64C.

f) CLIMAX.

Climax—a repetition of the last word of the preceding clause through several successive clauses of a period—is also too artificial for extended use.

Examples:—*ὅρα τὴν ἀκολουθίαν ψυχῆς πρὸς αἷμα, αἵματος πρὸς σάρκα, σαρκὸς πρὸς τὴν γῆν καὶ πάλιν ἀναλύσας διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀναπόδισον ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς σάρκα, ἀπὸ σαρκὸς εἰς αἷμα, ἀπὸ αἵματος εἰς ψυχὴν· καὶ εὐρήσεις ὅτι γῆ ἐστὶ τῶν κτηνῶν ἢ ψυχὴ.*—Hex. 8, 71C.

—*θυμὸς μὲν γὰρ ἐγείρει μάχην, μάχη δὲ γεννᾷ λοιδορίας, αἱ δὲ λοιδορίαι πληγάς, αἱ δὲ πληγαὶ τραύματα, ἐκ δὲ τραυμάτων πολλάκις θάνατοι.*—Advers. Iratos, 85C.

Of scriptural origin is the following:—*ἐργαζόμεναι ὑπομονήν, καὶ διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς δοκιμήν, καὶ διὰ τῆς δοκιμῆς ἐλπίδα.*—Ps. 45, 171E.

The only other examples of climax in the sermons occur in Ps. 48, 178D; Ps. 59, 192D; De Invidia, 94C; In Sanct. Baptisma, 118C; Contra Sabellianos, 196E.

g) REPETITIVE PARONOMASIA.

The phrase "Repetitive Paronomasia", not found in the rhetoricians, I have borrowed from Robinson.⁴ It designates the rhetorical repetition of the same word in the same sense.

⁴ 25.

The examples found in the sermons are built upon the forced repetition of very ordinary words, such as οὐ, ἀντί, ὡς, διά, or upon less usual words twice or thrice repeated. Its skillful use lends great vigor to the style of a passage.

Examples:—ἄλλοι μὲν γάρ ἐσμεν παῖδες, καὶ ἄλλοι ἑφηβοὶ καὶ ἀνδρωθέντες ἕτεροι . . . καὶ ἄλλοι μὲν ἐν ταῖς φαιδροτέραις ἐσμὲν καταστάσεσι τῶν πραγμάτων· ἄλλοι δὲ ἐξ ἄλλων γινόμεθα τραχυτέρᾳ συντυχίᾳ καιρῶν κεκρημένοι· ἄλλοι νοσοῦντες καὶ ἄλλοι εὐπαθοῦντες· ἄλλοι ἐν γάμοις καὶ ἄλλοι ἐν πένθεσιν.—Ps. 59, 190 C-D.

Three-fold repetition:—ἀντὶ τῶν μωλώπων, τῶν ἐπανισταμένων τῷ σώματι, φωτεινὸν ἔνδυμα ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει ἐπανθήσει· ἀντὶ τῆς ἀτιμίας, στέφανοι· ἀντὶ δεσμωτηρίου, παράδεισος· ἀντὶ τῆς μετὰ τῶν κακουργῶν καταδίκης, ἡ μετ' ἀγγέλων διαγωγή.—In Gordium, 146 B-C.

—διὰ τί Λόγος; ἵνα δευχθῇ ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ προήλθε· διὰ τί Λόγος; ὅτι ἀπαθῶς ἐγενήθη· διὰ τί Λόγος; ὅτι εἰκὼν τοῦ γενήσαντος ὅλον ἐν ἑαυτῷ δεκνὺς τὸν γενήσαντα . . .—In Princip. erat V., 136 D.

An example based on the eleven-fold repetition of οὐκ occurs in Ps. 114, 204 A-B; a four-fold repetition of ἀπὸ in Ps. 45, 176 C; the three-fold repetition of μετὰ in Ps. 48, 179 C; the six-fold repetition of οὐ in De Jejuno 1, 7 E; a four-fold repetition of μετὰ in In Princip. Proverb., 112 C. For further examples consult Hex. 5, 41 A; Ps. 1, 90 B; Ps. 28, 115 C-D; Ps. 44, 163 E; Attende Tibiipsi, 18 A; In XL Martyres, 149 B.

FREQUENCY OF REPETITIVE PARONOMASIA IN THE SERMONS.

Hex.	1	(530)	3	De Jejuno	2	(330)	3
"	2	(507)	2	Attende Tibiipsi	(480)	2	
"	3	(565)	5	De Grat. Act.	(459)	3	
"	4	(393)	3	In Julittam	(580)	3	
"	5	(570)	5	In Illud Lucae	(406)	3	
"	6	(746)	6	In Divites	(601)	5	
"	7	(425)	2	In Fam. et Siccit.	(584)	2	
"	8	(572)	3	Deus non est auct.	(598)	4	
"	9	(507)	1	Ad Iratos	(452)	2	
Ps.	1	(449)	5	De Invidia	(359)	3	

Ps.	7	(541)	5	In Princip. Proverb.	(895)	3
"	14	(372)	5	In Sanct. Baptisma	(522)	8
"	28	(636)	7	In Ebriosos	(423)	7
"	29	(418)	1	De Fide	(185)	4
"	32	(651)	8	In Princip. erat V.	(248)	3
"	33	(963)	4	In Barlaam	(141)	—
"	44	(687)	2	In Gordium	(425)	6
"	45	(407)	2	In XL Martyres	(392)	10
"	48	(682)	5	De Humilitate	(353)	4
"	59	(242)	4	Quod Mundanis	(633)	1
"	61	(336)	—	Ad Adolescentes	(627)	3
"	114	(276)	1	In Mamantem	(244)	—
De Jejunio	1	(475)	3	Contra Sabellianos	(444)	1

Of repetitive paronomasia St. Basil is far more sparing than of epanaphora, the one other figure of its kind deserving even moderately the adjective "frequent". 162 examples of repetitive paronomasia are found in the sermons—a total surprisingly small in so vigorous an orator. The cumulative character of many of the examples off-sets this small number to some extent and explains the reader's impression that repetitive paronomasia is a constant favorite with St. Basil. The very strength of the figure in St. Basil's hands attracts the attention to its use rather than its neglect, and thus blinds the casual reader to its infrequency.

St. Basil certainly does not exhibit Asiatic excessiveness in the repetitious features of his rhetorical heritage. The elaborate length of some of his examples of epanaphora and repetitive paronomasia are an index of his possibilities in the direction of Asiatic exuberance rather than a general realization of that exuberance. Of antistrophe, anastrophe, kuklos, and climax I had not expected to find many examples. An oration studded with such unnatural gems would be a very flaring product indeed. But the pathetic anadiplosis might well re-appear many times in an unrestrained Asiatic. Its single exemplification here is in harmony with that moderateness which all the Figures of Repetition, each in their peculiar character, exhibit in St. Basil.

CHAPTER VI

FIGURES OF SOUND

a) PARONOMASIA.

Although paronomasia is treated by some authorities as one of the Gorgianic Figures,¹ the facts that the Greek rhetoricians do not mention it among the Gorgianic Figures and that it does not receive the enthusiastic treatment in St. Basil that the undoubtedly Gorgianic Figures receive suggest its inclusion among the minor figures of rhetoric. Paronomasia—a figure based on a similarity in the sounds of words plus a dissimilarity in sense—is produced either by (a) the use of the same root with change of the prefixes or by (b) a word followed by its negative or by (c) a change in the voice of the verb or by (d) a word followed immediately or at an interval by another word of the same root. Obviously rhetorical design must be clearly established here in each case before a suspected case may be called genuine paronomasia.

The following examples illustrate St. Basil's use of the figure:—
ὁ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν καμιάτω συνέχεται ἐν τῇ συνεχῇ κινήσει τὰ σύνθετα. — Hex. 1, 11B. Compare also Ps. 7, 105A; Ps. 28, 116C; Ps. 32, 137E; Ps. 48, 182C; De Fide, 133A.

— *συμβαίνει σοι κατορύσσοντι τὸν πλοῦτον συγκατορύσσειν καὶ τὴν καρδίαν.* — In Divites, 54B. Compare also De Jejuniis 1, 5B; In Sanct. Baptisma, 115C; In Princip. erat V., 135C.

— *ἀπογράφῃ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ βίβλῳ, ἵνα μεταγραφῇ εἰς τὴν ἄνω.* — In Sanct. Baptisma, 120B. Compare also Hex. 5, 46C; Ps. 114, 201C.

— *ἐπανισταμένων ἀνθιστάμενος.* — De Humilitate, 161C. Compare also Ps. 29, 127D; De Humilitate, 161D.

¹ Blass II, 66; Robertson, 7; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Epistula ad Ammaeum II.

— *χορεύεις ἀχορεύτα*. — In Ebriosos, 129 C. Compare also Ps. 14, 108 B; Ps. 28, 116 A; De Jejunio 2, 15 C; In Ebriosos, 130 A.

FREQUENCY OF PARONOMASIA IN THE SERMONS.

Hex.	1	(530)	7	De Jejunio 2	(330)	1
"	2	(507)	1	Attende Tibiipsi	(480)	1
"	3	(565)	4	De Grat. Act.	(459)	
"	4	(393)		In Julittam	(580)	
"	5	(570)	2	In Illud Lucae	(406)	1
"	6	(746)	2	In Divites	(601)	1
"	7	(425)	3	In Fam. et Siccit.	(584)	4
"	8	(572)		Deus non est auct.	(598)	
"	9	(507)	1	Advers. Iratos	(452)	2
Ps.	1	(449)	1	De Invidia	(359)	1
"	7	(541)	3	In Princip. Proverb.	(895)	1
"	14	(372)	6	In Sanct. Baptisma	(522)	4
"	28	(636)	3	In Ebriosos	(423)	3
"	29	(418)	1	De Fide	(185)	4
"	32	(651)	3	In Princip. erat V.	(248)	3
"	33	(963)		In Barlaam	(141)	1
"	44	(687)	1	In Gordium	(425)	2
"	45	(407)	2	In XL Martyres	(392)	
"	48	(682)	5	De Humilitate	(353)	10
"	59	(242)		Quod Mundanis	(633)	
"	61	(336)		Ad Adolescentes	(627)	1
"	114	(276)	2	In Mamantem	(244)	
De Jejunio	1	(475)	1	Contra Sabellianos	(444)	1

A figure whose form is so readily confused with the mere accidents of inflection must yield numerous and striking instances to constitute a noteworthy element in an author's style. Eighty-nine examples in forty-six sermons, most of the examples rather common-place, with only one sermon yielding as many as ten examples, with eleven sermons yielding none, make not a remarkable contribution to the style of St. Basil.

b) POLYPTOTON.

A form of paronomasia whose rhetorical design is far more patent is polyptoton—a word followed immediately, or after a short interval, by the same word in a different case. The

formula *εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων*, which concludes most of the sermons, is of course not included here. It is a scriptural idiom and is considered more a formula than a figure.

The following examples illustrate St. Basil's use of Polypytoton:—*πάντα ἐν πᾶσι μέμκται*—Hex. 1, 8 B. Compare also Hex. 3, 26 B; Hex. 8, 78 B; In Princip. Proverb., 109 E.

—*μία τῆς μιᾶς ἡρτηνται*—Hex. 8, 77 D. Compare also Hex. 3, 27 B; In Fam. et Siccit., 68 B.

—(partly Biblical) *ἐγκατάρατος ἀνθρωπος ὁ τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔχων ἐπ' ἀνθρώπον ἢ ἐπὶ τι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων*—Ps. 45, 171 B. Compare also Ps. 28, 114 D; In Princip. erat V., 135 C; De Humilitate, 160 D;

—*πολλὰ γὰρ ἀρχαὶ πολλῶν πραγμάτων*—In Princip. erat V., 135 A. Compare also Ad Adolescentes, 180 C.

FREQUENCY OF POLYPTOTON IN THE SERMONS.

Hex. 1	(530)	4	Ps. 45	(407)	2
" 2	(507)	2	De Grat. Act.	(459)	1
" 3	(565)	5	In Divites	(601)	1
" 4	(393)	2	In Fam. et Siccit.	(584)	1
" 5	(570)	2	De Invidia	(359)	1
" 6	(746)	4	In Princip. Proverb.	(895)	2
" 7	(425)	2	In Ebriosos	(423)	1
" 8	(572)	3	In Princip. erat. V.	(248)	4
" 9	(507)	1	In Barlaam	(141)	1
Ps. 14	(372)	3	In Gordium	(425)	1
" 28	(636)	2	De Humilitate	(353)	1
" 32	(651)	3	Ad Adolescentes	(627)	1
" 44	(687)	1	Contra Sabellianos	(444)	2

Even less numerous than paronomasia—fifty-three examples in all, with only one sermon containing as many as six examples, and with twenty sermons containing none—polypytoton, despite its greater artificiality, contributes scarcely more to the style of St. Basil than paronomasia. The opportunities were there however. In a highly inflected language any practiced pupil of the Schools could use polypytoton in excess, even as St. Basil did in extreme moderation. Our orator leaves to other figures the proof of his inherent, perhaps unconscious, sophistic sympathies.

c) ALLITERATION AND ASSONANCE.

Alliteration—the recurrence of the same initial letter(s) in succeeding, usually immediately succeeding, words—requires great circumspection in treatment, because of accidental alliterative combinations bound to arise in language. At best the examples and statistics on this figure and on assonance are highly subjective.

The following are representative examples of alliteration as found in the sermons:—ἐπανὼν ἐπισυρόμενος ἐπίφθονος—Hex. 5, 41 E.
—δοῦλος τοῦ δεδαινεκίτου ὁ δανεισάμενος—Ps. 14, 109 C.
—ἀτρεπτον, ἀναλλοιώτον, ἀπαθῆ, ἀπλήν, ἀσύνθετον, ἀδιαίρετον—De Fide, 131 D.

—πατήρ παρεδίδου παῖδα—In Gordium, 144 A.

The only other examples found occur in Hex. 2, 21 C; Hex. 3, 32 C; Hex. 4, 35 B; Hex. 7, 68 B; 68 C; Ps. 1, 95 D; Ps. 33, 146 E; In Illud Lucae, 49 D; In Fam. et Siccit, 66 C; 68 E; 72 A; Deus non est auct., 76 E; In Sanct. Baptisma, 121 A; In XL Martyres, 152 E; De Humilitate, 160 D.

Assonance—the intentional succession of words ending in similar sounds—is very rare in the sermons. The following is typical of its infrequent use:—τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τοῦ κάλλους τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς, Hex. 2, 12 B.—The only other examples occur in Hex. 1, 7 C; 11 B; Hex. 2, 17 D. Nineteen instances of alliteration and four instances of assonance make a total almost negligible. But their very rarity in a product of the Second Sophistic is a noteworthy fact.

d) PARECHESIS.

Parechesis—a similarity in the sound of words of different roots plus a dissimilarity of sense—may take any one of three forms: (a) words differing in accent or in a single letter; (b) combined in pairs; (c) not in pairs, not even necessarily in the same colon, but the assonance produced evidently designed. The first two forms are almost bound to be intentional. The third alone calls for scrupulous care.²

Examples.

Differing in accent—τοῦτο ὑμῶν τὸ ἄρα τῇ—ἀρᾷ—Contra Sabelianos, 195 A.

² Robertson, 23-24.

Differing both in accent and letter—*θέας τοῦ θεοῦ*—Hex. 1, 2D
 Differing in letter and word-length—*συνφθάν αὐτῶν καὶ συμφωνίαν
 τοῶν*—Ps. 32, 133 B.

—*κατάβητος, διὰ τὴν ἀρήρητον σοφίαν*—Hex. 3, 28 C.

—*λυσσῶσιν—ῥιττουσιν—δάκνουσιν*—Advers. Iratos, 83 D.

The only other examples found occur in Hex. 1, 2D; Hex. 5, 44D; Hex. 6, 51C; 55B; Hex. 9, 83E; 88C; 88E; Ps. 32, 139C; Attende Tibiipsi, 17B; In Divites, 60D; Advers. Iratos, 87D; In Sanct. Baptisma, 120C; In Gordium, 142C.

These nineteen examples show only the traces of the sophistic predilection for devices of sound—an indication that Basil knew the figure, but not fondly.

An excessive use of paronomasia and allied figures, the employing of them merely for tonal effects gave to the language of Gorgias a stiffness, a lack of spontaneity that was a precept to his successors as to what must be avoided. With the revival of rhetoric under the Empire the figures of sound were again abused; so much so that the sense of many fine-sounding phrases of that time is dubious. With many sophists it became a fixed mental habit that when they must choose between clarity of expression and resonance of expression, they invariably chose the latter. This convention, so strongly entrenched in the schools, is very marked in the works of St. Gregory Nazianzus,³ St. Gregory of Nyssa,⁴ and in St. John Chrysostom's panegyric use of alliteration, polyptoton, and parechesis at least.⁵ St. Basil, compared with them, is far more restrained. In both the quality and number of sound-figures he shows a surprising indifference to the fashion of the times.⁶ Viewed by itself the evidence of this chapter is almost negative. But viewed in connection with the extreme fondness of the Second Sophistic for figures of sound, a fondness reflected in some of its Christian disciples, the negative results become a positive contribution.

³ Guignet, 197.

⁴ Méridier, 161.

⁵ Ameringer, 38-35.

⁶ Although neither Méridier nor Guignet nor Ameringer give statistics on these figures, their wealth of examples in each case and their comments and conclusions warrant the above statement.

CHAPTER VII

FIGURES OF VIVACITY; OTHER DEVICES OF COMPOSITION

a) ASYNDETON.

Asyndeton—a figure arising from the omission of conjunctions—produces a nervous warmth of tone suited to practical eloquence, to the stormy debates of republican politics and, by analogy, to any discourse inspired by a clash of principles. The absolute avoidance of asyndeton tends to produce monotony in a discourse. Its skillful use produces on the ear the sensation of rapidity. In its cumulative form it emphasizes the elements thus disconnected by setting them off sharply and clearly, by forcing a brief mental pause between them and thus driving the significance of the elements so set off more deeply into the mind. It also serves to reinforce the effect of other figures by the mere elimination of conjunctions which otherwise would claim some share of the attention.

Noteworthy among a wealth of examples in St. Basil's sermons are the following: Two asyndeta followed by one asyndeton, with polysyndeton: *πόντος Εἰξέως καὶ Προποντίς, Ἑλλάσποντος, Αἰγαῖος καὶ Ἰώνιος, Σαρδονικὸν πέλαγος καὶ Συκελικὸν καὶ Τυρρηνικὸν ἔτερον*—Hex. 4, 36 E-37 A.

Two-fold: *ἀλλα—θάλασσαν,*

ἀλλα—κόλπον,

ἀλλα—νησιῶται—Hex. 7, 64 D.

Three asyndetic clauses, the first clause containing a two-fold example in addition:

—οἱ γάμοι τὰς ἀπαιδίας, τὰς χηρείας, τὰς διαφθοράς·

αἱ γεωργίαι τὴν ἀκαρπίαν· αἱ ἐμπορίαι τὰ ναύγια·

οἱ πλοῦτοι τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς.—Ps. 33, 150 C-D. Compare also In Mamantem, 188 A; Contra Sabellianos, 194 C.

Two two-fold examples in succession:

—ἡ μοιχεία, ἡ κλοπή, ἡ πορνεία μετὰ τῆς νυκτός, μετὰ τοῦ τρόπου, μετὰ τῶν χαρακτηριζόντων αὐτὴν ἰδιωμάτων—Ps. 48, 179 C.

Fourteen-fold:—ζώντων ἐκείνη χώρα ἐν ᾗ οὐκ ἐνὶ νύξ, οὐκ ἐνὶ ὕπνος τὸ τοῦ θανάτου μίμημα· ἐν ᾗ οὐκ ἐνὶ βρῶσις, οὐκ ἐνὶ πόσις, τὰ τῆς ἀσθενείας ἡμῶν ὑπερείσματα, οὐκ ἐνὶ νόσος, οὐκ ἐνὶ ἀλγήματα, οὐκ ἰατρεία, οὐ δικαστήρια, οὐκ ἐμπορίαι, οὐ τέχναι, οὐ χρήματα, τῶν κακῶν ἡ ἀρχή, ἡ τῶν πολέμων ὑπόθεσις, ἡ ῥῆξα τῆς ἔχθρας—Ps. 114, 204 A-B.

Seven asyndetic clauses containing one group of two asyndeta and one group of eight asyndeta:—ἄφες τὸ σῶμα σεαντοῦ, ἄφες τὰς σωματικὰς αἰσθήσεις, κατάλειπε τὴν γῆν, κατάλειπε τὴν θάλασσαν, κάτω σεαντοῦ ποίησον τὸν ἀέρα, παράδραμε ὥρας, καιρῶν εὐταξίας, τὰς περὶ γῆν διακοσμήσεις· ὑπὲρ τὸν αἰθέρα γενοῦ· διάβηθι τοὺς ἀστέρας, τὰ περὶ αὐτοὺς θαύματα, τὴν εὐκοσμίαν αὐτῶν, τὰ μεγέθη, τὰς χρείας ὅσας παρέχονται τῷ παντί, τὴν εὐταξίαν, τὴν λαμπρότητα, τὴν θέσιν, τὴν κίνησιν—De Fide, 131 C.

Compare also Ps. 1, 91 A; In Julittam, 40 C-D; In Divites, 58 B; Deus non est auct., 75 D-E; In Barlaam, 140 A-B; In Gordium, 144 C; De Humilitate, 162 A-B.

FREQUENCY OF ASYNDETON IN THE SERMONS.¹

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Hex. 1	(580)		2		3			1										
" 2	(507)		1	6	2													
" 3	(565)		1	1														
" 4	(393)	1	1															
" 5	(570)	1	8	3	2													
" 6	(745)		2		1	1		1										
" 7	(425)	4	5	1	1				1									
" 8	(572)		4	1														
" 9	(507)		3	3	1													
Ps. 1	(449)	3	5	2		1		1	1		1	1						
" 7	(541)						1											
" 14	(372)	2	6	3	1	3	1											
" 28	(636)	3	2	2		1												
" 29	(418)	1	1															
" 32	(651)	1	5	2	2			1	1									

¹ The numbers that head the columns indicate the degree of multiplicity of asyndetic omissions; the number 3 for instance indicates that all examples tabulated in the column below the number are of the three-fold variety.

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Pa. 38	(963)	3	6	3	1	1			2									
" 44	(687)	1	2															
" 45	(407)	1	3	2														
" 48	(682)	1	7	1														
" 59	(242)	4																
" 61	(336)	1	1	1						1								
" 114	(276)	1	2	1												1		
De Jejunio 1	(475)	9	3	2		3	1						2					
De Jejunio 2	(330)	2	3	2	1	2	1				1							
Attende Tibiipsi	(480)	4	5	8	3			4										
De Grat. Act.	(459)	4		2		1					1							
In Julittam	(580)	3	3		1						1				1			
In Illud Lucae	(406)	1	6	2	3	1		1										
In Divites	(601)	3	9	5	4	1	4		1						1			
In Fam. et Siccit.	(584)	1	5	10		2			2									
Deus non est auct.	(598)	1	2	1	1				1		1							
Advers. Iratos	(452)	3	1	1	2			1										
De Invidia	(359)	5	4	2			1											
In Princip. Proverb.	(695)		7		2	1		1										
In Sanct. Baptisma	(522)	2	8	2			4	2	1									
In Ebriosos	(423)	4	3	7	1	2		1					1					
De Fide	(186)	2	5	1	1		1				1					1		1
In Princip. erat V	(243)	1			1								1					
In Barlaam	(141)	2		1												1		
In Gordium	(425)	1	8	2	1	2		2					1					
In XL Martyres	(392)	3	5	5	2	2		1										
De Humilitate	(353)	6	2	1								1						
Quod Mundanis	(633)	1																
Ad Adolescentes	(627)				1			1										
In Mamantem	(244)	4	2	4	2					1								
Contra Sabellianos	(444)	1	1	3														

Of the larger combinations, one sermon contains an example of seventeen successive asyndeta; one sermon, an example of fifteen successive asyndeta; three sermons, an example of fourteen successive asyndeta; two sermons, an example of thirteen successive asyndeta. Arranging the less numerous combinations in succession from simple asyndeton to the twelve-fold variety, we obtain the following table. Each number above the line refers to the degree of multiplicity in each case; the number below the line to the frequency of occurrence in the sermons.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
66	173	98	44	28	14	18	10	2	6	2	3

This table clearly shows St. Basil's marked preference for the less elaborate varieties. The two-fold and three-fold varieties more than double the combined totals of the mere cumulative kinds. That the two-fold out-number the one-fold is in harmony with the comparative ineffectiveness of the latter. That the discrepancy between them is not greater is surprising.

Considering the opportunities for its display which the sermons afford, St. Basil is moderate in his employment of asyndeton, and remarkably so in his use of the more elaborate forms. In these more than in the less elaborate varieties sophistic extravagance would manifest itself. The cumulative outbursts occur, but only rarely. The traces of the sophistic manner are evident, but only the traces. The utility of the figure for forceful exposition, its adequateness as a vehicle of expression for a vigorous personality largely account for its extensive but moderate use.

b) POLYSYNDETON.

Polysyndeton—the artistic multiplication of connectives—impresses on the style a calm movement, a character of grandeur proper to academic eloquence. The accumulation of conjunctions makes for deliberateness. It draws attention to each separate element thus connected. Only instances of two or more successive conjunctions may be considered figures. The following are interesting and typical of the more elaborate examples. }

Followed by asyndeton:—*δπλα καὶ ἄρματα καὶ ἱππους καὶ ὑπηκόους καὶ χέραν ὑπόφορον, τὴν Ἀραβίαν πᾶσαν, τὴν Φοινίκην, τὴν Μέσσην τῶν ποταμῶν*;—Ps. 59, 189 E. Compare also De Fide, 131 E.

—*κἂν—, κἂν—, κἂν—, κἂν—, κἂν—*. In Sanct. Baptisma, 113 E. Compare also Ps. 32, 134 B.

Eleven-fold:—*ἔστω σοι καὶ σχῆμα καὶ ἱμάτιον καὶ βάδισμα καὶ καθέδρα καὶ τροφῆς κατάστασις καὶ στρωμνῆς παρασκευὴ καὶ οἶκος καὶ τὰ ἐν οἴκῳ σκευὴ πάντα πρὸς εὐτέλειαν ἡσκημένα· καὶ λόγος καὶ ψῆδῃ καὶ ἡ τοῦ πλησίον ἐντεύξις καὶ ταῦτα*.—De Humilitate, 161 E-162 A.

Four-fold followed by five-fold:—*σεισμοὶ τε καὶ ἐπικλύσεις καὶ στρατοπέδων ἀπάλειαι καὶ νανύγια καὶ πᾶσαι πολυάνθρωποι φθοραὶ εἴτε ἐκ γῆς εἴτε ἐκ θαλάσσης εἴτε ἐξ αἰέρος ἢ πυρὸς ἢ ἐξ ὁποιασοῦν αἰτίας*.—Deus non est auct., 76 D.

Eight-fold:—λίθοις καὶ φάραξι καὶ κρημνοῖς καὶ σκοπέλοις καὶ σκάλοψιν ἤπου καὶ θηρίοις καὶ ἐρπετοῖς καὶ ἀκάνθαις καὶ τισιν ἄλλοις.—Compare also Hex. 3, 32 D; Hex. 8, 70 E-71 A.

FREQUENCY OF POLYSYNDETON IN THE SERMONS.

[illegible]

FIGURES OF VIVACITY; OTHER DEVICES OF COMPOSITION 49

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
In Gordium	(425)			3	4	1						
In XL Martyres	(392)			6		1	1					
De Humilitate	(353)			9	6							
Quod Mundanis	(633)			11	10	2	1					
Ad Adolescentes	(627)			11	5		1					
In Mamantem	(244)			4								
Contra Sabellianos	(444)			4	2							

A more concise summary of the above table is the following. Each number above the line refers to the degree of multiplicity in each case; the number below the line to the frequency of occurrence in the sermons.

2	3	4	5	6	7	9	11
270	143	41	22	6	3	1	1

Here, as in asyndeton, the tendency to more examples of the less elaborate type is the rule. The most ambitious example is an eleven-fold polysyndeton. The three-fold and two-fold varieties outnumber all the rest combined by a ratio of nearly six to one, while the two-fold alone outnumbers all the rest easily. These statistics show that the tendency toward less multiplex figures is far more pronounced in polysyndeton than in asyndeton. The deliberateness caused by the large accumulation of conjunctions is less suited to the vigorous delivery of St. Basil than the swiftly-moving asyndeton. This to some extent explains what would otherwise be attributed merely to restraint in rhetorical indulgence. Despite its more extensive variation and more extended use, asyndeton outnumbers polysyndeton by only forty-eight examples.

St. Basil, due to his sophistic education or to the solemnity inspired by the grandeur of his theme, becomes almost ponderous on occasion. But this is not an abiding characteristic. Vigor of thought and vigor of delivery preclude the elaborately cumulative polysyndeton. St. Basil's numerous but restrained examples arise chiefly from the exigencies of exposition, employing a time-proven device in his rhetorical heritage.

c) RHETORICAL QUESTIONS.

The rhetorical question—a form of interrogation put not for information but for effect—in its several uses is an excellent

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
In Gordium	(425)		3	4	1							
In XL Martyres	(392)		6		1		1					
De Humilitate	(353)		9	6								1
Quod Mundanis	(638)		11	10	2	1						
Ad Adolescentes	(627)		11	5		1						
In Mamantem	(244)		4									
Contra Sabellianos	(444)		4	2								

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index to an author's style. Its generous employment imparts an unmistakable liveliness to an oration. Hatred, compassion, astonishment, indignation, pathos find the rhetorical question an ideal vehicle. In its cumulative form it is a powerful means of emphasis—through the repetition of the same thought from several angles differing but slightly. For glossing over a weak point in an argument, a rapid—fire of questions is an effective weapon. The orator, by an avalanche of bold, challenging questions, gives the illusion of having successfully established a weak point. The single rhetorical question gives a statement more vividness than its simple enunciation. In passages heavy with thought this device holds the hearer's attention by its challenge and stimulates his curiosity by its suggestion. It may also be used in place of a conditional clause. The following are noteworthy examples.

An appeal: *τί μακρὰν ἀποτρέχεις τῆς ἀληθείας, ἄνθρωπε, ἀφορμὰς σεαντῆ τῆς ἀπωλείας ἐπινοῶν;*—Hex. 2, 15 E. Compare also Hex. 7, 68 C.

A challenge: *πέποιθας ἐπὶ Κύριον;*—Hex. 9, 86 D. Compare also Advers. Iratos, 86 C.

Question proposing a subject:—*ποιός ἐστι βούλει διηγῆσομαι;*—Ps. 33, 151 C-D. Compare Ps. 44, 160 A.

—*βούλει σοι καὶ ἕτερον πλοῦν διηγῆσομαι, πρὸς ὃν ἀναγκαῖον ἡμῖν ἐστι τὸ δῶρον τῆς κυβερνήσεως.*—In Princip. Proverb., 112 A.

Addressing the Dead:—*τί σε, ὦ γενναῖε τοῦ Χριστοῦ στρατιῶτα, προσείπω; ἀνδριάντα καλέσω;*—In Barlaam, 141 A.

Vivid presentation of details:—*ποῦ δὲ αἱ μολοβίδες; ποῦ δὲ αἱ μάστιγες;*—In Gordium, 145 E.

Conditional:—*πλούσιος εἶ; μὴ δανείζου. πένης εἶ; μὴ δανείζου.*—Ps. 14, 110 C.

—*ἐλοιδόρησας; εὐλόγησον. ἐπλεονέκτησας; ἀπόδος. ἐμεθύσθης; νήστευσον. ἡλαδονεύσω; ταπεινώθῃτι. ἐφθόνησας; παρακάλεσον. ἐφόνευσας; μαρτύρησον.*—Ps. 32, 133 A. Compare also Ps. 33, 152 E; Ps. 59, 192 E.

—*ἀδικῶς κολάῃ; τῇ τῶν μελλόντων ἐλπίδι χαῖρε. δικαίως κατεδικάσθης; καὶ οὕτως εὐχαρίσται.*—In Julittam, 39 D.

Compare also Ps. 14, 110 B; 110 E; 112 C; Ps. 33, 157 C; Ps. 45, 171 A; De Jejunio 1, 10 B; De Jejunio 2, 11 D; De Grat. Act., 32 C; In Julittam, 35 E; In Fam. et Siccit., 67 E; In Mamantem, 188 E.

Exclamatory:—ὦ τῆς ἀχαριστίας—οὐκ ἐπιτρέπεις;—Hex. 9, 88 D.
 —ὦ πόσους ἀπώλεσε τὰ ἀλλότρια ἀγαθὰ; πόσοι ὄναρ πλουτήσαντες ὑπερ-
 ἀπῆλυσαν τῆς ἡμέρας;—Ps. 14, 112 C.
 —ὦ πόσας νύκτας εἰκὴ ἡγρυπνήσατε; πόσας ἡμέρας εἰκὴ συνηθοῖσθῃτε;
 —In Ebriosos, 122 E.
 Compare also Hex. 4, 34 A; Hex. 5, 43 D; Hex. 8, 78 E; Ps. 45,
 174 D; In Illud Lucae, 48 C; In Sanct. Baptisma, 116 C.

FREQUENCY OF RHETORICAL QUESTIONS IN THE SERMONS.

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Hex. 1	(530)	3	3														
" 2	(507)	6	1	1		1											
" 3	(565)	7	3														
" 4	(393)	4	1														
" 5	(570)	14	2														
" 6	(746)	8	3	2		2	1										
" 7	(425)	8	1		3												
" 8	(572)	6	4		1												
" 9	(507)	14	7														
Ps. 1	(449)	2	2	1	1												
" 7	(541)	2															
" 14	(372)	17	4														
" 28	(636)	1	1														
" 29	(418)	4	4														
" 32	(651)	6	2	1		1	2										
" 33	(963)	10	2														
" 44	(687)	7															
" 45	(407)	8	1														
" 48	(682)	4	2	1	2												
" 59	(242)	3	1														
" 61	(336)	2	1														
" 114	(276)	1	1														
De Jejunio 1	(475)	4	6	2	2	1											
De Jejunio 2	(330)	3	3	2													
Attende Tibiipsi	(490)	5	1	2		1	1										1
De Grat. Act.	(459)	5	4		2												
In Julittam	(580)	9	3	1		1											
In Illud Lucae	(406)	10	4	3	1	1											
In Divites	(601)	21	10	3	1	2	1	1	1								
In Fam. et Siccit.	(584)	5	3	4	2	1											
Deus non est auct.	(598)	6	1	1	1		1										
Advers. Iratos	(452)	13	2	3	1												
De Invidia	(359)	8	7	3													
In Princip. Proverb.	(896)	8		1													

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
In Sanct. Baptisma	(522)	22	5	3	2	3											
In Ebriosos	(423)	12	6	2	2				8								
De Fide	(185)	2															
In Princip. erat V.	(248)	5	4														
In Barlaam	(141)	3															
In Gordium	(425)	7	5	2	1												
In XL Martyres	(392)	9	2	1	1												
De Humilitate	(353)	4															
Quod Mundanis	(638)	8	3														
Ad Adolescentes	(627)	14	1														
In Mamantem	(244)	4		2			1										
Contra Sabellianos	(444)	6	7	2				1									

A more concise summary of the above table illustrates forcefully the tendency toward more examples of the less multiplex type. In the following summary each number above the line refers to the degree of multiplicity; each number below the line to the frequency of a given type in the sermons.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	16
332	123	43	23	14	6	2	9	1

The single question and the sets of two successive questions outnumber all the rest by a ratio of nearly five to one, while the single question alone outnumbers all the rest easily. These statistics, as in asyndeton and polysyndeton, show the same tendency towards more examples of the less multiplex kinds. In its cumulative form, St. Basil exhibits traditional restraint in his use of the figure. He shows a desire for emphasis, but not over-emphasis. The one sixteen-fold example is especially prominent in its loneliness. St. Basil resorts to the figure six hundred and fifty-one times in all its forms. It thus becomes a prominent feature of his style and further emphasizes that liveliness in discourse which his use of asyndeton indicates.

d) EXCLAMATIO.

Scarcely differing in form from the exclamatory rhetorical question and producing the same effect is exclamatio.

Examples:—ὦ τῆς σοφῆς ἐπινοίας τοῦ διδασκάλου!—Ps. 1, 91 B.

—ὦ τῆς ἀτοπίας τῶν λόγων!—In Sanct. Baptisma, 116C.

—ὦ χορὸς ἅγιος! ὦ σύνταγμα ἱερὸν! ὦ συνασπισμὸς ἀρράγης! ὦ κοινοὶ φύλακες τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων!—In XL Martyres, 156 B.

The other examples occur in Ps. 14, 113 B; In Illud Lucae, 46 E; 48 A; In Fam. et Siccit., 65 B; In Sanct. Baptisma, 116 A; 116 B; 121 E-122 A; In XL Martyres, 151 A; 155 A; 155 B; In Barlaam, 140 C; 140 D.

Formal exclamatio, in its very nature, could not appear frequently without giving a very eccentric stamp to an author's style. The same effect is attained more naturally by the rhetorical question. Exclamatio is almost negligible in St. Basil.

e) PARENTHESIS AND HYPOSTROPHE.

Parenthesis—the interruption of the development of a sentence's thought by an intervening clause or clauses—is here treated merely for the sake of completeness. Most of the examples found are dubious as purposed figures and the total is not large enough in any case to warrant positive conclusions.

Examples:—οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ κύκλος οὗτος (τὸ ἐπίπεδον λέγω σχῆμα τὸ ὑπὸ μαῖς γραμμῆς περιεχόμενον) ἐπειδὴ διαφεύγει τὴν ἡμετέραν αἴσθησιν.—Hex. 1, 4 A. Compare also Ps. 28, 121 B; Ps. 114, 203 E.

—καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ οἰκίᾳ τὸ μέντοι χρυσοῦν ἐστὶ σκεῦος (τῆς προαιρέσεως ἐκάστου τὴν πρὸς τὰς ὕλας ὁμοιότητα παρεχομένης· καὶ χρυσοῦν μὲν ἐστὶ σκεῦος, ὁ καθαρὸς τὸν τρόπον καὶ ἄδολος· ἀργυροῦν δέ, ὁ ὑποδέεστος ἐκείνου κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν· ὁ στράκιον δέ, ὁ τὰ γῆνα φρονῶν καὶ πρὸς συντριβὴν ἐπιτήδειος· καὶ ξύλινον, ὁ εὐκόλως διὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας καταρβηπύμενος καὶ ὕλη γινόμενος τῷ αἰώνῳ πυρὶ)· οὕτω καὶ ὁργῆς σκεῦος—Deus non est auct., 77 B-C.

FREQUENCY OF PARENTHESIS IN THE SERMONS.

Hex. 1	(530)	3	Ps. 32	(651)	1
" 2	(507)	1	" 44	(687)	4
" 4	(393)	1	" 48	(682)	2
" 5	(570)	1	" 114	(276)	1
" 7	(425)	1	De Jejunio 2	(330)	1
" 8	(572)	4	Attende Tibi ipsi	(480)	1
" 9	(507)	1	In Julittam	(580)	5
Ps. 14	(372)	1	In Fam. et Siccit.	(584)	2
" 28	(636)	2	Deus non est auct.	(598)	3
" 29	(418)	1	Advers. Iratos	(452)	1

De Invidia	(359) 1	De Humilitate	(353) 1
In Princip. Proverb.	(895) 4	Ad Adolescentes	(627) 4
In Sanct. Baptisma	(522) 1	In Mamantem	(244) 2
In Gordium	(425) 1	Contra Sabellianos	(444) 4
In XL Martyres	(392) 1		

Of hypostrophe—the resumption of thought after a parenthesis by either repetition or a demonstrative—only two examples were found in the sermons:—ὁ γὰρ ὑποκείμενος τῷ φύλλῳ κόκκος, ὃν μισχόν τινες τῶν περὶ τὰς ὀνοματοποιίας ἐσχολακῶτων προσαγορεύουσι, τοῦτο σπέρματος ἔχει δύναμιν.—Hex. 5, 45 B.

—ὑπὲρ ἱλίου, ὑπὲρ τὰς τῶν ἀστέρων χορείας τετιμημένος (τίς γὰρ τῶν οὐρανῶν αἰκὼν εἰρηται τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου,) ὑπὲρ οὖν ταῦτα ταῖς τιμαῖς προηγμένος ὁ ἄνθρωπος—Ps. 48, 185 A-B.

Parenthesis is a phenomenon whose frequent appearance is not to be expected. At its best it is a stylistic mannerism. Fifty-three examples in the forty-six sermons, most of the examples short and not followed by hypostrophe, do not make a striking total either in number or quality. These examples may more reasonably be attributed to an absence of finished preparation than to the cultivation of a device of the older rhetoric.

f) LITOTES.

Litotes—the emphatic affirmation of an idea through negation of its opposite—derives some rhetorical emphasis from the double negative thus arising.

Examples:—οὐδὲ εἰς.—Hex. 1, 3 A. Compare also Ps. 114, 199 B;

In Sanct. Baptisma, 117 A; In Barlaam, 138 E.

—ὥστε οὐχ ἁμαρτήσεις τῆς ἀληθείας.—Hex. 2, 12 E. Compare also Hex. 9, 83 E; Ps. 59, 190 E; In Princip. erat V., 134 C.

—καὶ Χριστιανῶν δὲ πλῆθος οὐκ ὀλίγον.—In Gordium, 144 E. Compare also Hex. 8, 79 B; Attende Tibiipsi, 17 C; De Invidia, 95 D.

FREQUENCY OF LITOTES IN THE SERMONS.

Hex. 1	(530)	1	Hex. 6	(746)	6
" 2	(507)	4	" 7	(425)	2
" 3	(565)	5	" 8	(572)	8
" 4	(393)	1	" 9	(507)	4
" 5	(570)	1	Ps. 1	(449)	1

Ps. 7	(541)	1	In Divites	(601)	1
" 14	(372)	1	De Invidia	(359)	1
" 28	(636)	1	In Princip. Proverb.	(895)	4
" 29	(418)	1	In Sanct. Baptisma	(522)	1
" 44	(687)	3	In Princip. erat V.	(248)	1
" 59	(242)	1	In Barlaam	(141)	1
" 114	(276)	3	In Gordium	(425)	3
De Jejunio 2	(330)	3	De Humilitate	(353)	1
Attende Tibiūpsi	(480)	1	Ad Adolescentes	(627)	10
In Julittam	(580)	1	In Mamantem	(244)	1

Seventy-three examples do not constitute litotes a prominent feature of St. Basil's style. His love of pleonasm took another form. When he wished to be emphatic he sought more vigorous modes of expression. There are merely enough examples here to show the influence of rhetoric unconsciously working.

• g) IRONY AND SARCASM.

Of irony and sarcasm there is very little in St. Basil's sermons. This is rather surprising in so vehement a champion of the church. Apparently he preferred direct, open blows to the fine thrusts of covert verbiage.

Examples:—*δεικνύωσαν ἡμῖν οἱ τὰ πάντα δεινοί*.—Hex. 3, 29 B. (referring to certain contemporary scientists). Compare also Ps. 14, 113 A; 113 B.

—*πολλή σοι χάρις τῆς φιλοτιμίας ὅτι ἐν τῷ μνήματι κείμενος καὶ εἰς γῆν διαλυθείς, ἀδρὸς γέγονας ταῖς δαπάναις καὶ μεγάλῳ ψυχῳ*.—In Divites, 60 B-C. Compare also In Sanct. Baptisma, 121 D.

The only other examples occur in Hex. 8, 71 D; In Fam. et Siccit., 66 B-C.

The figures which follow grew out of the practical needs of early eloquence. Their more subtle uses were developed in the uncertain struggles of the agora and court-room. Their later use indicates a revival of the form more than the spirit of the figures, as a whole. Elements of clearness, however, which in the earlier periods of rhetoric served only a secondary purpose, became for certain figures the justification of their later employment. The history of *prosopopoiia* illustrates such an evolution.

h) DIAPORESIS.

Diaporesis—an uncertainty, largely feigned, as to where to begin, where to leave off, what to say—is a convention originally designed to win the good will of the audience by a saving modesty. It also serves to awaken the audience's attention by pointing out the difficulty and grandeur of the theme to be developed. Its favorite position is therefore in the introduction to an oration or to some new phase of an oration already partially delivered. While St. Basil was undoubtedly affected by convention in his use of the figure, there is yet to be discerned in his examples a devout Christian's awe of the splendor of his themes.

Examples:—*ἵστησί μου τὸν λόγον τὸ θαῦμα τῆς διανοίας· τί πρῶτον εἶπω; πόθεν ἄρξομαι τῆς ἐξηγήσεως;*—Hex. 1, 2 E.

—*τίς ἐξαρκίσει χρόνος πάντα εἰπεῖν καὶ διηγήσασθαι τοῦ τεχνίτου τὰ θαύματα.*—Hex. 9, 83 C.

—*ὅπως δὲ δυσθέρατος τῆς λέξεως ταύτης ὁ νοῦς, παντὶ γινώριμον τῷ καὶ μικρὸν ἐπιστήσαντι.*—In Princip. Proverb., 97 E.

A remarkable instance of the figure occurs at the beginning of In Mamantem, 185 A, where the orator finds thirty-two lines of Benedictine text necessary for the expression of his unworthiness to pronounce the panegyric. The only other examples in St. Basil occur in Hex. 2, 12 A; 19 D; Hex. 5, 42 E; Hex. 8, 74 E; In Divites, 58 D; In Sanct. Baptisma, 114 E; In Mamantem, 185 C.

The sparsity of examples—only eleven in all—points to something else than the mere following of a convention. The grandeur of his themes is a matter of concern to St. Basil. The only glaring example measuring up to a truly sophistic standard (In Mamantem, 185 A) is in this figure as in so many other figures in St. Basil significant for its solitude—a reflex of that scholastic rhetoric whose extravagances St. Basil generally repressed.

i) EPIDIORTHOSIS.

Confined chiefly to the Hexaëmeron, epidiorthisis—the correcting or restricting of a previous assertion—occurs in St. Basil so infrequently and so imperfectly that it is almost without rhetorical significance in the sermons. Its original purpose

was to present the illusion of great scrupulousness on the part of the speaker. This purpose is not to be discerned in St. Basil's use of it. The instances found in his pages probably spring from a lack of thorough preparation.

Examples: *ὡς ἀνθρώπῳ ἰδεῖν δυνατόν, μᾶλλον δὲ ὡς οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπῆρξε*.—Hex. 1, 2 C. Compare also Hex. 2, 15 C.

—*ἡ μὲν φωνὴ τοῦ προστάγματος μικρά, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ φωνή, ἀλλὰ ῥοπή μόνον καὶ ὁρμή τοῦ θελήματος*.—Hex. 7, 63 C. Compare also Quod Mundanis, 170 C.

The only other instances of its use occur in Hex. 1, 3 D; 7 A; 7 D; Hex. 2, 18 B; 19 A; 21 A; 22 A; Hex. 6, 60 A; Hex. 8, 79 A; De Jejunio 1, 3 D; Attende Tibiipsi, 24 C; In Julittam, 33 B.

j) PROKATALEIPSIS.

Of prokataleipsis—a device for breaking the force of possible objections by anticipating or refuting them—all examples save four were found in the Hexaëmeron.

Examples:—*ἀλλ' οἱ παραχαράκται τῆς ἀληθείας . . . τὴν ἕλην φασὶ διὰ τῶν λέξεων τούτων παραδηλοῦσθαι*.—Hex. 2, 13 B.

—*πάντως δὲ οὐδεὶς ὑμῶν οὐδὲ τῶν πάνυ κατησκημένων τὸν νοῦν . . . ἐπισκίψει τῇ δόξῃ, ὡς ἀδύνατα ἢ πλασματώδη ὑποτιθεμένων κατὰ τὸν λόγον*.—Hex. 3, 26 E.

—*καὶ πῶς σύμφωνα ταῦτα, φασί, τῷ Πάντοτε χαίρετε*;—De Grat. Act., 28 B.

The remaining examples of the figure may be found in Hex. 1, 13 B; Hex. 2, 14 D; 15 C; Hex. 3, 25 A; 31 B; Hex. 4, 34 B; 35 E; 36 A; Hex. 5, 43 E; 45 A; Hex. 6, 51 E; 51 E; Ps. 1, 92 D; In Julittam, 36 C-D; Deus non est auct., 75 A.

Prokataleipsis is almost negligible in the sermons.

k) PARALEIPSIS.

Paraleipsis in a strict sense—the insinuation of all one wishes to say while pretending to pass the point over in silence—is not found in St. Basil. Very infrequently a weaker, allied form of the figure is represented—the hint of an abundance of arguments held in reserve.

Examples:—*τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ ἀρχῆς, ὡς ὀλίγα ἀπὸ πολλῶν εἰπεῖν, ἐπὶ τοσούτον*,—Hex. 1, 7 B.

—*καὶ τί δεῖ λέγειν τῶν λοιπῶν παθῶν τὸν ὄχλον*; (and then there follows an enumeration of them).—In Ebriosos, 125 A.

The only other examples found occur in Hex. 1, 8D; Hex. 3, 28 A.

1) PROSOPOPOIIA.

Prosopopoiia—the representation of a person speaking directly—depends for its highest effects upon the histrionic talents of the orator. Such a reproduction under any circumstances lends vivacity to the discourse. The rhetorical exercises of the schools encouraged the device in professional practice. A figure allowing so rich an opportunity for the display of dramatic talent was not to be lost on the sophists of the Second Sophistic.

The large number of examples found in the sermons includes many so closely allied with other figures that a careful excision has been necessary. All scriptural excerpts in the first person have been excluded in virtue of that distinction which obtains between a quotation from an author and the representation of him speaking directly. For the same reason the reconstructions of Prodicus of Ceos and of Pythagoras, in *Ad Adolescentes*, 177 E and 182 D, respectively, have been omitted. Examples exegetical in character have been included, particularly those found in the homilies on the various psalms, but it has been thought well to present them separately in the statistics below. While not as a rule excellent examples of prosopopoiia, the exegetical instances certainly come under its definition. To exclude them would be to ignore a few elaborate examples of the figure and to overlook the most important device in St. Basil's development of the Homilies on the Psalms. The best examples were found in the homilies on the martyrs in the midst of ecphrases. Indeed prosopopoiia constitutes the major portion of some ecphrases.

Examples. Short:—καὶ ποῖον, φησί, τοῦτο δάνεισμα ᾧ τῆς ἀποδόσεως ἐλπίς οὐ συνέλεκται;—Ps. 14, 112 E. Compare also Hex. 9, 87 E; In *Illud Lucae*, 44 E; In *Divites*, 57 B; *Contra Sabellianos*, 192 A; 195 A.

Dialogue or Debate:—ἔχεις χαλκώματα, ἐσθῆτα, ὑποδήματα, σκεῖη παντοδαπά; ταῦτα ἀπὸδόν· πάντα προέσθαι κατάδεσαι, πλὴν τῆς ἐλευθερίας. ἀλλ' αἰσχύνομαι αὐτὰ δημοσιεύειν, φησὶν. τί οὖν ὅτι μικρὸν ἰσχυρότερον ἄλλος αὐτὰ προκομίσει καὶ ἀποκηρύξει τὰ σὰ καὶ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς σοῖς ἐπενυνῶν αὐτὰ διαθήσεται;—Ps. 14, 109 A.

Compare also Hex. 6, 55 C; Ps. 14, 112 C; In Illud Lucae, 49 B; In Divites, 53 A; Deus non est auct., 81 A; In Sanct. Baptisma, 119 D.

Exegetical:—*ἰρεῖ· ἡ βοήθειά μου οὐκ ἐκ πλούτου, οὐδὲ ἐκ σωματικῶν ἀφορμῶν, οὐδὲ ἐκ δυνάμεως καὶ ἰσχύος ἐμῆς, οὐδὲ ἐκ συγγενείας ἀνθρωπίνης, ἀλλ' Ἡ βοήθειά μου παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ.*—Ps. 7, 104 C.

Compare also Ps. 7, 103 E; Ps. 33, 146 B-C; 149 A; 149 B; Ps. 114, 201 C-D; Quod Mundanis, 171 D-E.

In Ecphrasis:—*κάλε, φησί, δημίους. ποῦ δὲ αἱ μολυβίδες; ποῦ δὲ αἱ μάστιγες; ἐπὶ τροχοῦ κατατενέσθω, ἐπὶ τοῦ ξύλου στρεβλοῦσθω, φερέσθω τὰ κολαστηρία· τὰ θηρία, τὸ πῦρ, τὸ ξίφος, ὁ σταυρός, ὁ βόθρος εὐτεπέσθω. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅλα κερδαίνει, φησὶν, ἅπαξ μόνον ἀποθνήσκων ὁ ἀλιτήριος;*—In Gordium, 145 E.

Compare also In Fam. et Siccit., 69 A; In Sanct. Baptisma, 122 A-B; In Barlaam, 140 C; In Gordium, 145 D-E; 145 E; 146 A; 146 B-C; 147 B; 147 C-D; 147 D-148 E; In XL Martyres, 151 A; 151 B-C; 153 B-E; 154 A; 156 A.

Other interesting examples are the prosopopoiia of fish in Hex. 7, 67 A-C; of a dog, Hex. 9, 84 D; of the hearts of St. Basil's auditors in Hex. 9, 86 E; of the musings of a bankrupt father forced to sell one of his children in In Illud Lucae, 46 D-47 A; of personified procrastination in In Sanct. Baptisma, 118 C-D. Ps. 14 abounds in excellent examples—of a stingy man forging an excuse against giving aid, 108 A; of a man oppressed with debts and his prudent counsellor, 109 A-B; of a disillusioned debtor crying out upon the usurer, 109 C; of a hard-pressed man beholding the opulence of others, 110 D; the wife of a debt-ridden man states her extravagant needs, 112 A.

FREQUENCY OF PROSOPOPOIIA IN THE SERMONS.

			Non-exegetical	Exegetical				Non-exegetical	Exegetical
Hex.	1	(530)			Hex.	7	(425)	1	
"	2	(507)			"	8	(572)		
"	3	(565)			"	9	(507)	4	
"	4	(393)			Ps.	1	(449)	1	
"	5	(570)	2		"	7	(541)		4
"	6	(746)	2		"	14	(372)	9	

			Non- exegetical	Exegetical				Non- exegetical	Exegetical
Ps. 28	(636)			1	In Fam. et Siccit.	(584)		1	
" 29	(418)			3	Deus non est auct.	(598)		2	
" 32	(651)			2	Ad Iratos	(452)			
" 33	(963)	2		6	De Invidia	(359)		1	
" 44	(687)			4	In Princip. Proverb.	(895)			
" 45	(407)			8	In Sanct. Baptisma	(522)		6	
" 48	(682)			7	In Ebriosos	(423)			
" 59	(242)			2	De Fide	(185)			
" 61	(336)			7	In Princip. erat V.	(248)		2	
" 144	(376)			7	In Barlaam	(141)		1	
De Jejunio 1	(475)			2	In Gordium	(425)		7	
De Jejunio 2	(330)	1			In XL Martyres	(392)		6	
Attende Tibiipsi	(480)			1	De Humilitate	(353)			
De Grat. Act.	(459)	2			Quod Mundanis	(633)		4	
In Julittam	(580)	2			Ad Adolescentes	(627)			
In Illud Lucae	(406)			7	In Mamantem	(244)		2	
In Divites	(601)	11		1	Contra Sabellianos	(444)		4	

So artificial a figure needs but a few recurrences to become a marked element in an orator's style. In the sermons the figure occurs one hundred and thirty times. Only ten sermons do not contain instances of its use. Although the exegetical homilies swell the total, more than half the examples are to be found elsewhere. Prosopopoiia, then, is a favorite device with St. Basil in elucidating a complicated question through the give and take of an imaginary debate, in a dramatic representation of the passions of the martyrs, in a simple, direct exposition of the scriptural text, occasionally even in bringing forcefully before his audience exemplary habits in irrational beings. The multitude of examples is accounted for by the utility of the figure; the lengthy or dramatic examples, by the tradition and practice of the schools. The sophistic stamp is upon them. The sophistic training is very marked in the panegyrics on the martyrs but, apart from any display of powers sanctioned by the custom of the times, a practical purpose underlay even these instances—the vivid, vigorous portrayal of illustrious example. And this vividness and this vivacity attend all the employments of prosopopoiia in St. Basil.

m) DIALEKTIKON.

Akin to the dialogue of *prosopopoiia* is *dialektikon*—a combination of question and answer. Like *prosopopoiia* it lends liveliness to a passage by its form and analyzes the speaker's thought forcefully and clearly, even minutely in some cases. At a new turn in a speech it is an efficacious means for compelling attention.

Examples:—*τίς ὁ ὠθὼν ἐκ τῶν λαγόνων τῆς γῆς τοῦτο τὸ ὕδωρ; τίς ὁ ἐπείγων ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσω; ποῖα ταμεία ὄθεν προέρχεται; τίς ὁ τόπος ἐφ' ὃν ἐπείγεται; πῶς καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐκλείπει, κακέῖνα οὐκ ἀποπίμπλαται; ταῦτα τῆς πρώτης ἐκείνης φωνῆς ἴρτηται.*—Hex. 4, 35 A. Compare also Ps. 29, 125 A.

—*οἶδας τί ποιήσεις τῷ πλησίον καλόν; ὁ σεαυτῷ βούλει παρ' ἐτέρου γενέσθαι. οἶδας ὅτι ποτέ ἐστι τὸ κακόν; ὁ οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸς παθεῖν ἔλοι παρ' ἐτέρου.*—Hex. 9, 83 C. Compare also Ps. 7, 99 A; Ps. 114, 201 C-D; Deus non est auct., 80 B; In Mamantem, 187 A.

—*τί οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις; ἄρα ἐδελεύσθη τῷ πλούτῳ; ἢ τῇ πρὸς τὸν ἀδικῶντα φιλονεικίᾳ τὸ συμφέρον παρεῖδεν; ἢ τὸν ἐκ τῶν δικαστῶν ἐπληρομένον κίνδυνον ἐξεπλάγη;*—In Julittam, 34 A-B. Compare also Hex. 5, 47 D; Ps. 1, 95 E; Ps. 28, 115 B; Ps. 33, 156 C-D; In Julittam, 36 C-D; Deus non est auct., 82 A.

FREQUENCY OF DIALEKTIKON IN THE SERMONS.

Hex. 1 (530)		Ps. 33	(963) 8
" 2 (507) 8		" 44	(687) 3
" 3 (565) 7		" 45	(407) 1
" 4 (393) 4		" 48	(682) 2
" 5 (570) 4		" 59	(242) 1
" 6 (746) 4		" 61	(336) 4
" 7 (425) 4		" 114	(276) 4
" 8 (572) 3	De Jejuno 1		(475) 1
" 9 (507) 5	De Jejuno 2		(330) 2
Ps. 1 (449) 8	Attende Tibiipsi		(480) 2
" 7 (541) 4	De Grat. Act.		(459) 4
" 14 (372) 2	In Julittam		(580) 4
" 28 (636) 6	In Illud Lucae		(406) 7
" 29 (418) 3	In Divites		(601) 2
" 32 (651) 5	In Fam. et Siccit.		(584) 1

Deus non est auct.	(598)	10	In Barlaam	(141)	
Ad Iratos	(452)	4	In Gordium	(425)	1
De Invidia	(359)	1	In XL Martyres	(392)	3
In Princip. Proverb.	(895)	2	De Humilitate	(353)	2
In Sanct. Baptisma	(522)	1	Quod Mundanis	(633)	3
In Ebriosos	(423)	1	Ad Adolescentes	(627)	2
De Fide	(185)		In Mamantem	(244)	6
In Princip. erat V.	(248)	4	Contra Sabellianos	(444)	5

Somewhat more numerous than prosopopoiia, *dialektikon* serves to re-inforce the functions of the former in its forceful elucidation of involved thought and in the endowment of long passages with a saving sprightliness. When the not too obtrusive character of the figure is considered in connection with the above table, St. Basil's one hundred and fifty-eight recurrences to *dialektikon* may be styled a consistent and generous, but not an excessive use of the figure even for Western taste. *Dialektikon* is a marked element of St. Basil's style, but not eccentrically so.

n) HYPOPHORA.

Hypophora—the raising of an objection for the sake of immediate refutation—lends peculiar liveliness to the discourse. The orator's willingness to bring up a view opposed to his own gives him an air of eager confidence that always compels attention. Only two examples were found in the sermons. While abbreviated forms of the figure, they achieve its effects.

—πλήκτης; ἀλλ' ἀνὴρ. πάροινος; ἀλλ' ἡνωμένος κατὰ τὴν φύσιν. τραχὺς καὶ δυσάρεστος; ἀλλὰ μέλος ἤδη σὸν καὶ μελῶν τὸ τιμωτάτον.—Hex. 7, 68 B.

—ἀντερωτάσθωσαν οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπιδιηγούμενες· πόθεν νόσοι; πόθεν αἱ πηρώσεις τοῦ σώματος; οὔτε γὰρ ἀγέννητος ἡ νόσος οὔτε μὴν δημιουργία τοῦ θεοῦ, etc.—Deus non est auct., 78 D.

o) PRODIORTHOSIS.

In the sermons *prodiorthosis* takes the form of a promise to be brief. Only two examples were found.

—ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ λέληθέ με ὅτι πολλοὶ τεχνῖται τῶν βαναύσων τεχνῶν, ἀγαπητῶς ἐκ τῆς ἐφ' ἡμέραν ἐργασίας τὴν τροφήν αὐτοῖς συμπορεύοντες,

περιστήκασιν ἡμᾶς, οἱ τὸν λόγον ἡμῖν συντέμνουσιν, ἵνα μὴ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς ἐργασίας ἀφέλκωνται.—Hex. 3, 22C.

—ὥς ἂν δὲ μὴ ἐπὶ πλείων παρακατέχοντες ὑμᾶς ἀνῶμεν, βραχέα ἐξ οἷ κατελάβομεν ἄδομένον ὑμῖν ψαλμοῦ διαλεχθέντες καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τῆς παρακλήσεως κατὰ τὴν προσοῦσαν ἡμῖν δύναμιν τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν θρέψαντες, ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἐπιμέλειαν ἕκαστον διαφήσομεν.—Ps. 114, 199 D.

This concludes those minor figures whose generous use imparts a vivacity to the style or recalls the manner of the Attic court-room still living on in the traditions of rhetoric. In his use of these figures St. Basil is certainly generous. Asyndeton and the rhetorical question enliven his discourse at every turn, give the appearance of a forceful, rapid delivery, and drive home the thought vigorously. Polysyndeton, dialektikon, prosopopoiia, each in their way, emphasize and, in the case of the last two, even dramatize the development of thought. All these figures enjoy a use considerable in number but restrained in character—the restraint being only emphasized by a few striking exceptions. Those echoes of the court-room—diaporesis, prokataleipsis, hypophora, prodiorthosis—have an interest historical rather than rhetorical, showing how the old devices lived on in a time that had little real use for them but clung to them for their Attic associations. Parenthesis and epidiorthisis bear witness to that lack of thorough preparation long suspected of many of St. Basil's sermons.² The very little sarcasm and irony is a pleasant discovery, bespeaking an orator who was vehement without being vicious.

Considering the opportunities for display that the grand themes of St. Basil's discourses afforded, restraint is the general conclusion on his use of the minor figures of composition—a restraint not in number but in quality, and large totals are here accounted for on practical grounds. Although detailed reports are not available for comparing St. Basil with contemporaries, we nevertheless know that a pupil of the sophists could and generally would turn any occasion and any lively figure into an orgy of rhetorical abuse. Such a description does not fit St. Basil.

² Jackson, 51.

But while restraint is the general characteristic of St. Basil in his use of these figures, a man trained in the schools where ecphrasis was popular could not always utterly forego an extravagant prosopopoiia or an occasional disproportioned outburst of asyndeta or rhetorical questions. The practical aims of the Christian preacher and the tendencies of the pupil of the sophists here mingle, with the polemical purpose easily in the ascendant.



CHAPTER VIII

MINOR FIGURES ESPECIALLY CHARACTERISTIC OF THE SECOND SOPHISTIC

In their own natures there is nothing that warrants the grouping together of hyperbaton, hendiadys, paradox, hyperbole, antimetathesis, antonomasia. But each of them in its way possessed characteristics which appealed to the extravagant artificiality of the Second Sophistic and enjoyed so marked a development among the rhetors that this fact alone calls for their consideration apart from the groups to which they naturally belong.

a) HYPERBATON.

Hyperbaton—the transposition of words from their natural position for artistic purposes—was zealously cultivated by the disciples of the Second Sophistic. Originally a means of emphasis, hyperbaton gradually became transformed into a vehicle for the display of an affected elegance which the sophists saw in the forced removal of words from their logical order. The following variations of it are found in St. Basil.

- 1) The article is separated from its noun by a long interval:—*οἱ πέμπτην σώματος φύσιν εἰς τὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἀστέρων γενέσιν ὑποτιθέμενοι.*—Hex. I, 11 C.
- 2) The noun is separated from its possessor or explanatory modifier:—*ὡς τῶν εἰκοσιτεσσάρων ὥρων μᾶς ἡμέρας ἐκπληρουσῶν διάστημα.*—Hex. 2, 20 E.
- 3) A verb or several words is placed between a noun and its adjective:—*τὸ τὴν μέσῃ τοῦ παντὸς εἰληφέναι χώραν.*—Hex. 1, 10 A.
- 4) Of two co-ordinate adjectives, the second is placed as if it were an after-thought:—*ἀναρχον τὸν κόσμον καὶ ἀτελεύτητον.*—Hex. 1, 4 B.

- 5) An important word is placed at or near the beginning or end of a clause or sentence for emphasis:—ὥστε παντός ἐστὶν ἀληθέστερον τὸ ἐκάστῳ τῶν φυομένων ἢ σπέρμα εἶναι.—Hex. 5, 41 B.

From the uncertain quality of many of the examples collected, accurate statistics on St. Basil's use of hyperbaton are impossible. From a lack of statistics on other orators of the period I could not determine the extent of sophistic influence in St. Basil, even if statistics on St. Basil himself were satisfactory. That he did use hyperbaton, that he used it constantly, every page of the text shows. But in a figure so peculiar to the time, we cannot pronounce upon its degree of frequency save from the standard use of the time itself. Such a standard is not available either from the period as a whole or from individual representatives.

b) HENDIADYS.

Hendiadys—the placing on an equal grammatical plane of two expressions, one of which is logically subordinate to the other—has a tendency to emphasize the less important. Sometimes its purpose is pleonastic. In any event it is not a marked element of St. Basil's style in the sermons.

Examples:—πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν καὶ τὸ τερπνόν—(τὸ τερπνόν logically modifies ὄψιν).—Hex. 2, 19 E.

—πληγαῖς καὶ μάστιγι.—Hex. 9, 86 B.

—λογισμὸν καὶ τὸν νοῦν.—In Ebriosos, 129 B.

The remaining examples in the sermons occur in Hex. 1, 3 C; Hex. 2, 19 E; Hex. 5, 45 E; Hex. 8, 78 B; Hex. 9, 80 E; 86 D; Ps. 7, 105 D; De Grat. Act., 27 E; In Julittam, 42 E; In Fam. et Siccit., 63 C; 64 C; In Ebriosos, 129 B; 137 C.

c) ADJECTIVE SUBSTANTIVE ABSTRACT.

Adjective Substantive Abstract—a name not found in the rhetoricians—is here employed to designate that figure of emphasis wherein a phrase properly adjectival is raised to substantive rank as an abstract noun.

Examples:—ἀληθείας ῥημάτων.—Hex. 1, 2 D;

—τὸ ἐκ τῆς μελωδίας τερπνόν.—Ps. 1, 90 C;

—μη ἐν τῇ παλαιότητι τοῦ γράμματος ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ καινότητι τοῦ πνεύματος.—Ps. 32, 133 C.

—τὴν χανόνητα τῆς διανοίας.—Attende Tibiipsi, 21 A.

—ὡ τῆς ἀτοπίας τῶν λόγων!—In Sanct. Baptisma, 116 C.

Compare also Hex. 7, 65 C; Hex. 9, 86 C; Ps. 7, 105 A; Ps. 61, 199 A; In Julittam, 35 C.

FREQUENCY OF ADJECTIVE SUBSTANTIVE ABSTRACT
IN THE SERMONS.

Hex.	1	(530)	4	In Julittam	(580)	6
"	3	(565)	2	In Illud Lucae	(406)	6
"	7	(425)	2	In Divites	(601)	11
"	9	(507)	1	In Fam. et Siccit.	(584)	5
Ps.	1	(449)	3	Deus non est auct.	(598)	5
"	7	(425)	1	De Invidia	(359)	1
"	32	(651)	1	In Sanct. Baptisma	(522)	1
"	33	(963)	1	In Ebriosos	(423)	2
"	44	(687)	1	In Princip. erat V.	(248)	1
"	45	(407)	7	In Barlaam	(141)	1
"	48	(682)	2	In Gordium	(425)	3
"	61	(336)	3	De Humilitate	(353)	1
De Jejunio	1	(475)	3	Quod Mundanis	(633)	4
" "	2	(330)	3	Ad Adolescentes	(627)	9
Attende Tibiipsi	(480)		4	In Mamantem	(244)	1
De Grat. Act.	(459)		2	Contra Sabellianos	(444)	1

Neither the above table nor the total (98) makes Adjective Substantive Abstract a prominent feature of St. Basil's style. Fourteen sermons contain not an instance of its use. The remaining thirty-two show no constant recurrence to it. In Divites shows the most frequent use of the figure and here the average of its recurrence is only once about every fifty-four lines of text. Such infrequency in so mild a figure constitutes Adjective Substantive Abstract almost negligible.

d) PARADOX (OXYMORON).

Rarely used in classical times, paradox—a combination of words self-contradictory apart from the context—was a favorite device among the sophists of the Empire. They welcomed

it as a vehicle especially rich in opportunities for linguistic jugglery. The fact that its full meaning depends on a knowledge of the context suggests the most popular form of this figure—the combination of a term in its literal sense with a term in a figurative sense, the figurative meaning being intelligible only in the light of the context. Christians educated in pagan schools found in paradoxes of the Faith abundant material for satisfying this convention of contemporary rhetoric.

Another name for paradox is oxymoron. It is sometimes suggested that a distinction is to be made between the two terms. Although the rhetoricians are not precise in the matter, the examples given by them point to oxymoron as a neater, more pithy form of paradox.

Examples:—*ἵνα τὸν ἕνα μὴ παραδέξωνται, μυρίους εἰσάγουσι.* (i. e. the Hebrews, in order that they may not accept Christ as the Second Person of the Trinity [*τὸν ἕνα*] say that God's phrase, "Let us make man", is addressed to the attendant angels).—Hex. 9, 87 E.

—*ἀνευ γῆς φυτεύεις· ἀνευ σπορᾶς θερμαίνεις.*—Ps. 14, 113 C. Compare also In Sanct. Baptisma, 116 A.

—*ἵνα ἡμεῖς τῇ ἐκείνου πτωχείᾳ (of Christ) πλουτήσωμεν* (spiritual wealth). Ps. 33, 147 E. For the same words in the same sense compare In Divites, 61 E.

—*καὶ ὑπὸ φιληδονίας τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀφανίσων* (i. e. destroying the pleasure of eating in the insipidity which results from gluttony).—De Jejuniō 1, 7 A.

—*μετὰ τῶν ἀχαρίστων ὁ εὐεργέτης· πρὸς τοὺς καθημένους ἐν σκότει· ὁ ἥλιος τῆς δικαιοσύνης· ἐπὶ τὸν σταυρὸν ὁ ἀπαθής· ἐπὶ τὸν θάνατον ἡ ζωή· ἐπὶ τὸν ᾄδην τὸ φῶς· ἡ ἀνάστασις διὰ τοὺς πεσόντας.*—In Julittam, 40 C-D. Compare also Ps. 33, 144 A; In Divites, 53 A.

—*σωπῶσα βοᾷ.*—In Princip. Proverb., 99 E. Compare also Hex. 3, 28 C.

—*ἀποθάνωμεν οὖν, ἵνα ζήσωμεν.*—In Sanct. Baptisma, 113 D. The same words in the same sense occur in In XL Martyres, 153 D; the same thought in different words occurs in In Gordium, 148 D.

—*καινὸν τοῦτο τῆς ἀμετρίας τὸ μέτρον.*—In Ebriosos, 128 D.

The remaining examples in the sermons occur in Hex. 1, 2 A; 6 C; 8 C; Hex. 2, 14 C; Ps. 33, 144 A; Ps. 61, 196 C; In Julittam, 33 B; Deus non est auct., 76 B; In Sanct. Baptisma, 113 D; 117 E; In Ebriosos, 127 D; In Barlaam, 139 C; In Gordium, 147 A; 148 D; In XL Martyres, 151 C; 151 C; Quod Mundanis, 172 B-C.

A total of thirty-two examples in forty-six sermons, with only four sermons containing as many as three examples and twenty-eight sermons containing no examples, illustrates forcefully the restraint of St. Basil in a figure dear to the sophists and their Christian contemporaries alike.¹ But there can be no doubt on the other hand of the high artificiality of the examples found. The scarcity of examples in a field so favorable to paradox as the Christian religion and the unmistakable quality of the examples found indicate a trait in St. Basil's rhetorical manner frequently noted in these pages—the education strongly sophistic breaking through, on occasion, a stronger restraint.

e) HYPERBOLE.

Originally hyperbole was a kind of metaphor. The element of exaggeration was a necessary constituent, but basically hyperbole was a specialized form of implied comparison—the comparison of an object to the same characteristic in another object magnified many times. In the typical hyperbole of the later rhetoric the element of exaggeration obscures the basic metaphor. In its striving for startling effects, the hyperbole takes on a sensational quality closely akin to the contemporary paradox. The bounds of good taste are thus easily overstepped; the insignificant and commonplace are thus systematically and flaringly inflated in order that the show-artist may have more opportunities for displaying his versatility than the subject-matter itself allows. This does not necessarily imply a continual recurrence to the figure throughout the uneven pitch of an oration, although orators so excessive are extant. It refers more to the astounding hyperbolic manner of the sophists on the unimportant phases of themes in themselves exalted enough to permit a measured flight of fancy on occasion. Hermogenes

¹ Méridier, 18; Guignet, 95.

approves of such exaltation of the insignificant.² Aristides, Himerius, and Libanius all frequently abuse this figure.³ The panegyric oration became a favorite occasion, and among the Christian orators⁴ the extravagant hyperbole appears to have been an established convention of panegyric sermons. In the panegyrics on the martyrs especially the language of ordinary good taste was insufficient for the enthusiasm of the orator.

Examples:—ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τοῖς μεγίστοις ὄρεσι τῷ ὄγκῳ τοῦ σώματος παριστάεται (likening whales to mountains)—Hex. 7, 68 E.

—βουνοὶ τινες σάρκινοι (likening elephants to hills of flesh).—Hex. 9, 86 A.

—σήμερον ἑαυτοὺς τῇ μέθῃ καταβαπτίσωμεν (Since a five days fast has been proclaimed, let us drown ourselves in drink).—De Jejunio 2, 12 D.

—εἰς νεκρὰς ἀκοὰς ("dead" ears used here for "drunken" ears).—In Ebriosos, 124 A.

—οὐχὶ δὲ φρίξει ὁ οὐρανὸς ἀνωθεν; οὐ συσκοτάσει δὲ ἐν' ἐμοὶ τὰ δόγματα; ἢ γῆ δέ με ὑποστήσεται ὅλως (will not the heavens above shudder etc. i. e. if I betray my god.).—In Gordium, 148 A. Compare also In Ebriosos, 123 C.

The remaining examples in the sermons occur in Hex. 1, 2 D; Hex. 2, 12 A; Hex. 8, 79 B; In Illud Lucae, 45 A; In Divites 55 C; In Gordium, 143 E; 147 A; In XL Martyres, 149 C.

There are only sixteen hyperboles in the sermons, and of these three only approach startling disproportion. While the element of exaggeration is always pronounced, it is due rather to a vigorous orator seeking vigorous expression than a show-artist seeking an opportunity. In no instance are the insignificant aspects of a subject dragged forth for a wanton display of virtuosity. Every hyperbole is inspired by something large and important in St. Basil's eyes. The size of elephants, the excess of drunkards, the indifference of drunkards to the word of God, the utter repugnance of the very thought of denying God (In Gordium, 148 A), the excesses of gluttony (In Illud Lucae, 45 A), the insatiableness of an extravagant wife (In

² Περὶ Ἰερῶν 396, 5.

³ Aristides I, XII 208, 210; Himerius II, 408; XXIII, 772; Libanius I, 542.

⁴ Méridier 29—30; Delahaye, 207.

Divites, 55 C), the prowess of the Forty Martyrs (In XL Martyres, 149 C)—are subjects calling forth Basil's admiration or indignation, and in his desire to be emphatic he becomes picturesque. The panegyric on Gordius bears unmistakable traces of the abandoned extravagance of the schools, wherein the very thought of renouncing God is so repulsive to the Martyr that St. Basil makes him cry out (In Gordium, 148 A). "Will not the heavens above shudder; will not the stars grow dim on my account, will the earth, finally, support me" (i. e. if I betray my god). An approach to the foregoing in the sophistic manner occurs in In Ebriosos, 123 C where, in utter disgust at the conduct of women attending the festival that called forth his address, he cries out, "They defiled the air with their adulterous songs; they defiled the earth with their adulterous feet". But even in these instances much is to be accounted for by the importance of the subject-matter in St. Basil's eyes. In In Gordium 148 E the orator's enthusiasm at the conclusion of his dramatic ecphrasis on the death of Gordius sweeps him into the following extravagance on the uproar of the people witnessing the martyrdom, "What clap of thunder ever sent forth so great a sound from the clouds as then from those below went up to heaven!" This outburst, while not so imaginative as some others, is nevertheless the best instance of the genuinely sophistic manner in that the subject itself is insignificant. The shout of the people, of itself not important, is a detail contributing powerfully to the dramatic recital preceding. It belongs to an ecphrasis, wherein sophistic peculiarities, from the nature of ecphrasis, have fullest play. In ecphrasis, then, alone and in only one ecphrasis of the several to be found in his sermons⁵ is St. Basil's mildness in hyperboles completely swept aside. Even here vehemence and not mere display is the main-spring of the figure, vehemence in driving home with a dramatic punch the edifying martyrdom of Gordius.

Sixteen instances, with only one of these strongly sophistic, with only two mildly so, when considered in connection with the fact that four panegyrics are included among the sermons and countless other opportunities for the indulgence of the

⁵ Cf. ch. 13.

figure, argue a marked restraint in number, especially when compared to St. Gregory Nazianzus,⁶ and in quality, when compared with St. Chrysostom⁷ and St. Gregory of Nyssa⁸.

f) ANTONOMASIA.

Antonomasia—the designation of a person or thing by one of his or its qualities or achievements—is considered by some rhetors⁹ a subdivision of *synechdoche*. Since one's qualities or achievements generally call for more words than are contained in one's name, antonomasia could be discussed as one of those periphrastic forms in this study treated under the head of Figures of Redundancy. But since this device became an almost universally observed convention in the extravagant rhetoric of the Empire, its consideration in this chapter apart from either of the above groups is justified. A striking proof of the prevalence of antonomasia in the literary work of the time is the fact that Eusebius, in his *Life of Constantine*, avoids the name of Arius, Bishop Alexander, and four Roman emperors in a manner not to be explained except on the ground of scrupulous adherence to this eccentric habit of the later rhetoric.¹⁰

Examples:

Cumulative:—ἐὰν ταῦτα μάθωμεν—τὸν κτίσαντα προσκυνήσομεν, τῷ Δεσπότην δουλεύσομεν, τὸν Πατέρα δοξάσομεν, τὸν τροφέα ἡμῶν ἀγαπήσομεν, τὸν εὐεργέτην αἰδεσθησόμεθα, τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν τῆς παρούσης καὶ τῆς μελλούσης προσκυνούμεντες οὐκ ἀπολήξομεν, τὸν δι' οἱ παρέσχετο ἴδῃ πλούτου καὶ τὰ ἐν ἐπαγγελίαις πιστούμενον καὶ τῇ κείρῃ τῶν παρόντων βεβαιούμενα ἡμῶν τὰ προσδοκώμενα.—Hex. 6, 50 D.

Prerogatives of God:—τοῦ κτίσαντος.—Hex. 6, 51 E.

—ὁ Ὑψιστος.—Hex. 6, 61 D.

—τὸν δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ποιητὴν.—In *Princip. erat.* V., 136 A.

—τὸν ἀληθινὸν βασιλέα.—In *XL Martyres*, 153 D.

—ὁ κριτὴς τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ζωῆς.—*Quod Mundanis.*, 173 B.

Antonomasia followed by antonomasia:—τοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καταταλαί-
σαντος τὸν τὸ κράτος ἔχοντα τοῦ θανάτου.—Ps. 29, 126 D.

⁶ Guignet, 244.

⁷ Ameringer, 39—40.

⁸ Méridier, 158—161.

⁹ Trypho, Spengel III, 204; Charis, *ibid.* 273.

¹⁰ Delahaye 208—209.

Names of Satan:—ὁ δυσμενής—Quod Mundanis, 171 E.

—ὁ πολέμιος.—Quod Mundanis, 172 A.

A martyr:—τὸν ἀθλητήν.—Quod Mundanis, 172 A.

Name of city:—ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης, ὅθεν καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἀγα-
πῶμεν, διότι οἰκείος ἡμῶν ὁ κόσμος ἐστίν.—In Gordium, 143 B.

Name of ruler:—ὁ τότε τύραννος.—In Gordium, 143 D.

The Church:—ἡ κοινὴ μήτηρ.—Quod Mundanis, 170 B.

FREQUENCY OF ANTONOMASIA IN THE SERMONS.

Hex.	1	(530)	26	De Jejunio 2	(330)	3
"	2	(507)	16	Attende Tibiipsi	(480)	17
"	3	(565)	28	De Grat. Act.	(459)	8
"	4	(393)	9	In Julittam	(580)	35
"	5	(570)	6	In Illud Lucae	(406)	10
"	6	(746)	42	In Divites	(601)	18
"	7	(425)	5	In Fam. et Siccit.	(584)	12
"	8	(572)	14	Deus non est auct.	(598)	13
"	9	(507)	23	Ad Iratos	(452)	12
Ps.	1	(449)	8	De Invidia	(359)	11
"	7	(541)	10	In Princip. Proverb.	(895)	8
"	14	(372)	5	In Sanct. Baptisma	(522)	15
"	28	(636)	13	In Ebriosos	(423)	5
"	29	(418)	12	De Fide	(185)	18
"	32	(651)	16	In Princip. erat V.	(248)	14
"	33	(963)	14	In Barlaam	(141)	8
"	44	(687)	14	In Gordium	(425)	24
"	45	(407)	14	In XL Martyres	(392)	10
"	48	(682)	27	De Humilitate	(353)	6
"	59	(242)	4	Quod Mundanis	(633)	44
"	61	(336)	11	Ad Adolescentes	(627)	2
"	114	(276)	9	In Mamantem	(244)	10
De Jejunio	1	(475)	10	Contra Sabellianos	(444)	2

Varying with the individual sermon, St. Basil resorts to antonomasia throughout his homilies. 641 examples in 569 half-pages of Benedictine text seem excessive to Western taste, but judged from the standards of the Fourth Century, this total is not remarkable. A glance at the table, however, shows St. Basil at times generous and at times very sparing of antonomasia.

Hex. 3, Hex. 6, In Jullittam, De Fide, In Princip. erat V., In Barlaam, Quod Mundanis contain a wealth of examples that measure up to sophistic notions of a proper frequency. The moderate use of antonomasia in most of the sermons, the very frequent recurrence to it in a few sermons suggest that here again that restraint which generally characterizes St. Basil's use of the Minor Figures of Rhetoric is subject to an occasional relapse into the manner of his contemporaries.

g) ANTIMETATHESIS.

Antimetathesis—the repetition within a sentence of the same word with a different meaning—is a species of verbal jugglery dear to the heart of the Asiatic sophist.

The first sentence of the Hexaemeron furnishes a mild example:—*πρέπουσα ἀρχή* (beginning of speech)—*ἀρχήν* (beginning of creation).

Noteworthy examples are:—*κρεῶν οὐκ ἐσθίεις* (meat you do not eat) *ἀλλ' ἐσθίεις τὸν ἀδελφόν* (but you eat your brother, i. e. you persecute him).—De Jejunio I, 9 B.

—*ὄν ἐκ τῆς γαστρὸς* (womb) *προήγαγε, πάλιν τῇ γαστρὶ* (stomach) *κακῶς ὑποδέξασθαι*.—In Fam. et Siccit., 70 A.

—*ἐὰν γὰρ μηδέποτε ἐπινυστάξῃς τοῖς οἰαζιν ἕως εἰ ἐν τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ—καὶ τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος συνέργειαν λήγῃ—καὶ πραΐαις αἵραις καὶ εἰρηνοκαῖς ἀσφαλῶς σε διακομίζοντος*.—In Princip. Proverb, 113 A-B.

Compare also Ps. 29, 130 E. The remaining examples in the sermons occur in Hex. 2, 21 C; Attende Tibiipsi, 24 D; In Divites 54 B; 61 C.

10 cases of antimetathesis in 46 sermons constitute an example of restraint surprising in an Asiatic educated in the sophistic schools. That Basil's temper was thoroughly Asiatic in the province of word-play is convincingly established by the examples given above, particularly by the rather startling pun last quoted wherein the word *τοῦ Πνεύματος* is made to do service not only for its proper meaning, Holy Spirit, but is forced by the context to likewise signify *τοῦ πνεύματος*, wind.¹

¹ The elaborateness of the word-play here points to Sophistic rather than Biblical inspiration.

In these minor figures of rhetoric so peculiarly a part of the sophistic tradition we have an excellent index of the extent of the influence of that tradition on St. Basil, at least in so far as the Minor Figures are concerned. In this chapter more than in any chapter so far developed, we look for the sophistic manner to show its strongest manifestations in our orator both in quality and number. The sophistic quality is very palpable but its extensiveness is remarkably moderate. Evidences so thoroughly Asiatic yet so few in number suggest the possibility that St. Basil resolutely determined not to follow the pagan manner; that in this determination he was not uniformly successful; that these richly sophistic examples mentioned above are indices of that Basil of the school days in contact with other Asiatics at Caesarea, Nicomedia, Athens; a Basil whose innate Asianism the resolute Archbishop of Caesarea, for all his protests, could not quite suppress.

CHAPTER IX

FIGURES AND DEVICES OF THE SECOND SOPHISTIC

The figures and devices reserved for classification here in a special manner are characteristic of the Second Sophistic. The following may be taken as a working division:

1. Gorgianic Figures and Allied Devices (contributing to the symmetry of the period).
2. The Metaphor and its Subdivisions.
3. The Comparison.
4. Ecphrasis.

Of the above groups ecphrasis alone is a child of the Second Sophistic. The rest are adaptations from the past but so thoroughly imbued with the sophistic manner that they deserve a place along side of ecphrasis in a study of the rhetoric of the times. Besides the many examples of Gorgianic figures which the sermons of St. Basil yield, there are other devices not precisely corresponding to the scholastic definitions of the Gorgianic figures, yet bearing so close a resemblance to them and occurring in such numbers that it was thought that to ignore them would be to leave out of account an important element of St. Basil's sentence parallelism. Therefore, after the figures found in the canon given below, will be found names strange to the rhetors but used here to designate devices which show a kinship to the traditional figures.

1. Gorgianic Figures and Allied Devices here include all those figures upon which depends the most notable characteristic of Greek prose i. e. parallelism.
 - a) Isocolon—a succession of cola of about equal length.—τῇ τῷ χρόνῳ μαρτυρεῖς τῇ νόσῳ διαλυθεῖς.—Hex. 5, 41 E.

- b) Perfect Parison—successive cola whose structural similarity extends to an exact correspondence in the position of words.—*οὖν χαλκευτικὴ μὲν περὶ τὸν σιδηρον, τεκτονικὴ δὲ περὶ τὰ ξύλα.*—Hex. 2, 13 D.
- c) Parison—successive cola having the same general structure.—*ὁς τὸν ὄγκον τῆς τυραννίδος μισήσας, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ταπεινὸν τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἀναδραμών.*—Hex. 1, 2 B.
- d) Chiastic Parison—similarity in the general structure of the succeeding cola varied by a chiastic arrangement of the final words.—*καὶ ὀνόματι μὲν ὁμολογοῦντες Ὑῖον, ἔργῳ δὲ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ τὴν ὑπαρξιν ἀθετοῦντες.*—Contra Sabellianos, 190 A.
- e) Homoioteleuton (Paromoion)—a parison whose cola end in similar sounds.—*τὰς ἐρημίας οἰκίζει, τὰς ἀγορὰς σωφρονίζει.*—Ps. 1, 91 A.
- f) (a) Antithesis—parison plus an opposition of thought between the cola.—*νῦν μὲν ὑψουμένη δι' ἀλαζονείαν, νῦν δὲ ταπεινουμένη διὰ λύπας καὶ συστολάς.*—Ps. 7, 104 E.
- (b) Chiastic Antithesis—successive cola antithetical in thought and containing a chiasmus somewhere in the corresponding succession of words.—*τὸ μὲν λεπτὸν καὶ διηθούμενον ἐπὶ τὰ ἄνω διέντα, τὸ δὲ παχύτατον καὶ γεῶδες ἐναφίεντα τοῖς κάτω.*—Hex. 3, 28 D.
- g) (a) Chiasmus—two or more successive cola wherein the succession of words in the first colon is reversed in the second and the succession of words in the second is reversed in the third, etc.—*ὁ νέος τὴν ἡλικίαν, καὶ τὰς φρένας νεώτερος.*—De Humilitate, 157 C.
- (b) Antithetical Chiasmus—a chiasmus whose corresponding parts are opposed in thought.—*μήποτε δικαιοθεὶς τῇ σεαυτοῦ ψήφῳ, τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ κατακριθῆς.*—De Humilitate, 160 C.
- h) Sentence Parison—two or more successive sentences whose corresponding clauses are of similar structure.—*ἄλλως γὰρ διατίθεται μεινυμένης αὐτῆς, καὶ ἄλλως αἰξομένης τὰ σώματα.*—Hex. 6, 60 E.
- i) Parallelism—two or more successive sentences in which one or more but not all the corresponding

clauses are of similar structure.—*καυθήτω ὁ ποῦς ὡς ἀνα
 δεικνύων μετ' ἀγγέλων χορεύει, ἀποβύνητω ἡ χεὶρ ὡς ἔχῃ
 παύρησίαν πρὸς τὸν Δεσπότην ἐπαίρεσθαι.*—In *XL Martyres*, 153 C.

2. Metaphor and its Subdivisions here include the metaphor under its various aspects and characteristics. The division given below is necessary in any study that beyond the mere compilation of totals looks for sophistic influence in the several forms that metaphor may assume.

- a) Prolonged Metaphor—the elaborate, prolonged development, clause on clause, sentence on sentence, of an implied comparison between two objects.—“A river is our life, ever-flowing and filled with waves one upon another. One has already flowed by, another is still passing, another has just emerged from its sources, another is about to do so, and all of us hasten to the common sea of death”—*Quod Mundanis*, 172 E.

- b) Metaphor—one object is likened to another object by asserting it to be that other object, the comparative words being omitted. It is the shorter, more usual form of metaphor.—“Men who thus write spin a spider’s web.”—*Hex.* 1, 3 B.

- c) Redundant Metaphor—the presentation of the same aspect of an object under many metaphors based on varied provinces of thought and experience.—“A piteous sight it was for the just to see that soldier become a runaway, that most valiant man a captive, that lamb of Christ snatched off by the wolf.”—In *XL Martyres*, 154 C.

3. The Comparison, like the metaphor, is divided for purposes of demonstrating the extent of sophistic influence into the subdivisions which follow.

- a) Short Comparison—a property, or properties, of one object is formally attributed to another object. It is a metaphor completed by a grammatical form.—“For just as a shadow clings to the body, so does sin cling to our souls.”—In *Divites*, 58 C.

- b) Long Comparison—an elaborate, detailed instance of the foregoing.—“For just as the goal of the road is different (i. e. for travellers) but their dwelling together arises as an accident of their journeys, so for those united in marriage or in any other communion of this life, the end of their lives is clearly pre-ordained for them, and this pre-ordained end of their lives necessarily separates and makes to part those thus joined.”—In *Julittam*, 38 D-E.
 - c) Redundant Comparison—the heaping up of comparisons about one central theme.—“What the foundation is to the house and the keel to the ship and the heart to the body of an animal, this short preface is to the general purport of the psalms.”—*Ps. 1*, 91 E.
4. Ecphrasis—a word-picture. For example compare page 146.

CHAPTER X

GORGIANIC FIGURES AND ALLIED DEVICES OF PARALLELISM

Parison, paromoion, and antithesis¹ are called Gorgianic figures because of some connection, not precisely defined by the ancients, with the Sicilian sophist, Gorgias of Leontini. Of these antithesis at least existed in Greek prose before Gorgias, time and under influences non-Sicilian—in the works of the Ionian philosopher Heraclitus². But Gorgias introduced these figures to Fifth-century Athens and Fifth-century Athens became the centre of intellectual Greece. For Greek literature, therefore, Gorgias may be considered their inventor, for he first used them extensively in prose purposely artistic. His excessive use of these figures became a precept to his fellows and followers as to what to avoid, but the Gorgianic figures, with him and after him, became the basic instruction of all technical training which had for its object the production of artistic prose.

When rhetoric became confined to the school-room after Alexander's exploits, the Gorgianic figures, of course, passed from the field of political action. In the first century of the Empire these figures lost their ancient prestige, but in the Attic triumph of the second century they returned to their old preeminence.³ In the ancient treatises of rhetoric the Gorgianic figures always receive the most attention. Their professed purpose to reduce the idea and its expression to a regular design appealed to the beauty-loving Greek; made them the foremost

¹ Paronomasia, usually considered a Gorgianic figure, has been treated under the Figures of Sound. cf. page 39.

² Robertson, 8.

³ Hermogenes, II 437; Diodorus XII, 53; Philostratus, Epist. 364.

devices for artistic expression in all periods of rhetoric at Athens, and therefore especially cherished of the Second Sophistic. All three achieve their effects by producing symmetry and parallelism: parison, by a parallelism in structure; paromoion, by a parallelism of structure and sound; antithesis, by a parallelism of structure and sense. Temperament and predilection easily account for the varying popularity of other figures with disciples of the sophistic schools. A marked indifference to the Gorgianic figures in such disciples would be inexplicable on grounds at all creditable.

a) ISOCOLON.

Isocolon—a succession of cola of equal length, the syllable and not the letter being taken as the basis of measurement—from the nature of the case logically precedes the Gorgianic figures. Parison and its refinements and variations are but isocola where-in the parallelism is extended from mere length to structure and sound and sense. In studies of the Attic Orators, isocolon as a distinct figure is often avoided as “an unnecessary refinement of terminology”. Only two Greek rhetoricians define it⁴ and they apparently disagree, but an example cited by Demetrius and the name of the figure itself indicate that it has to do with equality of cola. Such a parallelism in Attic prose-writers may be largely the result of chance. It is rare at all events.⁵ Although this stricture obviously applies to examples of isocolon in the Second Sophistic orators, the results attained by Guignet,⁶ particularly in connection with parenthesis, and the obvious abuse of the figure by some of the sophists, as Dion of Prusa, lead us to look sharply for similar manifestations in St. Basil.

166 examples of successive, equi-syllabled cola were found—an insignificant total if every instance found were free from the limitations noted above, and we must not forget the element of chance. No examples interrupted by parenthesis were found. Unusual types that may have some rhetorical design are:

—ὡς γὰρ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς ὁδοῦ οὕτω ὁδός,

⁴ Anon. III, 155; Demetrius, III, 267.

⁵ Robertson, 16.

⁶ 108 ff.

καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς οἰκίας οὐκ οἰκία,
οὕτω καὶ ἡ τοῦ χρόνου ἀρχὴ οὕτω χρόνος,
ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μέρος αὐτοῦ τὸ ἐλάχιστον.—Hex. 1, 7 A. Compare also
Ps. 32, 134 A.

—καὶ τότε ἀρξάμενον,
καὶ μέχρι νῦν ἐνεργούν,
καὶ εἰς τέλος δεξιόν.—Hex. 9, 81 A. Compare also Ps. 59, 190 B;
De Fide, 133 B-C; In Gordium, 146 E-147 A.

—ἄλλοι νοσοῦντες καὶ ἄλλοι εὐπαθεῦντες,
ἄλλοι ἐν γάμοις καὶ ἄλλοι ἐν πέθεισιν.—Ps. 59, 190 C-D. Compare
also De Jejuniō 1, 6 C; In Barlaam, 140 D.

Neither the number nor the quality of isocola found in the sermons are significant save in showing that the figure is not a characteristic of St. Basil's style.

b) PARISON.

Parison—two or more successive cola having the same general structure—is the first of the Gorgianic figures. It may also be isocolon and frequently is such in St. Basil, but its chief purpose is the organization of successive cola in such a way that their elements correspond in structure and sequence. Parison is to be found, with varying popularity, in all the orators and rhetoricians from Gorgias' time down. We have seen its importance in the schools of the Second Sophistic. Among the eminent sophists Himerius was distinguished for his extensive and refined use of parison. With Themistius and Libanius parison was a favorite device.⁷

An excessive use of perfect parison—wherein the correspondence in structure is exact—unmistakably gives monotony to a passage. The sophists found several ways of avoiding this. By leaving out a word here and there, by the insertion of an occasional chiasmus in the word-sequence, by a chiastic arrangement of the clause elements as a whole, the effect produced by parallelism of structure was still maintained, while the variations allowed a greater indulgence in the figure than would otherwise be possible. Hermogenes⁸ praises Demosthenes for thus

⁷ Méridier, 34—35.

⁸ II, 332—335.

avoiding monotony, but with Demosthenes monotony was not so formidable a problem as it became for the sophists of the Second Sophistic, precisely because of the excessive use of highly-wrought *parisa* in that epoch. Besides examples of exact structural correspondence, consequently, we have also to look for those variations which a well-trained orator of the Fourth century must have at his command to follow the fashion of the time in his indulgence of *parison* and to avoid the inevitable monotony of such indulgence unvaried. In my investigation, therefore, I have separated the *parisa* into groups corresponding to the structure employed. Where the parallelism applies to successive sentences or to successions of two clauses and not to successive clauses, I have prefixed the epithet "sentence". My treatment of *parison*, thus divides into the following well-marked groups:

1. Perfect *Parison*—two or more successive clauses whose structural similarity extends to an exact correspondence in words, save for a particle, article, conjunction, or introductory word whose intrusion is lost in the general perfection of the periods.
2. *Parison*—two or more successive clauses having the same general structure.
3. Chiastic *Parison*—*parison* varied by a chiastic arrangement, usually of the final words.
4. Sentence *Parison*—two or more successive complex or compound sentences having the same general structure.

The number of perfect *parison* and the variations from it found will be an index to St. Basil's ingenuity in avoiding monotony.

PERFECT PARISON (EXAMPLES).

Followed by less perfect *parison*:—

—ὥς γὰρ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς ὁδοῦ οὕτω ὁδός,
καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς οἰκίας οὐκ οἰκία,
οὕτω καὶ ἡ τοῦ χρόνου ἀρχὴ οὕτω χρόνος
ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μέρος αὐτοῦ τὸ ἐλάχιστον.—Hex. 1, 7 A. Compare also
Ps. 32, 137 E; De Humilitate, 156 D.

Monotonous regularity:—

—ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν γῆ ξηρὰ καὶ ψυχρά,
τὸ δὲ ἕωρον ὑγρὸν καὶ ψυχρόν,

ὁ δὲ ἀὴρ θερμὸς καὶ ὑγρός,

τὸ δὲ πῦρ θερμὸν καὶ ξηρόν.—Hex. 4, 38 A.

Obvious effort at correspondence:—

—ὡς γὰρ τὸ λογικὸν ἰδιὸν ἐστὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου,

ἢ δὲ ἄνθρωπος φωνὴ σημαντικὴ ἐστὶ τοῦ ζώου.—Hex. 4, 37 D.

Compare also in Julittam, 37 B; In Princip. Proverb., 99 B;
In Gordium, 144 A.

Series with a variant:—

—εὐσταθὴς μὲν γὰρ ὁ βοῦς,

ναυθὴς δὲ ὁ ὄνος.

θερμὸς δὲ ὁ ἵππος πρὸς ἐπιθυμίαν τοῦ θήλεως,

ἀτιθάσσευτος ὁ λύκος,

καὶ δολερὸν ἢ ἀλώπηξ.

δειλὸν ἢ ἔλαφος.—Hex. 9, 82 A. Compare also Ps. 1, 91 B;

Ps. 32, 134 A; De Humilitate, 162 A-B.

Cumulative, with asyndeton:—

—τὰς ἐρημίας οἰκίζει,

τὰς ἀγορὰς σωφρονίζει.

εἰσαγομένοις στοιχείωσις,

προκοπτόντων αὔξησις,

τελειουμένων στήριγμα,

ἐκκλησίας φωνή.—Ps. 1, 91 A. Compare also Advers. Iratos,

85 C; In Princip. Proverb., 105 E; In Sanct. Baptisma, 120 C.

Simple:—

—νόησον τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ῥητοῦ

καὶ θαυμάσεις τὴν φιланθρωπίαν τοῦ νομοθέτου.—Ps. 14, 112 E.

Compare also Attende Tibiipsi, 23 E; In Sanct. Baptisma,

121 C; In Ebriosos, 128 B; In Gordium, 145 D.

With epanaphora and asyndeton:—

—ἐπὶ τὸν σταυρὸν ὁ ἀπαθής.

ἐπὶ τὸν θάνατον ἢ ζωή.

ἐπὶ τὸν ᾧδην τὸ φῶς.—In Julittam, 40 D. Compare also In

Divites, 59 A; In Ebriosos, 122 E; In Princip. Proverb.,

136 E; In Gordium, 145 E; In Mamantem, 186 C.

With assonance:—

—καὶ πανταχοῦ πάρεστι,

καὶ οὐδαμοῦ περιέχεται.—De Fide, 133 E.

With Isocolon:—

—καρδιά γὰρ πιστεύομεν εἰς δικαιοσύνην,

στόματι δὲ ὁμολογοῦμεν εἰς σωτηρίαν.—In Gordium, 147 D. Compare also Advers. Iratos, 86 B; In Gordium, 148 C.

PARISON (EXAMPLES).

With Isocola:—

—οὐ νεότης ἐλευνίη,
οὐ γῆρας αἰδέσιμον ἴν.—In Gordium, 143 E. Compare also In Divites, 58 E; De Fide, 131 D.

With epanaphora:—

καὶ πρὸς ᾧ πράττει τυπύται
καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα σχηματίζεται.—De Humilitate, 161 E. Compare also Ps. 14, 111 D; Ps. 32, 138 A; Ps. 33, 149 E.

Clauses differing by only one word:—

—ἀργίαν ἀποδιώκει,
ἐπιθυμίας ἀτόπους κολάει.—In Princip. Proverb., 110 D. Compare also Hex. 2, 19 C; Hex. 3, 28 C; Hex. 5, 46 C; In Fam. et Siccit., 65 B; Deus non est auct., 76 B.

—ὅτι ὅσον ὁ ἔσθωθεν ἄνθρωπος διαφθείρεται,
τοσοῦτον ὁ ἔσθωθεν ἀνακαινύται.—De Jejuniis 1, 8 B. Compare also Hex. 5, 41 C; Hex. 6, 55 A.

Introductory word omitted in the second clause:

—ἐν δὴ τοῖς τοιούτοις λόγοις πολλὸ μὲν τὸ ἀνόητον,
πολλαπλασίον δὲ τὸ ἀσεβές.—Hex. 6, 56 C.
Compare also Ps. 33, 154 C; Contra Sabellianos, 196 C.

Only the skeleton of the first clause maintained in the following clauses:—

—ἔπκον μὲν γὰρ ἔπκον ποιείται διάδοχον,
καὶ λέοντα λέοντος,
καὶ ἀετὸν ἀετοῦ.—Hex. 9, 81 B. Compare also In Princip. Proverb., 108 B; In Mamantem, 186 B.

Variation in the position of the article.—

—οὐ σωφροσύνης τὸ σεμνόν;
οὐ τὸ τῆς φρονήσεως τέλειον.—Ps. 1, 91 B.

CHIASTIC PARISON (PERFECT) (EXAMPLES).

—ὅτι ἄλλο μὲν τι τοῦ φωτὸς ἢ λαμπρότης,
ἄλλο δέ τι τὸ ὑποκείμενον τῷ φωτὶ σῶμα.—Hex. 6, 51 E. Compare also Hex. 8, 75 E; Ps. 33, 154 C; Contra Sabellianos, 196 C.

—πάσαν δὲ φλονεκίαν σιδήρῳ κρίνειν συνεθισμένοι,
καὶ αἵματι τὰς μάχας λύειν δεδιδαγμένοι.—Ps. 7, 102 E. Com-
pare also Hex. 5, 47 D; Ps. 32, 134 E; De Jejunio 1, 5 A;
In Sanct. Baptisma, 121 B.

Two-fold variety.—

—οὐδεὶς τραύματα τραύματι θεραπεύει,
οὐδὲ κακῷ τὸ κακὸν ἰᾶται
οὐδὲ πενίαν τόκοις ἐπανορθοῦται.—Ps. 14, 110 C. Compare also
In Gordium, 144 A.

CHIASTIC PARISON (EXAMPLES).

—ἡμῶν τῶν εἰρημένων μισθὸν καὶ
ὑμῶν καρπὸν ὧν ἠκούσατε.—Ps. 1, 97 C. Compare also Hex. 4,
38 A; Ps. 1, 97 B.
—ἦν ἡ δεξιὰ χαρίζεται τοῦ Ὑψίστου·
ἦς καὶ ὁ μακάριος Δαβὶδ ἐπῆσθετο.—Ps. 44, 159 D. Compare
also Ps. 33, 148 E; De Jejunio 2, 11 A.

SENTENCE PARISON (EXAMPLES).

(1) Perfect.

—φεύγοντες μὲν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, ὥσπερ τὰ ἄλογα φεύγει τῶν βρωμάτων
τὰ δηλητήρια·
διώκοντες δὲ τὴν δικαιοσύνην, ὥσπερ κα' ἐκεῖνα μεταδιώκει τῆς πύας
τὸ τρόφιμον.
—Attende Tibiipsi, 17 E. Compare also Ps. 1, 95 D.
—ὅτι οὐκ ἀπέθανε τὸ παιδίον, ἀλλ' ἀπεδόθη·
οὐδὲ ἀπετελεύτησεν ὁ φίλος, ἀλλ' ἀπεδήμησε.—In Julittam, 36 E.
Compare also In Divites, 51 C.
—ἐὰν φυλάσσης, οὐκ ἔξεις
ἐὰν σκορπίσης, οὐκ ἀπολεῖς.—In Divites, 53 A. Compare also
Deus non est auct., 76 B.

(2) Not Perfect.

—ἔξεστι μὲν γὰρ τῷ πλωτῇρι εἰσω λιμένων κατέχειν τὸ σκάφος, τοὺς
ἐκ τῶν πνευμάτων κινδύνους προυρωμένῳ
ἔξεστι δὲ τῷ ὀδοιπόρῳ πόρρωθεν ἐκκλίνειν τὰς βλάβας,
ἐκ τῆς στυγνότητος τοῦ ἀέρος τὴν μεταβολὴν ἀναμένοντι.
—Hex. 6, 53 E. Compare also Ps. 59, 190 C.
—οἶον, καθεύδεις καὶ ὁ χρόνος σε παρατρέχει;
ἐγρήγορας καὶ ἄσυχλος εἰ τὴν διάνοιαν;—Ps. 1, 94 C.

- ὁ μὲν, εἰ κοινωνικὸς καὶ φιλάδελφος.
 ὁ δέ, εἰ εὐχάριστος καὶ μὴ τουναντίον βλάσφημος.—In Fam. et Siccit.,
 67 A. Compare also Advers. Iratos, 86 E.
 —εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀγέννητον, Πατήρ.
 εἰ δὲ γεννητόν, Υἱός.
 εἰ δὲ μὴδ' ἕτερον τούτων, κτίσμα.—Contra Sabellianos, 194 D.
 Compare also Ps. 7, 104 D.

(3) Chiasitic.

The only examples found were:—

- ὅταν ἐμπλησθῇ, περὶ ἐγκρατείας φιλοσοφεῖ.
 ὅταν διαπνευσθῇ, ἐπιλανθάνεται τῶν δογμάτων.—De Jejuniis I, 6 D.
 —ὁ κατασῆπων τὸν σῖτον, τοὺς πεινῶντας οὐ τρέφεις;
 ὁ τὸν χρυσὸν κατορύσσων, τοῦ ἀγχομένου καταφρονεῖς;—In Divites,
 55 B.
 —ῥαί γὰρ ὁ χρόνος, καὶ οὐκ ἐκδέχεται τὸν βραδύνοντα.
 ἐπείγονται αἱ ἡμέραι, τὸν ὀκνηρὸν παρατρέχουσιν.—In Fam. et
 Siccit., 70 C.

Postponing a conclusion on this section to the end of the chapter, where the results obtained here will gain more significance from a comparison with the results of other sections, I may only note in passing that in a figure so fundamental to the art of rhetoric, 997 examples of all kinds of parison certainly constitute a moderate use of the figure in so broad an expanse of text.⁹

c) HOMOIOTELEUTON (PAROMOION).

Homoioteleuton—wherein the symmetry of cola structurally corresponding is further emphasized by similarity of sound in the concluding word or words of each—was a device challenging the ingenuity of sophists and therefore dear to them as a means of display. In the search for symmetry it follows naturally from parison. When used to excess, it gives to a passage a character highly poetic. In all figures of sound rhetorical design must be very evident. The more numerous and more closely concentual the concluding syllables are, the greater is the probability of design. As a rule I did not look for rhetorical design unless the concluding words of corresponding clauses

⁹ cf. table on p. 93 ff.

showed a correspondence in accent and a correspondence in sound in the last syllable at least.

Examples.

Isocolon:—

—ἡ τῷ χρόνῳ μαρτυρεῖται,
ἡ νόσῳ διαλυθεῖς.—Hex. 5, 41 E. Compare also Hex. 7, 64 B;
In Sanct. Baptisma, 116 A.

Marked assonance.—

—ἐσαν λοιδορούμενοι εὐλογῶμεν,
βλασφημούμενοι παρακαλῶμεν,
καταποντούμενοι εὐχαριστῶμεν,—Ps. 33, 144 A. Compare also
In Illud Lucae, 44 D; Quod Mundanis, 172 D.

—καὶ ὥσπερ ἔπεται τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἡ ἀφθονία,
οὕτως ἀκολουθεῖ τῷ διαβόλῳ ἡ βασκανία.—De Invidia, 91 B.
Compare also Ps. 1, 93 E.

Correspondence in only the final syllable, but evidently designed :

—τὸν διασκεδάζοντα βουλὰς ἐθνῶν,
καὶ ἀθετοῦντα λογισμοὺς λαῶν.—Ps. 32, 138 E.

49 examples in 46 sermons, with 24 sermons containing no assured examples and only five sermons containing more than two examples, argue an acquaintance and an occasional use of the figure on St. Basil's part, but no predilection for it. This exhibition of restraint is in harmony with what I observed about his use of the Figures of Sound.¹⁰

(d) ANTITHESIS.

Antithetical structure is so inherent in the Greek language that in the search for antithesis—i. e. a parison formulating an opposition of ideas—circumspection is needed in detecting rhetorical design. Antithesis, we have seen, antedates Gorgias in Greek literature. Aristotle¹¹ calls attention to the efficacy of the figure for the clear presentation of ideas through the juxtaposition of opposed parts. Its architectural beauty, its very utility gave it a vogue in Attic Greece beyond the Athenian's natural bent for its undesigned employment. We look for its excessive use in the Second Sophistic not alone because of its

¹⁰ cf. p. 43.

¹¹ Rhet. III, 9.

Attic stamp but because of that peculiar penchant of the later sophist for antithetical display so forcefully illustrated by his abuse of oxymoron. And in point of fact it is so employed. Polemo, Dion of Prusa, Himerius, Libanius alike use and abuse antithesis.

The antithesis, both in the earlier prose¹² and in the Second Sophistic, is liable to one misuse especially. Ideas antithetically expressed sometimes do not belong to that rigid cast, but the orator, in his love for the figure, diffuses the thought through unnecessary words to achieve a verbal balancing. This obviously results in a loss of conciseness. Again the orator, in his search for impeccable symmetry, may establish a structural opposition between the words which is not justified by their meanings.

The concerns of Christianity contain much that readily lends itself to antithetical presentation—the antitheses between things as they are and things as they should be. The paradoxes of the Faith furnish materials that could accentuate in a Christian orator sophistically trained the sophistic predilection for antithesis. St. Gregory of Nazianzus,¹³ St. Gregory of Nyssa¹⁴ and St. John Chrysostom¹⁵ find abundant opportunity in this fact.

In frequency and elaborateness St. Basil falls behind St. Gregory of Nazianzus and St. John Chrysostom in his use of antitheses arising from Christian sources. The following are typical:

Body and soul:—

—ὅτι θνητὸν μὲν σου τὸ σῶμα,
ἀθάνατος δὲ ἡ ψυχή.

— — — — —
ἡ μὲν οἰκεία τῇ σαρκὶ ταχὺ παρεχομένη,
ἡ δὲ συγγενὴς τῇ ψυχῇ μὴ δεχομένη περιγραφήν.—Attende Tibiipsi,
18 E. Compare also De Grat. Act., 32 E.

Earthly dishonour and heavenly reward:—

—ἀτιμίαν δὲ καταδικαζομένη,
ἵνα τῶν στεφάνων τῆς δόξης καταξωθῇ.—In Julittam, 34 B. Compare also In Gordium, 148 B.

¹² Robertson, 15.

¹³ Guignet, 123 ff.

¹⁴ Méridier, 174.

¹⁵ Ameringer, 49 ff.

Punishment of sinners and reward of the Just:—

—φόβον μὲν τῶν τοῖς ἁμαρτωλοῖς ἀπειληθέντων,
ἐπιθυμίαν δὲ τῶν τοῖς δικαίοις ἱτοιμασμένων.—In Princip. Proverb.,
110 B.

—τὴν φαιδρότητα τῶν δικαίων ἐν τῇ λαμπρᾷ διανομῇ τῶν δώρων,
καὶ τὴν κατήφειαν τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν ἐν τῇ σκότει τῷ βαθυτάτῳ.—In
Sanct. Baptisma, 122 A. Compare also Ps. 45, 170 B.

The Father and the Son:—

—οὐκοῦν Υἱὸς μὲν ὁ παρακαλῶν,
Πατὴρ δὲ ὁ παρακαλούμενος.—Contra Sabellianos, 191 D.

Truth and science:—

—ὅτι οὕτως ὁξὺ περὶ τὰ μάτια βλέποντες,
ἐκόντες πρὸς τὴν σύνεσιν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπετυφλώθησαν.—Hex. 1, 4 D.

Young trees and old trees:—

—τοῖς μὲν γὰρ νέοις καὶ εὐθαλέσιν ὁ φλοιὸς περιτέταται·
τοῖς δὲ γηράσκουσιν οἷον ῥυσσοῦται καὶ ἐτραχύνεται.—Hex. 5, 46 E.

Soul in temptation:—

—ὧδε βλέπει σαρκὸς εὐπάθειαν,
ἐκεῖ δουλαγωγίαν σαρκός·
ὧδε μέθην, ἐκεῖ νηστείαν·
ὧδε γέλωτας ἀκρατεῖς, ἐκεῖ δάκρυον δαψιλές·
ἐνταῦθα ὄρχησιν, καὶ ἐκεῖ προσευχὴν·
αὐλοῦς ὧδε, καὶ ἐκεῖ στεναγμούς·
ὧδε πορνείαν, καὶ ἐκεῖ παρθενίαν.—Ps. 1, 95 D.

Usurer and debtor:—

—τοῦ μὲν χαίροντος ἐπὶ τῇ αὐξήσει τῶν τόκων,
τοῦ δὲ στενάζοντος ἐπὶ τῇ προσθήκῃ τῶν συμφορῶν.—Ps. 14, 108 E
to 109 A.

Our moral acts:—

—ἐκάστη οὖν πρᾶξις ἢ ἐπὶ τὰ κάτω ἡμᾶς κατὰγει,
βαρύνουσα ἡμᾶς διὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας,
ἢ ἐπὶ τὰ ἄνω κουφίζει,
πτεροῦσα ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὸν θεόν.—Ps. 29, 126 D-E.

Pleonastic antithesis:—

—κακείμενον αἰτίας ἀφίης,
—καὶ σεαυτὸν κατακρίνεις.—Advers. Iratos, 86 E. Compare also
Deus non est auct., 79 C; In Princip. Proverb., 106 E.

Chiastic:—

—ὡς μήτε δι' ὑπερβολῆς τὸν γῆν,

μήτε διὰ τὴν ἄλλειψιν κατεψυγμένην αὐτὴν καὶ ἄγονον ἀπολιπεῖν.—
Hex. 6, 60 B.

—καὶ τῶν μὲν παρόντων τὴν αἰσθησιν ὑπερβαίνων,
πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῶν αἰωνίων ἀποτείνων τὴν ἔννοιαν.—De Grat.
Act., 32 E. Compare also [Hex. 3, 28 D; Ps. 29, 126 C-D;
Deus non est auct., 76 A-B.

14 sermons do not contain an antithesis. While we have not the facts for accurately comparing St. Basil's use of antithesis with that of his contemporaries a total of only 161 examples of a figure in such constant use in his time in so ample an expanse of text as the 46 sermons cover is remarkable. The undoubted quality of most of the examples cited alone saves him from the charge of indifference.

e) CHIASMUS.

Chiasmus—wherein the succession of the elements of one clause is reversed in the next—is one of the devices used by the sophists to preserve symmetry while counteracting the monotony of the oft-repeated parison. It is a form of parallelism less obvious and more subtle than parison. It calls for a nice skill in avoiding the destruction of symmetry. The sophist Himerius and, after him, St. Gregory of Nazianzus were eminently successful in its use.¹⁶

Examples:—ἐμβεβηκότα τῇ οὐσίᾳ τῶν ὄλων, καὶ
τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον μέρη πρὸς ἄλληλα συναρμόζοντα,—Hex. 1, 8 A. Compare also Hex. 2, 14 A; Hex. 8, 77 D.

—οὔτε δικαιοσύνης τιμωμένης,
οὔτε κατακρινομένης τῆς ἁμαρτίας,—Hex. 6, 57 A. Compare also Hex. 8, 73 E.

—ἐτρέφοντο οἱ πενῶντες, καὶ
ὁ τρέφων ἐπολεμείτο,—De Invidia, 93 E-94 A. Compare also In Princip. Proverb., 110 D.

—προφητῶν προεδρίαί,
σκῆπτρα πατριαρχῶν,
μαρτύρων στέφανοι,—In Sanct. Baptisma, 122 C. Compare also Ps. 1, 90 B; De Jejuniō 1, 7 D; In Illud Lucae, 49 B.

While not using chiasmus to excess—there are only 190 in-

¹⁶ Guignet, 112.

stances in all—St. Basil shows a consistent liking for the figure throughout his sermons. Only three sermons do not yield examples.

f) ANTITHETICAL CHIASMUS.

Antithetical chiasmus—an antithesis of thought cast in the structure of a chiasmus—is rare.

- οὔτε δικαιοσύνης τιμωμένης,
οὔτε κατακρινομένης τῆς ἁμαρτίας,—Hex. 6, 57 A.
- οὔτε περιττόν τι ὁ κτίσας προσέθηκεν,
οὔτε ἀφείλε τῶν ἀναγκαίων.—Hex. 9, 85 B.
- προφητεύει τὰ μέλλοντα·
ἱστορίας ὑπομνήσκει.—Ps. 1, 90 B.

The only other examples found occur in Ps. 33, 148 A; In XL Martyres, 151 C; De Humilitate, 160 C.

g) PARALLELISM.

In addition to the formal cases of parallelism previously considered in this chapter, I frequently ran upon traces of parallelism not fully developed—i. e. corresponding phrases and clauses of a parallel construction in succeeding sentences not otherwise bearing traces of parallelism. Such correspondences seemed not without importance in a chapter on St. Basil's parallelism, and I have therefore included them. The frequency of their occurrence seems to indicate something of the thoroughness where-with the disciples of Second Sophistic rhetoric were trained in the use of its devices.

Examples:—

- ἡ κεφαλὴ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ γῆν προσνέενυκεν, ἐπὶ γαστέρα βλέπει, καὶ τὸ ταύτης ἥδ' ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου διώκει.
ἡ σὴ κεφαλὴ πρὸς οὐρανὸν διανέστηκεν· οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου τὰ ἄνω βλέπουσιν.—Hex. 9, 81 E. Compare also Ps. 45, 175 A; De Junio 1, 6 B.
- ἀλλοιούμεθα δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὰς ὀργάς, θηρώδη τινὰ κατάστασιν ἀναλαμβάνοντες.
ἀλλοιούμεθα καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας, κτηνώδεις γιγνώμενοι διὰ τοῦ καθ' ἡδονὴν βίου.—Ps. 44, 159 A. Compare also Ps. 1, 94 D; In Julittam, 34 A; In Divites, 59 C.

—οὐ βλέπει τοὺς κινδύνους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς στεφάνους ὁ μάρτυς·
οὐ φρίττει τὰς πληγὰς, ἀλλ' ἀριθμεῖ τὰ βραβεῖα·
οὐχ ὁρᾷ τοὺς κάτω μαστιγοῦντας δημίους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἄνωθεν εὐφη-
μοῦντας ἀγγέλους φαντάζεται·
οὐ σκοπεῖ τῶν κινδύνων τὸ πρόσκαιρον, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῶν ἐπάθλων αἰώνιον.—

In Barlaam, 139 A. Compare also De Humilitate, 158 A.

Note the following parallelism interspersed amid scriptural quotations.—

—διὰ προφητῶν διδασκόμενος·

διὰ ψαλμῶν νουθετούμενος.—(Psalm 33, 6.)

δι' ἀποστόλων εὐαγγελιζόμενος.—(Acts 2, 38.)

ἐκ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου προσλαμβανόμενος.—(Matthew 11, 28.) In Sanct. Baptisma, 114 B-C. Compare also In Fam. et Siccit., 65 E-66 A; In Barlaam, 139 D.

FREQUENCY OF THE VARIOUS DEVICES OF PARALLELISM
IN THE SERMONS.

		Perfect Parison	Parison	Perfect Chiasmic Parison	Chiasmic Parison	Homototelenon	Antithesis	Chiasmic Antithesis	Chiasmus	Perfect Sentence Parison	Sentence Parison	Chiasmic Sentence Parison	Antithetical Chiasmus	Parallelism
Hex.	1 (530)	4	3		2	6	6	7	6					2
"	2 (507)	2	12			4	4		7					
"	3 (565)	5	5	1	3	7	3	1	5	1				1
"	4 (393)	7	3	1	2	2			2		1			
"	5 (570)	2	10	3	4	6	7		9	1	1			1
"	6 (746)	6	19	1	1	1	2	1	4		4	1		2
"	7 (425)	3	9			4	2		6		1		1	
"	8 (572)	4	13	1	1		7		4					
"	9 (507)	11	9		3		1		6			1	1	1
Ps.	1 (449)	17	19		3	2	11		16	2	2	1		1
"	7 (541)	7	8	1	2		1		2		1			1
"	14 (372)	24	13	3	1		3		8					
"	28 (636)	7	16	1	5		1		2		1			
"	29 (418)	2	9	1			2	1	1					
"	32 (651)	10	4	1	1	1	6		4		3			
"	33 (963)	8	10	2	1	1	1		5			1		
"	44 (687)	2	7	1	1				2					1
"	45 (407)	4	7	1		2	1		2		2			1
"	48 (662)	3	13						3		1			
"	59 (242)	2	2				1		2		1			2

		Perfect Parison	Parison	Perfect Chiasmo Parison	Chiasmo Parison	Homotaleuton	Antibasis	Chiasmo Antithesis	Obiasmus	Perfect Sentence Parison	Sentence Parison	Chiasmo Sentence Parison	Antithetical Obiasmus	Parallelism
Ps. 61	(336)	3	11				1		4					3
" 114	(276)	3	2						1					
De Jejunio 1	(475)	18	27	7					12				1	2
De Jejunio 2	(330)	6	11		1		1		4					
Attende Tibiipsi	(480)	7	16	1			5		5	1				1
De Grat. Act.	(459)	4	13				2	1	2		1			2
In Julittam	(580)	9	12	2	1		5		14	1				4
In Illud Lucae	(406)	12	18	2	1	3			4	1	1			1
In Divites	(601)	27	29		1	1			2	5	1		1	3
In Fam. et Siccit.	(584)	6	14						9		2		1	4
Deus non est auct.	(598)	3	13				1	1	2	3				1
Advers. Iratos	(452)	12	5	1			5		1		2			
De Invidia	(359)	15	9			1	1		7					
In Princip. Proverb.	(895)	11	10	1	2	1	7		5		1			2
In Sanct. Baptisma	(522)	29	9	1		2	2		10	1	3			2
In Ebriosos	(423)	13	12			1	1		6					
De Fide	(185)	11	7	2					2		1			
In Princip. erat V.	(248)	9	3											
In Barlaam	(141)	2	1	2		1			1					2
In Gordium	(425)	16	13	2		1	3		4					
In XL Martyres	(392)	15	6	1			2			1	1	1		2
De Humilitate	(353)	6	5	3					2			1		1
Quod Mundanis	(633)	4			2	1	4		1					2
Ad Adolescentes	(627)	1	3						1					1
In Mamantem	(244)	11	8						1					1
Contra Sabellianos	(444)	13	13	2		1	2				7			

1407 instances of parallelism of all kinds bespeak a frequent but not excessive use of the Figures of Parallelism. When I consider that the text of the sermons covers 563 half-pages of the Benedictine edition, I feel justified in characterizing Basil's use of parallelism as restrained. We have not at hand detailed materials for comparison with his contemporaries, but we are assured of the excessive employment of the Gorgianic figures by Libanius and Himerius, and we know that upon devices of parallelism more than upon any other group of figures the Second Sophistic leaned in its extravagant pursuit of the Attic ideal. These amply attested facts attest in turn the moderation

of St. Basil. Consistent with this generalization is his comparatively moderate use of antithesis and his remarkable restraint in using sophistic homoioteleuton. The very few examples of sentence parison is another instance of his moderation. The following table summarizes the disposition of parallelism in the sermons.

<u>Clause parison of all kinds</u>	<u>Homoioteleuton</u>
940	49
<u>Antithesis of all kinds</u>	<u>Sentence parison of all kinds</u>
114	62
	<u>Chiasmus</u>
	194

Since St. Basil is so restrained in his employment of the recognized figures of parallelism, the avoidance of monotony is not a large problem for his art. He shows merely traces of sophistic training in his occasional use of the variations of more usual parallelism. The frequency of these variations relative to their orthodox forms is shown in the following summary.

<u>Parison and Homoioteleuton</u>	<u>Chiastic Parison</u>	<u>Antithesis</u>
905	84	101
<u>Chiastic Antithesis</u>	<u>Sentence Parison</u>	<u>Chiastic Sentence Parison</u>
13	57	5

St. Basil's ready skill in the moderate range he allowed these figures is shown not only by the excellence of the examples quoted above but also by the following ratio:—

<u>Perfect Parison</u>	<u>Parison</u>	<u>Chiasmus</u>
381	475	194

This chapter again shows St. Basil deserving the adjective restrained on the whole; again using a figure with ease and skill, with an occasional instance of elaborate art, with here and there a sermon approaching sophistic frequency,¹⁷ but even thus emphasizing the more his general moderation.

¹⁷ Ps. 1 contains 74 examples in 10 pages; Ps. 14, 51 examples in 12 pages; De Jejunio 1, 67 examples in 12 pages; In Divites, 70 examples in 15 pages; In Sanct. Baptisma, 59 examples in 12 pages; In Gordium, 41 examples in 10 pages.

CHAPTER XI

THE METAPHOR

The metaphor is not a device peculiar to the sophists. Its germs at least are found among even the most unimaginative of peoples, reflected in every epoch of their literature. But this trope, like so many other figures in the heritage of the Second Sophistic, receives a treatment and bears a stamp unmistakably evincing the sophistic manner. This treatment and this stamp are best understood by recalling some facts about the nature of the metaphor.

First of all, the metaphor is useful in illuminating vividly and suddenly a point not easily understood by the audience from its subtle or esoteric nature; for the emphatic expression of emotions; for effective brevity in any case. If the brevity is dispensed with, if the action is prolonged, the very strength of the figure palls and the prolonged metaphor becomes a strain on the imagination of the auditor, and in excessive cases, an enigma.

The pleasure which the metaphor gives to the auditor, if analyzed, will be found to rest partly on the intellectual activity it calls into play in the effort necessary to establish logical relations between two ideas; partly on the element of surprise thus invoked; partly on the originality of connections suddenly revealed. For a very imaginative people its strongest appeal lies in the new world suddenly flashed upon the retina of the mind, in the transportation of the auditor from the trivialities of ordinary language and the trivialities of ordinary existence.¹

These possibilities of the metaphor have only to be connected with the known tendencies of the Second Sophistic to foresee the career of the figure in the hands of the sophists.

¹ cf. Chaignet, 483 ff.

Display of skill, excessive ornamentation, the search for the novel and unreal—these moving traits of the Second Sophistic transform a figure useful and beautiful in its proper sphere into an extravagance that jades the taste by its ornateness, clouds the idea by its elaborateness, fatigues the intellect by its frequency. An idea is good in the sophist's eyes which is capable of being richly treated and of multiple variations—which gives the sophist an opportunity, in other words. The beauty founded upon harmony and proportion of ideas, natural associations, clear connections, true analogies is here sacrificed to effects that are shocking in the most pronounced sophists and that do frequent violence to good taste in the mildest.

Under the patronage of the sophists there grew up a veritable technique of the metaphor; a formidable, complex bag of tricks to a cursory glance at the results of its employment, but resolvable into a few well-defined constituents on close inspection. As to subject-matter most of the sophistic metaphors may be assigned to one of the following four classes: (1) metaphors based on war and its associations; (2) metaphors based on athletic games; (3) metaphors based on the hippodrome; (4) metaphors of the sea. Characteristics especially sophistic are: (1) the meticulous correspondence of the objects compared and the attempt to justify this comparison in all the details of the two objects; (2) a theatrical manner of development; (3) metaphors of pathos; (4) redundancy of metaphors, i. e. the presentation of the same aspect of an object through many metaphors based on varied provinces of thought and experience; (5) the elaborate, prolonged development given to certain metaphors, clause on clause, sentence on sentence. Sometimes the sophist leaves the figure and returns to it after a space, drawing out all the possibilities of the metaphor that a most fertile imagination can suggest.

With the serious purpose of the Christian orators, the practical properties of the metaphor were again invoked—as a vehicle of clarity. The theological conflicts of the Fourth century affected even the laity so intimately that the abstract terms, the specialized language of philosophy and theology, necessarily found entrance into popular sermons and, in clarifying ideas so represented, the metaphor was a most efficacious

instrument. The abundance of metaphors in the Old and New Testaments likewise contributed to the Christian use of that figure. In the Christian orators of the Fourth century the likening of martyrs to athletes; the personification of abstract ideas; the metaphors based on tempests, medicine, a shepherd and his flock, a debtor and creditor are more Christian than pagan in subject matter.² But even so, St. Gregory of Nyssa is a veritable sophist in his use of metaphor;³ St. Gregory of Nazianzus shows a sophistic facility only a little less remarkable,⁴ while St. John Chrysostom surpasses both in prodigal exuberance.⁵ In seeing how St. Basil measures up to them we shall first review examples that seem more closely joined to the Christian tradition either in content or purpose, keeping a sharp outlook, however, for evidences of a sophistic manner in their development. We shall then pass on to categories undoubtedly pagan. Such a division is artificial, of course. Much to be found in one group will also be found in the other. The exigencies of exposition alone justify their distinction.

As a vehicle of clarity and emphasis by substituting the concrete for the abstract. Note redundancy.—“In the few words which have occupied us this morning we have discovered a depth of thought so profound that we utterly despair of the sequel. If the fore-court of the sanctuary is such, if the fore-gates of the temple are so awful and splendid, if its surpassing beauty thus astounds the eyes of the soul, what will be the holy of holies? Who will presume to dare its innermost shrine? Who will gaze upon its secrets? Forbidden is the view of them, and the expression of one's thought on them is extremely difficult.”—Hex. 2, 12 A-B.

Compare also De Jejunio 2, 15 C.

Note correspondence of details:—

—“Blessed is the man who has not tarried in the way of sinners, but with wiser counsel has betaken himself to pious conversation. For two are the roads and opposed are they

² cf. Méridier, 97 ff.; Guignet, 131 ff.; Delahaye, 211 ff.

³ Méridier, 115.

⁴ Guignet, 157.

⁵ Ameringer, 67.

to each other. One is broad and spacious; the other, narrow and confined. Two also are the guides, each of them trying to draw on the traveller. The gentle downward path has a deceitful guide, the wicked demon, who draws those who follow him through pleasure to destruction. The rough and up-hill highway holds a good angel, who leads those who follow through laborious virtue to a happy consummation."—Ps. 1, 95 B-C.

Compare also *Attende Tibiipsi*, 19 C.

—"But, if forsaking the narrow road that leads to safety, you travel the broad highway of sin, I fear lest even to the end travelling that broad highway, you find a lodging in harmony with your journey." In *Sanct. Baptisma*, 120 E.

—"Straightway the winnowing-shovel separates the chaff from the wheat, the light and unstable it divides from the fruitful, and what is fit for spiritual food it turns over to the farmers."

—In *Mamantem*, 187 E.

A poetic touch:—

—"Thus, to the psalmist not to be spurned is the deep which the inventors of allegory consign to the ranks of evil. The psalmist welcomes it to the general choir of creation and the deep, in its own tongue, sings a harmonious hymn to the creator."—Hex. 3, 32 A. Compare also *De Invidia*, 96 B-C.

—"Let us all hasten on to attain it (i. e. the consummation of all things), full of fruit and good works; and thus planted in the house of the Lord, we shall flower in the courts of our God."—Hex. 5, 49 D.

Dramatic and redundant, almost an ecphrasis, is the following:—

—"For again, as you know, the devil made clear his rage against us and, having armed himself with the flame of fire, made war upon the sacred enclosures of the church. But again our Common Mother was victorious and turned his weapon against the enemy himself; nor did he accomplish ought but the display of his hatred. Grace blew against the attacks of the devil and the temple remained unharmed. The storm raised by our enemy could not shake the rock upon which Christ had built the fold for his flock. Imagine how the devil is groaning to-day, not having achieved what he

planned. For he set fire to the neighboring pyre of the church that he might harrass our success. And everywhere the flames, fanned by the violent blasts of the devil, spread over the edifice and fed upon the air, forced to touch the dwelling of the gods and drag us into a community of misfortune. But the Savior turned it back on the sender and bade him turn his anger against himself. The enemy prepared the arrow of his cunning, but was kept from releasing it, or rather he did release it, but it turned against his own head."—*Quod Mundanis*, 170 B. Remarkable beyond the redundancy and dramatic qualities of the above passage is his reference to the church as the temple of the gods. Not only does he speak of a plurality of divine beings but he uses a purely pagan word in referring to their dwelling.

Compare also *In Barlaam*, 141 A-B.

Biblical phraseology (referring to the famine and drought in Cappadocia).

—"New Isrealites, seeking a new Moses and his miraculous staff, that the rocks stricken anew may minister to the wants of the thirsty people and strange clouds may rain down manna."—*In Fam. et Siccit.*, 63 A. Compare also *Hex.* 1, 2 D; *Ps.* 1, 94 C; *Ps.* 33, 150 A; *In Sanct. Baptisma*, 118 D; *Quod Mundanis*, 168 E. (referring to the desertion of a martyr from the place of torture and a centurion taking his place).—"Judas departed and Matthias took his place."—*In XL Martyres*, 154 E.

Spiritual food:—

—"Instead of extravagant dishes of manifold delicacies, embellish and sanctify your tables with the memory of my words."—*Hex.* 9, 88 E.

—"Wherefore the church from afar, with high-raised cry, summons her nurslings in order that of whom she travailed before, she may now bring forth and, having weaned them from the instruction of catechumens, may furnish for their palates the solid food of dogma."—*In Sanct. Baptisma*, 114 A.

—"I shall exhort each soul to recall these events (i. e. the scenes of martyrdom) for himself and to depart nourished by his own food and gladdened with his own viaticum."—*In Mamentem*, 185 C. Compare also *Ps.* 33, 149 B; *De Jejunio* 2, 15 E; *In XL Martyres*, 156 B; *Ad Adolescentes*, 179 E.

Personification:—

—“But while I am discussing with you the first evening of the world, evening surprises me, stopping my discourse.”—Hex. 2, 21 E.
 —“Instead of violently buffeting the neighboring shore, she (i. e. the sea) embraces it with peaceful caresses.”—Hex. 4, 38 E.
 —“And they (i. e. the virtues) do not willingly abandon us in our labors on earth, unless we, having willingly and violently introduced vices, avoid them. And they go before us, hastening on to the future life, and place their possessor among the angels, and shine forever under the eyes of the creator.”—Advers. Iratos, 83 C. Compare also De Jejuniis 1, 4 D; In Ebriosos, 129 B; In Barlaam, 140 C-D; In XL Martyres, 151 C.

Travail:—

—“Let the earth bring forth’. Behold, I pray you, how the chilled and barren earth at this brief command travailed and hastily brought forth its fruit, casting aside its sad, mournful coat and wrapping itself in more joyous coverings, glad of its proper adornment and showing forth its fruits of countless kinds.”—Hex. 5, 41 C. Compare also Hex. 2, 15 B; Hex. 7, 62 E; Ps. 14, 111 B; Ps. 33, 150 E-151 A; Ps. 114, 201 A; In Julittam, 36 D.

Redundant:—

—(referring to the return of fish to the Euxine sea after breeding time.) “Who set them off? What royal command? What edict in the market-place proclaims the appointed day? Who guides them on their journey.”—Hex. 7, 66 E. Compare also Hex. 1, 3 E.

—“A psalm puts devils to flight, facilitates the aid of angels, is a weapon against the fears of the night, a relief from the toil of the day, a security for children, a decoration for youth, a consolation for elders, for women an ornament most proper. It peoples the deserts; it calms the market-places; is a textbook for beginners, a means of increase for advanced students; the support of the learned, the voice of the church. It gladdens the festal-day; it creates divine melancholy; for the psalm forces tears from the heart of stone. The psalm is the work of angels, spiritual incense.”—Ps. 1, 91 A. Compare also De Jejuniis 1, 6 B; 10 B; 13 C; 14 D-E; In Princip. erat V., 138 B-C; In XL Martyres, 149 C-D; 153 D; 156 B.

—"We must needs, then, if we wish to run in safety the road of this life and offer our soul and body alike free from the wounds of shame and receive the crown of victory, have the eyes of our soul ever on the watch. We must look askance at all things of pleasure and pass them by."—*Quod Mundanis*, 163D. Compare also 170A-B.

—"Schism is proper to the Jews, but let not the Church of God, who has received a seamless garment, woven of heavenly texture and preserved by her soldiers without a rent, the garment that clothed Christ, let not the Church rend it."—*In Mamantem*, 188A.

The curing of souls:—

—"Rejoice, for an efficacious remedy has been given you by the physician for ridding yourself of sin."—*De Jejuniis* 1, 2B.

—"If reason is the physician of sorrow, drunkenness must be the worst of evils, since it hinders the curing of the soul."—*In Julittam*, 43B.

—"For if with calm reason you can cut out the bitter root of wrath, you will eliminate many vices in the same act."—*Advers. Iratos*, 90D.

—"Therefore he neither admits a physician nor can he find a remedy for his passion, and yet the scriptures are filled with such remedies."—*De Invidia*, 92A. Compare also *Ps.* 1, 93B; *Deus non est auct.*, 80C; *De Humilitate*, 156E.

A shepherd and his flock:—

—"What grievous wolves dispersing the flock of God have not taken their departure from these words (i. e. 'Darkness was upon the face of the deep') to assault souls."—*Hex.* 2, 15D.

—"But Death was the shepherd from Adam's time up to the government of Moses, until the True Shepherd came who laid down his life for his sheep, who gathered them to himself, led them from the guard-house of Hades into the morning of the resurrection, and gave them over to the righteous, his holy angels, that they might shepherd them."—*Ps.* 48, 186A. Compare also *In Mamantem* 187B; 187C; 188C.

St. Basil, like the Gregories and Chrysostom, appreciated the practical utility of the metaphor, but the research for identity of correspondence in the objects compared, as exhibited in the above examples, the theatrical quality of some, the poetic calm

of others, the excessive redundancy become almost a litany in some cases, all bear witness to the manner of the sophist imprinted on St. Basil as on his Christian contemporaries. Commingled with this pagan stream are Biblical influences, seen in the metaphors on curing souls, of a shepherd and his flock, of the rock of the church of God. The frequent use of *ἀνέω* in him recalls a convention of Christian oratory very wide-spread in the Fourth century.

In the above examples occur metaphors belonging to the four-fold source from which spring most of the pagan metaphors, those based on war, athletics, the hippodrome, the sea. Further examples will illustrate Basil's use of metaphors undoubtedly pagan.

1. War:—

—"The cranes in night-time keep watch in turn; some sleep, while others, making the rounds, gain all security for those in slumber; then, when the time of his watch is finished, the sentry, having cried out, goes to sleep and the one succeeding him repays the security which he himself enjoyed. You will observe the same good order in their manner of flight. For a time one assumes the leadership and, when he has guided the flight for a fixed time, passing to the rear, he consigns to the one coming after him the guidance of the march."—Hex. 8, 74 E.
—"Let the stomach grant a truce to the mouth. Let it strike a five days' truce."—De Jejuniō 1, 6 D.

—(Speaking of irascible men.) "Whatever comes into sight becomes a weapon for their wrath. But if they find an evil equal to their own coming from their opponent's camp, taking the field against them, they find another cause for wrath and madness. Thus they fall together, giving and taking such treatment as men have reason to experience who are generalised by such a devil"—Advers. Iratos, 84 D-E.

—"These words ('In the beginning was the Word') will be the strongest wall against the onsets of the besiegers. These are a fortification for souls, secure for those who advance using them as shields."—In Princip. erat V., 138 B-C.

—"Let us get together about these matters. Let us pursue the arts of peace. Let us cease the long war against holiness, casting aside the sharpened weapons of wickedness, turning our spears into ploughs and our swords into scythes."—Contra Sabel-

lianos, 190 E. Compare also Hex. 1, 5 D; Ps. 1, 90 B-C; Ps. 7, 105 E; Ps. 14, 109 B; De Jejunio 2, 12 A; Quod Mundanis, 170 D.

2. Athletics:—

—"But I think that the strenuous athletes of god, who have wrestled valiantly with invisible enemies all their life long, after they have escaped the pursuit of their enemies, are examined by the Prince of Time, so that if they are found to have retained wounds from their struggles, stains, or traces of sin, they are held back; but if they are found scatheless and spotless, like invincible and free men, they are carried by Christ to everlasting peace."—Ps. 7, 99 B-C.

—"Contend fittingly that you may be crowned."—De Jejunio 2, 12 A.

—"Let us increase the strength of our souls in order that we may snatch victory from the passions through fasting and may be crowned with the crown of abstinence."—De Jejunio 2, 12 C-D.

—"Look to yourself, athlete, lest you transgress some rule of athletics. No one is crowned unless he contend according to the rules. Take Paul as your model in running and wrestling and boxing; and like a good boxer keep the eyes of your soul ever on the alert. Protect your vital parts by the address of your fists. Keep a watchful eye on your opponent. Strain yourself for the foremost position in the races. Run that you may win the prize. Wrestle with your invisible enemies."—Attende Tibiipsi, 20 B.

—"For a brave athlete, I think, once having stripped for the stadium of piety, must steadfastly endure the blows of adversaries in the hope of achieving a glorious crown. For those who are accustomed to the labors of the paelestra do not flinch from the bitterness of the blows, but grapple with their enemy, in their anxiety for the herald's pronouncement condemning their present exertions."—De Grat. Act., 27 C-D. Compare also De Jejunio 1, 10 B.

The term "athlete" is applied so often to the martyrs in the Christian orators of the time that the term is almost a synonym for one who has died for the Faith.

Examples:—

—"Job, that invincible athlete"—In Illud Lucae, 43 E;—"the wrestler"—In Barlaam, 141 C;—"the crowned athlete"—In Gordium, 148 E.

—(The Forty Martyrs are speaking.) "As forty we entered this stadium, as forty let us be crowned."—(The stadium in question is a frozen stream in which the martyrs are being tortured.) In *XL Martyres*, 154A. Compare also *Ps.* 1, 93E; *Deus non est auct.*, 81E; *Advers. Iratos*, 88B; In *Princip. Proverb.*, 106E-107A; In *Gordium*, 145B; In *XL Martyres*, 150D.

3. Metaphors of the hippodrome are neither numerous nor striking:—

In *Divites*, 55B—a vain wife applies the goads to empty pleasures. In *Princip. Proverb.* 110D—the Book of Proverbs puts a bridle on the unjust tongue.

—"Are you a young man? Strengthen your youth with the bridle of baptism."—In *Sanct. Baptisma*, 117C.

—"O beloved, I was thinking that while I apply the goad of my discourse so frequently, I seem to you harsh"—*Quod Mundanis*, 163A. Compare also *Hex.* 4, 35C; In *Sanct. Baptisma*, 118C; *Quod Mundanis*, 163D; *Ad Adolescentes*, 182A.

4. The Sea:—

—"But let us, arising from the deeps, take refuge on the land. For somehow the marvels of creation, engaging us one after another, like waves of the sea in continuous procession, have submerged my discourse."—*Hex.* 7, 69B.

—"Here bringing our discourse to anchor, let us await the day for the exposition of the rest."—*Hex.* 7, 69D.

—"Like the noble Job, be patient for a space beneath adversity. Do not avoid the storm nor cast over-board the cargo of virtue which you are carrying."—In *Fam. et Siccit.*, 68D.

—"In prosperity look for the storms of adversity. Disease will come and poverty will come, for the wind does not always rise against the stern."—In *Princip. Proverb.*, 111C.

—"Hold the rudder as firmly as you can. Pilot your eyes lest sometime a turbulent wave of pleasure wash upon you through your eyes. Pilot your ear and your tongue lest some harm befall them, lest forbidden things be spoken. Look to it lest the surges of wrath capsize you, lest fears flood you, lest heavy grief sink you. The waves are our passions. If you raise yourself above them, you will be a pilot secure of life. But if you do not with constant care steer clear of them, like a bark without ballast, tossed about by the fortunes of life ever on-coming, you

will sink in the sea of Sin. Learn, then, how a knowledge of pilotry will help you. It is the practice of sailors to look up to heaven and thence take guidance for their course; in the daytime, from the sun; at night, from the Bear or some other of the eternal stars, and under the guidance of these, they always estimate correctly. Do you then look towards heaven. Look to the sun of justice . . . For if you never sleep over the tiller, as long as you live in this uncertain state of earthly things, you will have the aid of the Spirit, who will lead you forward, transporting you securely with gentle, peaceful breezes until you are brought safely into that serene and tranquil harbor of the will of God."—In Princip. Proverb., 112D-113B.

—"Beware lest like things befall you and, in sin too great for forgiveness, before the harbor of your hope you suffer shipwreck."—In Sanct. Baptisma, 118A-B.

—"Let him (i. e. the man who clings to earthly things) throw overboard the most of his tonnage and, before the boat sinks, let him cast overboard the baggage which he needlessly collected."—Quod Mundanis, 168B-C. Compare also Hex. 3, 31O; Ps. 1, 90E; Advers. Iratos, 84D; In Princip. Proverb., 111D; In Princip. erat V., 138D; Quod Mundanis, 170A; Ad Adolescentes, 180A.

FREQUENCY OF METAPHOR IN THE SERMONS.

(To which is added a conspectus of the most numerous groups according to subject-matter.)

		Metaphor	Long Metaphor	Redundant Metaphor	Military	Athletic	Hippodrome	Sea	Curing Souls	Shepherd	Spiritual Debtors	Agriculture	Food and feast	Luminaries	Road	Court	Personification	Theater
Hex.	1 (530)	18		1	1	1											5	
"	2 (507)	13	7							1		1			1		10	
"	3 (565)	14	1					1									4	1
"	4 (393)	16	3				1							1			7	
"	5 (570)	22	3									1	2				4	
"	6 (746)	24	7												1		13	2
"	7 (425)	14	4	2				1							1		7	

			Metaphor	Long Metaphor	Redundant Metaphor	Military	Athletic	Hippodrome	Sea	Curing Souls	Shepherd	Spiritual Debtors	Agriculture	Food and feast	Luminaries	Road	Court	Personification	Theater
Hex. 8	(572)	10	5		2								1					7	
" 9	(507)	12	2						1							1		3	
Ps. 1	(449)	26	8	4	2	2		1	1								4	14	
" 7	(541)	10	7		1											1		2	
" 14	(372)	24	1		2							1	1					1	
" 28	(636)	29	4		1	1			1				2	2	2	1	3		
" 29	(418)	16	3		2								1		1		2		
" 32	(651)	21	1		2										1		5		
" 33	(963)	31		1	4			1				1		1	6				
" 44	(687)	29			5								1		2	1	2		
" 45	(407)	17	8		4										2	1	1		
" 48	(682)	29								1			1			8	1		
" 59	(242)	4																	
" 61	(336)	11																2	
" 114	(276)	11			2							2		1			1		
De Jejunio 1	(475)	38	2	3	6	3	1		1					1			18		
" " 2	(330)	39	4	5	6	2	1	1					1	4		1	18		
Attende Tibiipsi	(480)	34	13		1	2							1		1		5		
De Grat. Act.	(459)	18	1	2	1												4		
In Julittam	(580)	13	2						1			1		1		1	2		
In Illud Lucae	(406)	17	2	1	1								6				1		
In Divites	(601)	19	1	3		1							1			3	8		
In Fam. et Siocit.	(584)	18	3	5	1			1	1		1		2	1		2	7		
Deus non est auct.	(598)	9			3				1							1			
Advers. Iratos	(452)	23	2		3	4	1	1	1		1						7		
De Invidia	(359)	8	1	2	1	1	1		4							1			
In Princip. Proverb.	(895)	28	7		2	1	1	3							3		14		
In Sanct. Baptisma	(522)	37	3	4	3	4	2	1				8	1		1	2	5	1	
In Ebriosos	(423)	30	1	2	5		1										1		
De Fide	(185)	7			2											1			
In Princip. erat V.	(248)	7		1	3			1											
In Barlaam	(141)	14	3	2	5	2								1			1		
In Gordium	(425)	28			1	5						1		1	1				
In XL Martyres	(392)	32	1	5	13	4			1					1			4	1	
De Humilitate	(353)	7							2										
Quod Mundanis	(633)	41	8	5	9	4	3	3							4	1	3		
Ad Adolescentes	(627)	18	2		2	1	1	2					2						
In Mamantem	(244)	12	1	1	1	1				5		1	1	1			1		
Contra Sabellianos	(444)	6			2									1					

1069 metaphors in 46 Fourth-century sermons point to a frequent but not excessive recurrence to this figure. The 110 long metaphors and the 51 redundant metaphors indicate a greater predilection for the figure than the total of all the metaphors indicates, but again not an excessive use of the device, as that adjective would be understood by the Second Sophistic. The Sophistic manner is seen more in the development of the metaphor than in its frequency. The examples given show a well-defined tendency toward an elaborate and meticulous correspondence of the subjects of the comparison, on rare occasions a bent towards the dramatic, a very great fondness for the redundant exposition of the [same thought in metaphorical variations,⁶ an occasional, but only occasional, use of metaphors excessively long.

One of the noteworthy facts in the above table is the comparative infrequency of the so-called technical metaphors, i. e. those based on war, the stadium, the hippodrome, the sea. We have no statistics on the proportionate part these "technical figures" play in the sophists. We only know that a large part of the sophistic metaphors may be grouped in subject-matter under one or another of these four heads. This tells us nothing about the relative amount of other metaphors in the sophists. But despite this vagueness, this much may be drawn safely from the above table—that a large part, in fact most, of St. Basil's metaphors may not be grouped under one or another of these four heads. Only about one metaphor in every six may be so grouped. Almost equally striking is the infrequency of metaphors based on the hippodrome. To the sophists the hippodrome more than any other source furnishes sophistic metaphors. St. Gregory of Nazianzus⁷ is again a sophist in his wealth of such metaphors, St. John Chrysostom⁸ exhibits some very elaborate examples. St. Basil's use of the hippodrome is never remarkable and the instances are surprisingly few.

The practical use of the metaphor is seen in the not numerous but consistent use of personification; the Christian sources, in the metaphors based on the curing of souls, on a shepherd and

⁶ 51 examples of such a character clearly show this fondness.

⁷ Guignet, 143.

⁸ Ameringer, 61.

his flock, on spiritual debtors, on *οἰκῶν*. None of the above groups are very numerous and their combined totals are somewhat less than that of the technical figures.

A sophistic influence undoubted in manner can be traced through St. Basil's metaphors, but the most sophistic examples found do not equal the elaborateness of some of Méridier's⁹ and Ameringer's¹⁰ discoveries and do not suggest the occasional bad taste of Nyssa and Chrysostom. The more chastened treatment of Nazianzus at times outstrips the most sophistic efforts of Basil.¹¹ His most ambitious examples—In Princip. Proverb. 112D-113B and Quod Mundanis, 170B—are but further proof of a general characteristic so often noted in these pages—of a training deeply sophistic breaking through a determined moderation.

⁹ 109, 115.

¹⁰ 66.

¹¹ cf. Guignet, 155-156.

CHAPTER XII

THE COMPARISON

The comparison, like the metaphor, is an expression of a resemblance perceived by the writer or speaker between two objects. It draws largely on the same sources and is subject to the same rules. A good comparison may be turned into a metaphor, and a good metaphor may be turned into a comparison. Mechanically they differ. A comparison is a metaphor completed by a grammatical form that calls attention to the resemblance. In the metaphor this resemblance is implied. The context must be known before the figure is evident. In the comparison the word of comparison, usually the introductory word, warns us of the figure. The real strength of the metaphor lies in the striking, almost immediate illumination. If prolonged, it palls. It ceases to be useful and even ornamental. The comparison may develop its theme either briefly or at length. Its illumination may be either immediate or deliberate. If prolonged, it too becomes wearisome, but it allows a more elaborate development of its theme because of the clear-cut, easily grasped mechanics of its make-up.

In Isocrates' time the comparison began to assume a noticeable place in rhetoric, and those conditions in politics and literature that subsequently fostered the Isocratic tradition maintained the comparison, especially the elaborate comparison, in rhetoric. Its poetic kinship, its possibilities for elaborate display were not lost upon the sophists of the Empire. So striking a development in frequency and manner did the comparison receive in the sophistic schools of the Empire that, like metaphor, it merits a special chapter in a study of the rhetoric of either the sophists or their pupils.

All the sophistic comparisons may be divided into two main groups; those borrowed from natural phenomena and those borrowed from the technical arts. Because of its kinship with the metaphor we are not surprised to find that the divisions under these main groups include, among others, the same sources from which the sophistic metaphors were borrowed; i. e. military science, the sea, athletic games, the hippodrome. After taking notice of the comparison used as an introduction to sermons, we shall pass on to examples of the elaborate comparison, the redundant comparison, and then observe its use in the several sophistic categories.

One convention of the sophists was to begin a discourse occasionally with an elaborate comparison. The display of skill thus afforded was a kind of "try-out" for both speaker and auditors. Typical of this convention in the sermons is the following:—

—"At the athletic games the spectator himself must join the efforts of the contestants. This fact one gathers from the laws of the game which prescribe that all have the head uncovered when they gather in the stadium. The purpose of this law in my opinion is to see to it that each one be not a mere spectator of the contending athletes but that he be in a measure an athlete himself. Thus it is equally necessary that an investigator of the great and admirable spectacle of creation, a hearer of supreme and ineffable wisdom, bring a personal light for the contemplation of the wonders about to be detailed to you and that he be an ally with me to the utmost of his powers in this struggle wherein he is not so much judge as fellow-combatant, for fear lest the discovery of the truth pass beyond us and my error turn to the common prejudice."—Hex. 6, 49 E. Compare also Hex. 4, 33 A-C; Ps. 14, 107 B; De Jejunio 2, 10 D; Advers. Iratos, 83 A-B; In Ebriosos, 122 D; In Gordium, 141 D.

The structure of the comparison lends itself more easily than the metaphor to elaborate development. Basil's elaborate comparisons are far more numerous and more complex than his elaborate metaphors. From a great wealth of instances gathered from every sermon, random examples will illustrate his facility in justifying his frequently far-fetched resemblances.

—"For just as a potter, after having made with the same skill a great number of vessels, has not exhausted his skill nor his power; so the Artisan of the Universe, whose creative power is not co-extensive with one world, but extends to the infinite, through the impulse of his will alone brought the immensities of the visible world into being."—Hex. 1, 3 C.

—"He (i. e. God) wishes that we be attached to our neighbors by the claspings of love, like the tendrils of the vine, and that we take our rest on them, so that in our continual impulses towards heaven we may imitate those vines which raise themselves to the tops of the tallest trees."—Hex. 5, 46 A.

—"For just as a ball, when some one has pushed it and it comes upon an incline, is carried downward both because of its own form and because of the nature of the ground, not stopping until it reaches a level surface, so nature, impelled by one divine command, traverses creation with an equal step, through birth and destruction, maintaining the successions of kinds through resemblance, until it arrives at the end of all things."—Hex. 9, 81 A-B.

—"Just as the reed is the instrument of writing of the intelligent hand moving it to the expression of things written; so also the tongue of the just man, the Holy Spirit moving it, writes the words of eternal life upon the hearts of the faithful."—Ps. 44, 161 D-E.

—"For just as a bowman directs his arrow at the mark, if on neither side of the mean he follows the art of archery; so the judge aims at justice, not considering the personality involved, (for it is not well in passing sentence to know personally the one accused) nor acting on any prejudice, but laying down just and straightforward decisions."—In Princip. Proverb., 105 D.

—"Just as excessive brilliance dims the eyes and just as those who are startled by a sudden crash are made deaf, so these (i. e. drunkards) by their excessive indulgence destroy their pleasure."—In Ebriosos, 126 A.

—"And just as wicked and avaricious men, whose work and purpose is to grow wealthy at other men's expense but who are prevented from using open violence, are accustomed to lie in wait for their victims on the highways and if they observe in the

neighborhood any spot, either cut-off by deep gulleys or shaded with thick foliage, they betake themselves there and keep travellers from seeing afar off their hiding-places and then suddenly rush upon them and thus no traveller can see the meshes of peril before he falls into them; so he who has been bitter towards us from the beginning and is our enemy, hiding himself behind the shadows of this world's pleasures, which are usually well-adapted for concealing the robber and his attacks on the highway of life, unexpectedly and of a sudden, throws the meshes of destruction about us. Therefore, if we wish to run the road of this life in safety to the end and to offer our soul and body to Christ free from the wounds of shame, if we wish to receive the crowns of victory, we must ever be on the alert, training our eyes on everything. We must suspect all pleasing aspects and straightway pass them by and think not of them, not if gold were to appear on the highway, scattered before us and ready to be taken up by any one desiring it. (There follow five scriptural quotations, naming the sources of dangerous pleasure. Then St. Basil resumes the comparison proper.) For under all these things lurks our common enemy, waiting to see if, enticed by appearances, we shall leave the road of righteousness and approach his traps. And we ought especially to be wary lest, running upon these heedlessly and thinking that pleasure in their enjoyment is not harmful, we swallow the hook of guile concealed in the first tasting and then partly willingly, partly unwillingly, be dragged by them, even without our perceiving it, to the dread hospice of the robber-death."—*Quod Mundanis* 163B-164B. The research of the above comparisons, especially the last example, the far-fetched metaphors, the appeal to the provinces of war and athletics and fishing, the studied antonomasia, combine to produce a remarkable exhibition of sophistic eloquence.

The elaborate comparison is usually met with in examples which illustrate other characteristics, but the following places may be consulted for elaborateness alone:—Ps. 14, 108C—the farmer praying for rain and the usurer hoping for the poverty of his neighbor—; Ps. 14, 112B—man with the cholera always emitting what he has swallowed and promptly eating again, and debtors running through one loan and seeking another—;

Ps. 28, 119D-E—the cedars of Lebanon prominent on a high mount and those men who are made prominent through earthly works alone—; Ps. 32, 139A-B—those who write on wax first make it smooth, and the heart, before receiving divine reasonings, necessarily cleared of human—; Ps. 33, 149B—fastidious diners, whose appetites are sharpened by an actual trial of a disdained food, and those who, at first indifferent to the word of God, long for it more and more, after one experience of its spiritual joy—; Ps. 33, 157A—bones of the body that prop up the soft flesh and men strong in the faith propping up the weak in the church; De Jejuniō 2, 12B-C—the difference between the instruments of war and those of faith, and the difference between the food of the soldiers of this world and that of the soldiers of Christ.

Redundancy—the heaping of figures around one theme—is not so marked in St. Basil's comparisons as in his metaphors. Most of the examples found were of the two-fold variety and therefore not particularly striking. No examples were found in the *Hexaëmeron*.

—"Just as the eagle is called *ἀγίος* because of its distance from the earth; and the sheep, because of its gentleness and kindness; and the ram, because of its leadership; and the dove, because of its innocence, so the hind is called *ἀγίος* because of its hostility to what is baneful."—Ps. 28, 121E.

—"Just as smoke puts bees to flight and ill smells rout doves, so sin drives away the angels guardian of our life."—Ps. 33, 148C-D.

—"Play your part like a noble athlete who shows his strength and courage not only in buffeting his adversaries but also in withstanding the blows inflicted by them in turn; and like a pilot, who, prudent and undisturbed because of his deep knowledge of sailing, keeps his mind straight and safe and above every peril."—In *Julittam*, 37C.—"Angry people go mad like dogs, dart like scorpions, bite like snakes."—*Advers. Iratos*, 83D.—"Just as vultures are attracted toward the stinking, passing by the sweet fields, and just as flies, passing by cleanliness, are attracted towards wounds, so the envious look not on the glorious aspects of life, but concentrate upon the rotten."—*De Invidia*, 95B.—(describing Barlaam in torture) "Rejoicing in dangers as if in crowns, pleased with the blows

as if they were honors, leaping with joy at the harsher tortures as if they were prizes more illustrious, embracing the block of punishment as if it were a means to safety, thinking the hands of the executioner softer than wax, rejoicing in the confines of the prison as if in meadows, gladdened by the instruments of torture as if by flowers."—In Barlaam, 140A-B. The extravagance of the above example is also sophistic in the far-fetched appeal to aspects of nature.

For further examples of redundant comparisons compare Ps. 1, 91 E—the foundations of a house, the keel of a ship, the heart of a person are compared to the prooemium of the psalms; Ps. 1, 92 A—comparison of the inn for the weary traveller, wealth for the merchant, harvest for the hard-working farmer with promises of the gospel to those fighting spiritual battles; Ps. 48, 185 B—comparison of the baseness of man to a lust-mad horse, the thieving wolf, the knavish fox.; In Julittam, 41 C-D—comparison of the physician who, instead of curing others, becomes ill himself; of the pilot who, instead of guiding his ship, himself becomes sea-sick to people who instead of giving consolation, themselves mourn.

Turning from the methods of development that show sophistic influence, we may find in the sophistic categories a further index of the extent of this influence on his comparisons.

THE SUN.

The sun is not a favorite source of sophistic comparisons for St. Basil. The following are typical instances of its infrequent occurrence.

—"For just as the sun has arisen but not for bats nor other creatures that feed by night, so the light is in its own nature radiant, but not all share in its radiance."—Ps. 33, 147 A.

—"Just as the sun, shining on bodies and variously shared by them, is not diminished by those who share it, so the Spirit, furnishing its own grace to all, remains undiminished and undivided."—De Fide, 133 B.

—"If a man strives to examine the sun closely, he will not see it. Some such thing I expect my mind to experience, striving to make an accurate examination of the words, 'In the beginning was the Word'."—In Princip. erat V., 134 D.

THE STARS.

As a source of comparisons, the stars were found only once in the sermons.—“Look to the sun of righteousness and, guided by the commandments, as if by the stars shining around, keep your eye sleepless.”—In Princip. Proverb., 113 A.

THE SEA, RIVERS, NAVIGATION.

The sea has a fascination for St. Basil. Beautiful scenes are often suggested by his use of this sophistic source. Picturesque emphasis is also attained.

—“And yet our thought, having come in contact with these innumerable marvels, has utterly forgotten all proportion and we experience the same fortune as they who navigate the seas without a fixed point to mark their course and know not how much space they have traversed.”—Hex. 7, 69 C.

—“For just as those who are asleep on boats are carried by the wind towards port straightway and, even if the sleepers do not perceive it, are being hurried to their journey’s end, so also we, while the time of our life is flowing by, are hurried, each of us, by a continuous unceasing movement, on an unknown course, to our life’s end.”—Ps. 1, 94 C.

—“But just as those who stand upon the shore do not loose their own security while they suffer for those who are drowning, so those who weep over the sins of their neighbors, destroy their own contentment not at all.”—De Grat. Act., 28 C-D.

—“Just as a transit through a rich land is given to a great river by means of many canals, so are you too, if you allow your wealth to be split up into countless avenues leading to the homes of the poor.”—In Illud Lucae, 48 A.

—“... the mind as if a pilot, seated high above the passions and mounted on the ship of the flesh.”—In Princip. Proverb., 111 E.

—“One who has sailed straight in the commerce of the commandments is like a wealthy merchant who, joyful in the abundance of his goods while his ship sails with a favoring wind, later sails in a sea of terror and his ship is torn to pieces at the harbor’s mouth and he is stripped of all his possessions. Like such a one is the pious man who, after many labors, has

acquired a spiritual treasure and looses it all to one assault of the devil, drowned in sin, as it were, by an angry hurricane."—In Princip. Proverb., 112C.

Somewhat ludicrous to Western ears is the following elaboration:—

—"For just as mountain-torrents, as long as winter streams flow into them seem full but when the exundation has passed, are dry, so the mouths of these drunkards, while the wine forms a pool, seem full, but soon are dry and without moisture."—In Ebriosos, 126D-E.

—"For just as those on the sea, when they ride between two anchors, condemn the tempest, so will you laugh at this wicked storm (which has struck the life of man with blasts of infamy and which disturbs the faith of many), if in the security of these words you keep your soul in harbor."—In Princip. erat V., 136A-B.

—"But the just man (i. e. Job) like a promontory stood, accepting the buffets of the storm and changing into foam the force of the waves, and he cried out to the Lord that gracious sentence, 'The Lord has given, the Lord has taken away. As the Lord wills it, so let it be'."—Quod Mundanis, 171C.

Compare also Hex. 4, 39D-E—comparison of the assembly of the church in which Basil is preaching to the ocean; Hex. 4, 39E—comparison of the voices of men to waves beating on the shore; Ps. 33, 149E—comparison of the uncertainties of wealth to the uncertainties of the waves whipped by the winds; Ps. 61, 198A—comparison of the flux of wealth to the flow of a swift torrent; De Jejunio 1, 3D-E—comparison of a heavily-fed body to an over-crowded ship; Attende Tibiipsi, 16D—comparison of the carriage of thought by speech to transportation on a ferry-boat; In Divites, 55D—comparison of the action of a storm on sail-ropes to the results of the captious ways of wives upon their husbands; In Princip. erat V., 136E—comparison of the heart of man to a fountain.

AGRICULTURE, GARDENING.

—"Let no one who has passed his time in sin despair of himself when he recalls that if husbandry changes the juices of plants, the efforts of the soul towards virtue can conquer all infirmities."—Hex. 5, 46E.

—"As mildew is the disease of grain, so envy is the disease of friendship."—*De Invidia*, 94C.

—"Just as the virtue proper to the tree is to blossom with the season's fruit and just as the tree bears a decoration of leaves that wave around the branches, so preeminently the fruit of the soul is truth."—*Ad Adolescentes*, 175 B-C. Compare also *In Illud Lucae*, 45D—the benefits of sown grain for the sower are compared to those of alms-giving for the giver; *In Fam. et Siccit.*, 69E—comparison of eyes lying glassy in their sockets to fruit frozen in the sheaths of hard-shelled coverings.

ANIMALS.

Animals are not a favorite standard of comparison in the sermons.

—"How have not they who give themselves over to empty wisdom the eyes of owls. For the sight of the owl, so piercing during the night time, is dazzled by the shining sun and the intelligence of these men is sharpest in the contemplation of vanities, but is blinded in trying to perceive true light."—*Hex.* 8, 77D.

—"As a dog follows a shepherd, so wrath follows a reasonable man."—*Advers. Iratos*, 88D.

—"Why do you shrink from the yoke of baptism like a young calf unused to the yoke of the stable?"—*In Sanct. Baptisma*, 114D.

—"Just as the polypod, they say, adapts its coat to the color of the surrounding earth, so the popularity-seeker tunes his opinions to the thought of those around him."—*Ad Adolescentes*, 184A.

Compare also *Hex.* 9, 87E—enraged Jews are compared to animals vainly raging in their cages; *Ps.* 33, 155E—comparison of those hurled to earth by sin to crawling serpents; *Ps.* 48, 186B—comparison of a fallen man snatched away by the devil to a sheep without a shepherd; *De Invidia*, 91C—comparison of envy destroying the soul to vipers who tear their mother on being born; *In Princip. Proverb.*, 103E—comparison of a deceiving hypocrite to a deceitful fox, hares, and dogs.

FIRE.

Figures based on fire are very few in the sermons despite the obvious opportunity for rhetorical pyrotechnics that would thus be afforded. This category is almost negligible in the sermons.

—"Pain tries the soul as fire does gold."—In *Fam. et Siccit.*, 67E. Compare *Ps.* 7, 105D—comparison of fire created for burning wood to arrows of God created for souls spiritually burning.

CLOUDS.

The clouds form another insignificant category in the sermons.

—"Just as a cloud becomes a shower of rain, so the vapor, gathering (about the eye), becomes a tear."—*De Grat. Act.*, 29D-E.

—"Sadness, like a heavy cloud, enveloped everything."—In *Gordium*, 144A.

WAR.

Metaphors drawn from war are more numerous in the sermons than comparisons derived from that source. Not an example was found in the *Hexaëmeron*. The examples are mostly commonplace.

—"Just as men thrown about the walls of a city insure protection on every side against the enemy, so the angel fortifies your soul in front and in the rear, and on neither side leaves it unguarded."—*Ps.* 33, 148E.

—"For just as a general equipped with a strong force of soldiers is always ready to go to the aid of any part of his army hard-pressed, so God is our helper. He is the ally of any one fighting against the cunning of the devil, dispatching ministering spirits for the security of those needing them."—*Ps.* 45, 171D-E.

—"Just as in a battle to join one portion of the line makes another portion weaker, so a man who allies himself with the flesh destroys the spirit, and he who crosses over to the spirit reduces the flesh to servitude."—*De Jejuniis* 1, 8B.

—"For just as arrows hurled with great force are turned back upon the thrower when they hit a hard substance, so the motions of jealousy, in no wise hurting the object of jealousy, become plagues to the envious."—*De Invidia*, 94D.

—"Our soul's wrath is fit and useful for many works of virtue, when, like a soldier, having deposited its arms with its commander, it brings aid to whatsoever it is commanded, and is an ally to reason against sin."—Advers. Iratos, 88C.

Compare also Ps. 7, 104C—a psalmist is compared to a warrior seeking help; Ps. 28, 116C—the Lord and the devil alternately victorious compared to two generals alternately victors; Ps. 45, 170D—a troubled soul rushing to God for consolation compared to a man rushing to a high-walled place for safety; Advers. Iratos, 85C—insults are compared to falling arrows; In Princip. Proverb., 108C—words of scripture likened to armor for life's struggles; In Ebriosos, 128C—drunken youths are likened to a man wounded in war.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

Scarcely more fruitful than fire, animals, and clouds as a source of comparisons are musical instruments. In Hex. 9, 86D the sting of a scorpion is likened to that of a hollow flute, and in Ps. 29, 130E occurs:—"The flute is a musical instrument employing wind as its co-worker in the production of melody. Wherefore I think that every holy prophet may be figuratively styled a flute, because of the movement of the Holy Spirit within him."—This amazing comparison depends upon a pun contained in the double meaning of *πνεύματι*. As such it is an excellent example of sophistic extravagance despite biblical parallels.

PAINTING AND SCULPTURE.

Painting and Sculpture are a category dear to the sophists. Six examples were found in the sermons.—"And somehow we seem to resemble painters. For they, whenever they copy one painting from another, probably fall far short of the original and, since we did not see the events which we are about to narrate, there is not a little danger lest we fall short of the truth."—In Gordium, 143B.—"He who conforms by his actions to the philosophy that in other men exists in words only, alone is wise. Other men are truly gliding shadows. And this to me seems somewhat as if a painter had represented his subject as a marvel of manly beauty and he then proved to be in reality what the artist had painted him on the canvas."—Ad

Adolescentes, 178B-C.—“And Milo was not wrenched from his anointed shield but stood his ground no less valiantly than statues mortised in lead.”—Ad Adolescentes, 180B. Compare also De Invidia, 95C—envious people and their outlook on life are compared to wretched painters, who, from the distorted aspects of nature, gather the forms for their pictures; In XL Martyres, 149D—Basil’s manner of describing the martyrdom of the Forty is compared to the tale told by a picture; Ad Adolescentes, 179A—Socrates, in writing a sentence on the forehead of the man who is buffetting him, is likened to an artist putting an inscription on a statue. Although few in number, the unjustified resemblances above invoked reveal a significant trace of sophistic rhetoric.

THE DRAMA.

The drama contributes to four of St. Basil’s comparisons. —“An actor is one who assumes in the theater a personality differing from his own: if he is a slave, oft-times taking the part of the master; if a private citizen, assuming the role of the king. And so in this life as on the stage, most men play the actor, bearing one sort of standards in their hearts and exhibiting another sort to their fellows.”—De Jejuniis 1, 2D. —“And just as peculiar are the conventions and trappings of tragedy wherewith men invest the theater, so you think that mourning too has a proper mode.”—De Grat. Act., 31A. —“The angry man shows his wrath in his altered appearance, changing his customary demeanor like an actor on the stage.”—Advers. Iratos, 84C. —“For to praise virtue in the assembly and to stretch out long orations about her, but in private life to prefer indulgence to self-denial and gainfulness to justice, I would liken to those who enact dramas on the stage; who often enter as kings and rulers, although they are neither kings nor rulers nor perhaps free men even.”—Ad Adolescentes, 178C.

ATHLETICS.

Again from the province of athletics St. Basil has no comparisons in the Hexaëmeron and very few examples elsewhere. Of their sophistic quality, however, there can be no doubt.

—"No boxer so eagerly avoids the blows of his opponent as the debtor avoids meeting his creditor."—Ps. 14, 111 C-D.

—"For in reality, afflictions like certain kinds of athletic nourishment and exercises, are for those well-prepared and instructed, and they lead the athlete toward ancestral glory."—Ps. 33, 143 E to 144 A.

—"He who says that tribulation does not befit a just man says nothing else than that an antagonist is not a proper object for an athlete."—Ps. 33, 156 A-B.

—"The leaders of this age . . . were disturbed at the fortitude of Christ, which he displayed in his struggle on the cross against him who has command over death. For stripped like a noble athlete, he over-came the magistracies and authorities."—Ps. 45, 172 E.

—"Perceiving himself, like an athlete, sufficiently exercised and anointed for the contest by fastings, vigils, prayers, continuous and unceasing meditations on the oracles of the Holy Spirit, he waited for that day when the whole city, about to celebrate the feast of the war-god and witness chariot-races, gathered in the theater."—In Gordium, 144 D-E.

—"Just as those in the stadium who are approaching for the contest proclaim their names and forthwith advance to the place of conflict, so too these, casting aside the names assigned to them from their nativity, each named himself after the name of the our common savior."—In XL Martyres, 151 A.

Compare also Ps. 29, 125 D-E—God lifting up a sinner is likened to a man saving a wrestler about to fall; De Grat. Act., 27 C—a veteran athlete closing bravely with his antagonist and a zealous Christian cheerfully enduring hardships are compared.

CHARIOT RACES.

Chariot races are almost negligible as a source of comparisons in St. Basil's sermons. In *Ad Adolescentes*, 182 D a man given over to his pleasures is likened to a charioteer dragged off by his unrestrained horses. This was the only figure found bearing directly on the subject of chariot races. That so popular a category receives such scant treatment from St. Basil is remarkable.

Beyond the sophistic categories there are other groups of

comparisons numerous enough to call for some attention. Most of what follows is probably to be traced to Christian influences.

MEDICINE AND DISEASE.

A small number of examples were found outside the *Hexaëmeron*.

—"Just as if a physician coming to those who are ill, instead of restoring them to health, should take away the feeble traces of their strength, so you too (i. e. the usurer) would make the mishaps of the wretched an occasion of gain."—Ps. 14, 108B-C.

—"Just as a physician is a benefactor, even if he creates pains or labors in his patient, (for he is fighting the disease and not the patient) so God is good, achieving the safety of all of us through particular punishments."—*Deus non est auct.*, 74D.

—"Just as in the precepts of physicians, whenever they are formulated accurately and in accordance with the rules of the art, their utility is demonstrated through experience, so in spiritual exhortations, when the warnings have results bearing testimony to their truth, then their wisdom and usefulness for correcting and perfecting the lives of the faithful are revealed."—*Advers. Iratos*, 83A-B.

—"Perhaps just as in pestilential diseases the guardians of bodies fortify those who are well with certain preventatives but do not place their hands on those overcome by the disease, so this sermon will be useful for some of you as a safeguard and antidote for the spiritually sound, but not a relief for those spiritually sick."—In *Ebriosos*, 124A-B. Compare also Ps. 32, 135A—God's attitude toward sinners is compared to a physician trying to reduce a patient's swelling by gentle treatments and finally applying the knife; *Deus non est auct.*, 80E—habits begun in evil generating evil in our souls are compared to breath gradually inhaled producing a lurking disease; In *Ebriosos*, 126C-D—comparison of drunkards to those suffering from phrenitis.

HIGHWAYS.

—"We are forgetful like travellers who, unmindful of some important object, are obliged, though far on their journey, to

retrace their steps, punished for their negligence by the labor of the return." (St. Basil has forgotten part of his theme)—Hex. 8, 72A. Compare also In Julittam, 38D-E—the goal of married life is compared to the goal of a journey; Quod Mundanis, 164B-C—the efforts of Christians on the road of this life are compared to travellers girding themselves for the journey and reducing their baggage as much as possible.

MISCELLANEOUS.

—"Just as one who knows not a town is taken by the hand and led through it, thus I am going to lead you, as strangers, through the mysterious wonders of this great city of the universe."—Hex. 6, 50B.

—"For just as the bodily vestment is woven of warp and weft, so if good deeds follow exhortations, a most reverent garment is woven for the soul of him whose life is filled with virtuous words and deeds."—Ps. 44, 168D-E.

—"For just as in the case of our bodily eyes great distances cloud the comprehension of those objects that fall within the eye's scope, but the approach of the observers makes clear the recognition of the objects of observation, so in the mind's contemplation, he who does not join himself through good works to God nor approach Him, cannot perceive His works with the pure eyes of the intellect."—Ps. 45, 175A.

—"For just as a shadow follows the body, so does sin follow the soul."—In Divites, 58C.

—"Let the passions be ashamed before your reason, even as mischievous boys before venerable men."—Advers. Iratos, 88B.

—"Just as small boys who are negligent in their studies become more attentive after they have been flogged by their teacher, and just as they do not hear the instruction before the flogging but after it receive and remember instruction as if their ears had been opened, so those who neglect divine doctrine also spurn divine precepts."—In Princip. Proverb., 101D-E.

FREQUENCY OF COMPARISON IN THE SERMONS

(to which is added a classification according to subject-matter of the categories most frequently represented).

			Short Comparison	Long Comparison	Redundant Comparison	Sun	Stars	Sea	Agriculture	Animals	Fire	Clouds	War	Musical Instruments	Painting etc.	Drama	Athletics	Charlot Races	Medicines	Highways
Hex. 1	(530)	8 2						1												1
" 2	(507)	6				1														
" 3	(565)	8 1						1												
" 4	(398)	4 4						2		1										
" 5	(570)	9 3						1 4												
" 6	(746)	7 4				1				1										
" 7	(425)	8 3				1		5 1	2											
" 8	(572)	8 5							4											1
" 9	(507)	8 8						3	4					1						
Ps. 1	(449)	4 5 2						1	2		1									1
" 7	(541)	8 4									1		2						2	
" 14	(372)	10 9							7								2		1	
" 28	(636)	5 4 1						1 1	2				1							
" 29	(418)	1 6						1 1	1					1			1			
" 32	(651)	9 3						1	2				1						1	
" 33	(963)	15 11 1 2						1	4				1				3			1
" 44	(687)	4 3							1					1						
" 45	(407)	5 4											5				1			
" 48	(682)	4	1							4										
" 59	(242)	1 2																		
" 61	(336)	5 1 1						2 1					1							
" 114	(276)	1 1							1											1
De Jejunio 1	(475)	16 5						3	1		2	1	1			1			1	1
" " 2	(330)	10 8							1				4						2	
Attende Tibiipsi	(480)	12 4						3	4								1		2	
De Grat. Act.	(459)	15 6						2 1			1	1				1	1			
In Julittam	(580)	2 5 2						1	1	1							1			
In Illud Lucae	(406)	5 5						4 1					2				1			
In Divites	(601)	9 3 1						3											1	
In Fam. et Siocit.	(584)	19 4 1						3 1 3				1					1			
Deus non est auct.	(598)	5 5						1	1			1								4
Advers. Iratos	(452)	27 5 1						6	8	2		4				1			2	
De Invidia	(359)	11 2 1						4	2	1		2		1					1	
InPrincip.Proverb.	(895)	28 8				1	14		2			1							1	
In Sanct. Baptisma	(522)	4 7						2	3			1								
In Ebriosos	(423)	19 8						8 1	4			1							2	
De Fide	(185)	5 2			1			1		1	1									
In Princip. erat V.	(248)	5 4			1			2 2					2				2			
In Berlaam	(141)	4	1																	

		Short Comparison	Long Comparison	Redundant Comparison	Sun	Stars	Sea	Agriculture	Animals	Fire	Clouds	War	Musical Instruments	Painting etc.	Drama	Athletics	Chariot Races	Medicine	Highways
In Gordium	(425)	12	3		1		3	1		1	1			1		1			
In XL Martyres	(392)	11	2				1			1		4		1		1			
De Humilitate	(353)	7					1												
Quod Mundanis	(683)	9	5				4		1	1		1				1		1	3
Ad Adolescentes	(627)	28	6	2			5	3	6			1		3	1	1	1		1
In Mamantem	(244)	2					1		1										
Contra Sabellianos	(444)	8																	

On the three counts of abundance, variety, and elaborateness St. Basil reveals his sophistic training. While 582 examples constitute a moderate use of the figure, this conclusion is changed somewhat by the facts that the distribution of the comparisons is very uneven, as a glance at the table shows, and that the long, elaborate comparisons are almost one-third of the total. The prominence of the long comparison is not surprising in view of the untrammelled development which the figure allows. The insignificant number of redundant comparisons is an unlooked-for result. This very sophistic trait is less pronounced here than in his use of the metaphor. St. Basil is more emphatically sophistic in the variety of his figures. While not all nor nearly all of his comparisons fall under the conventional categories, a majority of them do (about three-fifths). In any case St. Basil's themes are not taken from a great variety of subjects. In both of these facts he resembles, only to a lesser degree, the sophists and his Christian contemporaries. It is in the elaboration of his comparisons that St. Basil comes closest to the sophists. The studied correspondence of details; the frequently unjustified resemblances; the pictures of beautiful or stirring scenes included or suggested by the comparisons, particularly those based on the sea; the comparison used as an introduction to sermons—some of these are evident in every type of sermon and in almost every theme that invoked the figure.

But not even so may St. Basil be called excessive in his use of the figure. The Hexaëmeron exhibits a great scarcity of

comparisons clearly sophistic. The homilies on the psalms are more prolific, but 65 examples are not many in so ample a space of text. Two-thirds of the sophistic comparisons are to be found in the last 24 homilies. In many sermons, therefore, St. Basil is rather indifferent to the conventional forms. Moreover, unlike Gregory of Nyssa¹, Gregory of Nazianzus,² or John Chrysostom³ St. Basil's comparisons, so far as I have observed, rarely exist entirely for themselves. They may be developed to unnecessary lengths; they may be far-fetched, bizarre, puerile; the resemblance asserted may be entirely unwarranted, the element of display may be only too obvious, but behind even the most studied and unjustified of them, the didactic purpose is evident. The love of display does not obscure the longing to instruct forcefully and picturesquely. A thorough sophist in his materials and in his use of them, St. Basil turns his pagan resources to Christian purposes. This purpose may be discerned even in his most astonishing comparisons. His sophistic training had been too thorough for him to perceive clearly the boundaries of propriety and it confined him too closely to its deeply grooved conventions for him to seek elsewhere often the illumination necessary for presenting a theme. But not even this close relationship leads him into that consistent extravagance that is summed up in the word "excessive".

¹ Méridier, 188.

² Guignet, 186.

³ Ameringer 85.

CHAPTER XIII

ECPHRASIS¹

In many metaphors and comparisons presented in the preceding chapters, the very categories to which they belong suggest, however remotely, a picture. War, the sea, the race-course, the highway, the arts, all contain materials capable of graphic development. In the more ambitious attempts of Basil, especially in his figures drawn from the sea, a picture is presented to the mind—the lofty promontory turning the anger of the sea into whitest foam, the endless succession of waves sweeping over the beach, the struggle of a ship in a storm. The vividness, the studied amassing of details, which the sophistic training fostered in metaphors and comparisons, inevitably produced graphic descriptions in orators keenly responsive to pagan standards. This love for the picturesque which the later rhetoric carried to such extremes was not satisfied by even so untrammelled a figure as the sophistic comparison. Accordingly it developed a new device, described at length in the rhetoricians and receiving its name from them.² The ecphrasis aimed to portray a proper object in such elaborate and forceful detail that a vivid picture resulted in the minds of the audience. Such a picture might have little to do with the development of the subject under discussion, for the audiences of the Fourth Century loved ecphrasis for its own sake. A sophist, therefore, on a very thin pretense, frequently turned aside from the main current of his theme to paint a word-picture drawn from some one of the categories established for the device by convention. These included various

¹ Selections from the *Hexaëmeron* in this chapter are taken from Jackson's translation.

² cf. *Rhetores Graeci* III, 491-3.

aspects of nature as seen in the sea, mountains, meadows, caves, seasons, birds, animals, distant prospects, rivers, vineyards, the human body; various works of art such as paintings, monuments, temples, statues, gardens, feasts. Almost all of these categories are found in one or another of the Fathers of the Fourth Century.³ But in St. Gregory of Nazianzus and in St. John Chrysostom and, to a less extent, in St. Gregory of Nyssa the province of ecphrasis is enlarged. Like much else in the pagan heritage, it becomes ancillary to Christian projects. Biblical scenes, the sufferings of the martyrs, the grandeur of creation, descriptions of churches—objects whose forceful presentation calls forth feelings of reverence and pious enthusiasm—are added to the well-worn themes of paganism.

St. Basil acknowledges the utility of the ecphrasis in the introductory sentences of his panegyric on the Forty Martyrs.⁴ "Come let us recall thus publicly the deeds of these men and confer the benefits to be derived from them on those here present by describing their courageous exploits, as if in a picture. Orators and painters describe great deeds of war; the one group setting them forth in words, the other depicting them on canvasses, and both groups incite many men to courage. For what the word of narrative gives us through the ear, the silent painting tells us through imitation. Thus let us recall to the audience the prowess of these men and in causing their deeds to pass before the eyes of the spectators, so to speak, let us move the nobler souls, those more akin to the martyrs, to emulation." This utility we expect to find illustrated frequently in St. Basil. What is the manner of his ecphrasis and what proportion do the edifying or instructive ecphrases of Christianity bear to those peculiarly pagan?

DESCRIPTIONS OF PERSONS.

The sophists delighted in ecphrases of physical beauty, especially of young men and young women carried off by death. The details of such descriptions are always the same. The person described is merely an occasion for indulging in some

³ cf. Delahaye, 214; Méridier, 141; Guignet, 189; Ameringer, 86-87.

⁴ 149 D—150 A.

readily recognized commonplaces, extravagant and full of false pathos. Ecphrases of persons are relatively rare in the Fathers.⁵ Earthly beauty thus idealized is not in harmony with Christian thought. The pages of Basil's sermons yield no examples revealing the genuine sophistic spirit. The ecphrasis of St. Gordius, as he burst in upon the amphitheater, and of a human body suffering from the famine in Cappadocia are his only descriptions of persons, and the latter is a type rather than an individual. Both descriptions are ugly. Neither approaches remotely the true sophistic manner.

—"Famine dries up the natural moisture, it chills the natural heat, it reduces the body's bulk. It wears away its strength. The flesh is stretched over the bones like a spider's web. The color is gone. The red is gone, since the blood has wasted away. The white does not remain, since the surface of the body is blackened in its thinness. Livid is the body, its pallor and blackness commingled from disease. The knees no longer carry, but are themselves dragged along and with difficulty. The voice is thin and feeble; the eyes are glassy in their sockets, to no purpose stored up in their cases like fruits frozen in their skins."—In *Fam. et Siccit.*, 69 D-E.

—"Straightway the theater turned upon this unlooked—for spectacle: a man savage in appearance; his head squalid through his prolonged sojourn in the mountains; his beard long; his clothing slovenly; his whole body become a skeleton. He carried a staff and was equipped with a pouch. To all these parts there clung a spirituality, illuminating his person from an unseen source."—In *Gordium*, 145 B-C.

THE SEA.

The sea, which played so prominently and vividly in St. Basil's metaphors and comparisons, is also represented in a few ecphrases and suggestions of that device. The first of the following is a mere suggestion.

—"Thus we often see the furious sea raising mighty waves to heaven, and, when once it has touched the shore, break its impetuosity in foam and retire."—*Hex.* 4, 35 B. A poetic

⁵ Delahaye, 214.

quality characterizes the following ecphrasis in the same sermon.

—"A fair sight is the sea, all bright in a settled calm; fair too, when ruffled by a light breeze of wind, its surface shows tints of purple and azure,—when, instead of lashing with violence the neighboring shores, it seems to kiss them with peaceful caresses."—Hex. 4, 38 D-E. In the following argumentative passage is a brief but vivid picture.—"If, from the top of a commanding rock looking over the wide sea, you cast your eyes over the vast expanse, how big the greatest islands appear to you? How large did one of those barks of great tonnage, which unfurl their white sails to the blue sea, appear to you?"—Hex. 6, 59 C. A brief suggestion of the sea's changing moods is held out by the following parenthesis.—"For you behold the sea, now calm and still, after a space stirred up by violent winds, and even while it rages and tosses about, a deep calm quickly spreads over it."—In Princip. Proverb., 111 B. These are the utmost that the sermons of Basil yield in descriptions of the sea. The best example is very brief, but enough is revealed in the above quotations to show Basil's graphic skill, to give a hint of what might have been if he had chosen to indulge his known predilection for maritime scenery.

WAR.

The category of war gives one brief hint of ecphrasis:—"Imagine, I pray you, a city engaged by besieging enemies. Many nations are now investing her, and kings who divide by lot the sceptres of nations. Then a general, invincible in resources, suddenly appears bearing aid to this city. He breaks up the siege. He scatters the assembly of the nations. He puts the kings to flight by merely crying out on them with all his might. He terrifies their hearts by the strength of his voice. What confusion does he certainly stir up, with the nations pursued and the kings in headlong flight? What an unceasing noise and uproar rolls up the disorder of their retreat? Are not all places choked up with those who flee through fear? Even to the cities and villages, which on every side receive them, the commotion spreads."—Ps. 45, 174 C-D.

VARIOUS ASPECTS OF NATURE AND THE UNIVERSE.

A touch of ecphrasis is seen in the following sweeping view of creation:—"Shall we not rather stand around the vast and varied workshop of divine creation and, carried back in mind to the times of old, shall we not view all the order of creation? Heaven poised like a dome, to quote the words of the prophet; earth, this immense mass which rests upon itself, and the air around it, of a soft and fluid nature, a true and continual nourishment for all who breathe it, of such tenuity that it yields and opens at the least movement of the body, opposing no resistance to our motions, while, in a moment, it streams back to its place behind those who cleave it; water, finally that supplies drink for man or may be designed for other needs, and the marvellous gathering together of it into definite places which have been assigned to it: such is the spectacle which the words just read will show you."—Hex. 4, 33 C-D.—Here was an opportunity for a gorgeous ecphrasis, wherein sophistic display and Christian reverence for the handiwork of God could blend readily. St. Basil gives us only a sketch. A like splendid prospect merely outlined by St. Basil is his brief description of the concourse of heaven at the conclusion of In Sanct. Baptisma, 122 C:—"There the unnumbered host of the angels, the assemblies of the first-born, the thrones of the apostles, the seats of the prophets, the sceptres of the patriarchs, the crowns of the martyrs, the praises of the just."

A nearer approach to the sophistic ecphrasis is the brief and vivid description of the earth's first harvest before the Fall of Man, Hex. 5, 44 C-D:—"In a moment earth began by germination to obey the laws of the creator, completed every stage of growth, and brought germs to perfection. The meadows were covered with deep grass, the fertile plains quivered with harvests and the movement of the corn was like the waving of the sea. Every plant, every herb, the smallest shrub, the least vegetable, arose from the earth in all its luxuriance."—Less effective but equally capable of sophistic treatment is the account of the growth of fruit at the words of the Creator.—"Immediately the tops of the mountains were covered with foliage; paradises were artfully laid out, and an infinitude of

plants embellished the banks of the rivers. Some were for the adornment of man's table; some to nourish animals with their fruits and their leaves; some to provide medical help by giving us their sap, their juice, their chips, their bark, or fruit."—Hex. 5, 48 E. Still another index of St. Basil's possibilities with the same theme is the following brief outline of natural beauties:—

—"For the proper and natural adornment of the earth is its completion: corn waving in the valleys—meadows green with grass and rich with many—coloured flowers—fertile glades and hill-tops shaded by forests."—Hex. 2, 15 B. Of similar themes, whose possibilities St. Basil seems to appreciate, but leaves undeveloped, may be mentioned: Hex. 2, 19 A—of light as it first flashed through the universe; Hex. 3, 27 E-28 B—the rivers of the earth; Hex. 5, 44 E-45 A—the first development of flowers, trees, plants; Hex. 6, 50 B—stars of the night and light by day; Hex. 6, 50 E—the sun; Hex. 9, 82 E—oxen in their stalls; De Fide 131 C-E—grand prospect of the earth.

The foregoing exhaust the categories of ecphrasis purely pagan. St. Basil shows an indifference to them that is remarkable even for one of his restrained nature. Of aspects of nature favored by the sophists such as caves, seasons, birds, animals, rivers, vineyards; of works of arts such as paintings, monuments, temples, statues, gardens, we are given not a taste, although many of the first group lay directly in the path of his sermon's development and any of the second group could readily have been incorporated in that loose arrangement of subject-matter permitted in the conventions of Second Sophistic rhetoric. In the sophistic categories used by him, how frequently I have mentioned sketches and hints rather than ecphrasis proper! When we consider the unlimited opportunities for the device offered by the *Hexaëmeron*'s theme, alike from the standpoint of sophistic love of grand prospects and that of the Christian's admiration for the story of the Creation, St. Basil's reticence stands out uniquely among his contemporaries.⁶ The ecphrases and hints of ecphrasis found in the above examples

⁶ Méridier, 142-144; 147-150; Guignet, 188-191; 192-193; 195-196; Ameringer, 87-91; 94-96.

testify unmistakably to descriptive powers of a high order. That St. Basil did not employ them amid such rich opportunities further re-inforces that characteristic of restraint which this study has thus far found to be the chief trait of his St. Basil's rhetoric.

Turning to fields not strictly pagan, we strike a richer vein. The examples found here roughly divide into descriptions of victims of vice, descriptions of repugnance or terror, and the struggles of the martyrs. All have to do with the office of preaching and St. Basil acknowledges the efficacy of vivid portrayals⁷ as a stimulus to the emulation of noble deeds. How far does the sophistic manner contribute to such vividness in his sermons?

VICTIMS OF VICE.

Two men are thus described in a passage devoted to the exposition of the uncertainties of material prosperity,⁸ in *Hex.* 5, 41 D-42 A.—“Truly the rapid flow of life, the short gratification and pleasure that an instant of happiness gives a man, all wonderfully suit the comparison of the prophet. To-day he is vigorous in body, fattened by luxury, and in the prime of life, with complexion fair like the flowers, strong and powerful and of irresistible energy; to-morrow and he will be an object of pity, withered by age or exhausted by sickness. Another shines in all the splendor of a brilliant fortune, and around him are a multitude of flatterers, an escort of false friends on the track of his good graces; a crowd of kinsfolk; but no true kin; a swarm of servants who crowd after him to provide for his food and for all his needs; and in his comings and goings this innumerable suite, which he drags after him, excites the envy of all whom he meets. To fortune may be added power in the state, honours bestowed by the imperial throne, the government of a province, or the command of armies; a herald who precedes him is crying in a loud voice; lictors right and left also fill his subjects with awe blows, confiscations, banishments, imprisonments, and all the

⁷ cf. p. 145 above.

⁸ The first description bears traces of the *ecphrasis* of person. It is included here because of its didactic purpose.

means by which he strikes intolerable terror into all whom he has to rule. And what then? One night, a fever, a pleurisy, an inflammation of the lungs, snatches away this man from the midst of men, stripped in a moment of all his stage accessories, and all this, his glory, is proved a mere dream.”—

A gambling den is thus sketched for the audience in *Hex. 8, 79C-D*.—“If I let you go and if I dismiss this assembly, some will run to the dice, where they will find bad language, sad quarrels, and the pangs of avarice. There stands the devil, inflaming the fury of the players with the dotted bones; transporting the same sums of money from one side of the table to the other; now exalting one with victory and throwing the other into despair; now swelling the first with boasting and covering his rival with confusion.” The picture is effective but is more a flash-light—a theme suggested, but not executed.

The appearance of a man in a revengeful rage is thus portrayed in *Advers. Iratos, 84C-E*.—“For in the hearts of those longing for revenge the blood boils about as if stirred up and made to splutter by a violent fire. Wrath is seen in the altered appearance of the blushing countenance, the accustomed cast so familiar to all changing like the face of an actor. The eyes lose their natural and better-known expression. Their glance is frenzied and they flash fire. The teeth are whetted in the manner of swine closing for a struggle. The face is livid and blood-red; the body is swollen, the veins burst from the spirit of the internal tempest. The voice is harsh and strained to the uttermost. The speech is inarticulate, tumbling out rashly, coming forth without sequence, without order, unintelligibly. But when this wrath has been aroused to a desperate pass by torments that resemble a flame feeding on an abundance of wood, then, you may behold sights neither to be told in words nor to be borne in the doing: hands raised against one’s neighbor and brought on all parts of the body; feet kicking the vital parts unsparingly; in short whatever is in sight becomes a weapon for insane rage”.—In *De Jejuniis 1, 9C* the angry man is again described:—“He is not master of himself. He does not know himself. He does not know those around him. He attacks every one, just as in a brawl at night he falls upon and strikes everyone in his path. He cries out rashly. He

cannot control himself. He reviles, he abuses, he threatens, he curses, he shouts, he bursts."—

The evils of usury are thus held up to his hearers in Ps. 14, 110D:—"The man in debt is both poverty-stricken and afflicted with many worries. He is sleepless by night, sleepless by day. At all times he is pre-occupied. Now he appraises his own property; now sumptuous homes, the fields of wealthy men, the garments of those whom he meets, the table-ware of diners. 'If these were mine', he says, 'I should sell them for so much and I should pay that interest.' Such thoughts besiege his heart by night and engage his thoughts by day. If you were to knock at his door, the debtor would get under the bed. Some one runs swiftly towards him and his heart palpitates. If a dog barks, he is bathed in sweat in his anguish, and looks where he may flee. As the day of reckoning approaches he wonders what lie he shall tell; what excuse he may fashion to hold off his creditor."—In Ps. 14, 107 D-108 B is a detailed description of a usurer and his victim.—"But Greed beholds Want before his knees beseeching him, what abject act not doing, what abject word not saying. He does not pity him for his undeserved ill-fortune. He does not take his nature into account. He is not moved by prayers. He stands unbent and unsoftened, conceding nothing to his request, unmoved by his tears, persistently refusing him, swearing and taking oath that he is himself without money and that he too is looking for a money-lender. Thus sealing his lie with oaths, he gains perjury as the profit of his inhumanity. But when Poverty mentions interest and names sureties, then letting down his eyebrows, Greed recalls his friendship with Poverty's father and calls Poverty too his friend, and says, 'Let's see if I have any money laid up anywhere. Yes. A friend of mine has given me a sum of money as a working capital. He demanded heavy interest for it but I shall at all events part with some of it, loaning it to you at less interest'. Inventing such lies and fawning upon him with such words and enticing wretched Poverty, he binds him down with mortgages, and after thus adding slavery to his pressing circumstances, he departs."—There are touches of ecphrasis in the foregoing, but very little of the sophistic manner which the character of the subject treated allows.

More vivid is the following picture of abandoned women at the festival commemorating the Resurrection:—"Unchaste women, losing their fear of God, contemning eternal fire on that very day when in memory of the Resurrection they ought to stay at home and bethink themselves of that time day when the heavens shall be opened and the judge from heaven shall appear and the trumpets of God and the resurrection of the dead and the just judgment and the awarding to every man in accordance with his works—instead of pondering on such themes and cleansing their hearts of wicked thoughts and washing away their sins in tears and preparing themselves to meet Christ on the great day of his coming, instead of all these, they shake off the yoke of Christ's service, they cast from their heads the veils of decorum. They spurn His messengers. They, put to shame every man's glance, shaking their heads, letting their tunics trail, making lascivious motions with their feet to the accompaniment of wanton glances and bursts of laughter. In their mad dancing they draw all the licentiousness of youth to their persons. In the shrines of the martyrs, before the city's gates, they establish their choruses and make of holy places a brothel for their shamelessness. They defile the earth with their libidinous feet, they sully the air with their licentious songs. They gather about them as an audience a throng of youths. Thus truly insolent and beside themselves, they neglect no excess of madness."—In *Ebriosos*, 123 A-C.

The following description of a bankrupt father is largely *prosopopoiia* and is counted as such under that figure in this study, but it is also a striking instance of the indistinct line that oft-times separates the two devices.—"Gold's fair gleam too much delights you (i. e. the avaricious man). You do not think upon the great and many cries of the needy man that follows at your back. How may I place before your eyes this man's sad plight? He looks at his household resources. He perceives that now has he no gold and that he cannot acquire any. Clothing and raiment he has, but all told it is worth only a few obols. What then? At length he turns his eyes upon his children. How putting them up for sale in the market, may he find relief from threatening death? Behold the battle that then took place between pressing hunger and a father's love.

Starvation promises a death most cruel but nature stays his resolution and persuades him to die with his children. After many advances and many withdrawals, at length he gives in, forced by necessity and implacable want. But what thoughts course through that father's mind? 'Whom shall I sell first? Which one will delight the merchant's eye? Shall I have recourse to the eldest? But I am ashamed before his years. Shall it better be the youngest? But I pity his youth that knows not yet adversity. The latter is the very image of his parents; the former is most apt in his studies. Alas for my resourcelessness! Whither shall I turn? Which of them shall I take? What manner of beast shall I become? How can I forget my nature? If I spare them all, I shall see them all wasted away with hunger. If I sell one of them, how shall I dare look upon the rest,—I, who am already suspected by them of betraying them? How shall I dwell in my house, that am the author of its childlessness? How shall I approach the table whose abundance has such a cause?'—In *Illud Lucae*, 46C-47A.

SCENES OF REPUGNANCE OR TERROR.

The description of the famine and drought in Cappadocia is an effective *ecphrasis*, despite the fact that its details are personally known to the audience.—

—"We see the heavens hard, naked, cloudless, producing a calm that is hateful and harmful in its clarity. This we longed for once, when the heavens over-cast with clouds made us sunless and sad. But the earth now utterly parched is an ugly sight for the eye, sterile and unproductive for farming and receiving the shining rays into its very depths. The wealthy and perennial fountains have abandoned us and the streams of great rivers have been consumed. The smallest children crawl in them and pregnant women cross them. Drinking-water has failed many of us and we are in want. We are the new *Isrealites* seeking a new Moses and his marvelous staff, that the stricken rocks may minister to the needs of a thirsty people and that the mysterious clouds may shower down manna, a strange food for men.—Farmers brood over their fields; hold their knees with their hands (such is the attitude of those in anguish); weep for their own vain labors; gaze upon

their infant children, mourning; look earnestly at their wives, lamenting. They feel and touch their dried-up produce; and wail like those who have been bereft of sons in the flower of their age."—In *Fam. et Siccit.*, 62D-63C.

The appearance of habitual drunkards is thus described in *In Ebriosos*, 125C:—

—"Their eyes are livid, their skin sallow, their breathing checked, the tongue hanging, they give out an indistinct noise. Their feet are unsteady like those of children. They belch out their excesses as involuntarily as lifeless things."—In *Ebriosos*, 127D to 128B, a drunken orgy is described in great detail.

The death-bed scenes of a duped rich man is thus depicted in *In Divites*, 60D-E:—

—"Why await that hour when you will no longer be master of your faculties. Black night and mortal sickness come then and nowhere is there any one to help you. But he (heir) stands ready and waiting for your estate, managing all things to his own advantage and leaving unfulfilled your wishes. Then gazing hither and thither, and beholding the loneliness that besets you, you will come to know your madness. You will mourn your folly in that you have delayed until now when your tongue is dumb and your tremulous hand is helpless with involuntary contractions, so that neither with voice nor writing may you signify your intentions."—The death of one unbaptized is thus held up to the audience in *In Sanct. Baptisma*, 121C-D:—"Beware lest unexpectedly you come to that day when the resources of life will fail you and on every side will be helplessness and affliction above all relief, your physicians despairing, your neighbors despairing. Oppressed by pantings close and hard, a violent fever burning and consuming your internal parts, you will groan out of the depths of your heart but you will find no one to sympathize. You will speak a thin and feeble something, but there will be no one to hear you. Everything you say will be put down to delirium. Who will give you baptism then? Who will remind you, stupefied with suffering? Your relatives loose heart. Strangers make little of your illness. Your friend shrinks from reminding for fear of disturbing you. Your physician deceives you and you yourself do not despair because of your natural love of life. Night comes and there is no one

to help you. There is no one to baptize you. Death stands near. They hasten to carry you off."—

The judgment-court of God and the horrors of Hell are thus depicted in Ps. 33, 151D-E:

—"Whenever you feel yourself drawn to some sin; imagine to yourself that horrible and unendurable court of Christ, where the judge sits upon a high and lofty throne, and all creation stands trembling before his splendid personality. We are about to be led forward one by one to an examination of our lives. For him that has done much wickedness fearful and gloomy angels wait, glancing fire, breathing fire in the bitterness of their purpose, with countenances like the night in their dark hostility to man. Picture to yourself a deep pit and impenetrable darkness and a black fire that burns in darkness and gives no illumination. Imagine a tribe of worms poisonous and carnivorous, eating insatiably and never filled, inflicting unendurable agony in their devourings. Then picture the heaviest punishment of all, the eternal disgrace and shame."—Compare also In Divites, 58C. After-death and Hell is further described in In Sanct. Baptisma, 121 E-122 B.—"For destruction will suddenly be upon you and ruin, like a hurricane, will be at hand. A sable angel will come, dragging you off violently and drawing your soul thus bound to your sins and frequently turning towards whatever is at hand and groaning without a voice, the organ of your lamentations having been sealed. O! how will you rend yourself! How will you groan! Futile will be your laments for your plans, when you behold the joy of the just in the brilliant array of their rewards and the dejection of sinners in the deepest darkness. What will you then say in the agony of your heart? 'Ah, me, that I did not cast aside this heavy load of sin, when to lose it was so easy; that instead I have drawn to me this train of evils. Now would I be with the angels, now would I enjoy the delights of heaven. O! my wicked counsels. Because of the fleeting joys of sin I am to be tortured forever; because of the pleasures of the flesh I am given over to eternal fire. Just is the sentence of God. I was called and I did not hearken. I was told and I gave no heed. They begged me earnestly and I laughed at them.'"—

The panegyrics on martyrs developed into a distinct literary type during the Fourth century. The cause for which the martyrs died had finally triumphed and the anniversary of a martyr's death thus became an occasion for expressing this triumph in a solemn, official manner. One phase of this thanksgiving was an eloquent discourse on the martyr's exploits. The character of the sufferings of the martyrs, the edification of the faithful that would result from a forceful presentation of their exploits, the sophistic education of many of the orators called into play, and for useful purposes, the sophistic ecphrasis.

In St. Basil ecphrases on the martyrs and other early Christians occur in the following places:—In *Julittam*, 34C-E; In *Barlaam*, 139B-140D; In *Gordium*, 143D-144C; In *Gordium*, 144E-148E; In *XL Martyres*, 150C-155A; *Quod Mundanis*, 171A-173A.

The longest and most vivid of the above group are the ecphrases on the Forty Martyrs and on Gordius, respectively. We shall take the latter as an example.

"When therefore all the people had been collected into that high place, not a Jew was absent, not a Greek. Moreover a great multitude of Christians had joined with them, men who were living carelessly and sat with the council of vanity and did not decline the companionship of the wicked nor to watch fast horses and skilled charioteers. Even masters had dismissed their slaves and children were running from their studies to behold the games and even women of the lower classes were present. The stadium was now filled and all were intent on watching the races.

"Then that noble man, great of soul and great of purpose, came down from the mountains on high. He did not fear the populace. He did not reckon against how many adversaries he was pitting himself, but with a bold heart and a lofty spirit he strode by those seated in the theater as if they had been so many rocks and trees, and stopped in the center of the stadium, confirming thus that statement that a just man is as bold as a lion. And of so bold a spirit was he that in that exposed place in the theater, with stout courage, he cried out that sentence which some men still living remember to have heard. 'I was inquired of by them that asked not for me. I am

found of them that sought me not.' With these words he signified that he had not been dragged by force to dangers, but that voluntarily he offered himself for the battle in imitation of his master, who, when he was least of all visible in the shadows of the night, gave himself up to the Jews.

"Immediately the whole theater turned to this unusual sight: a man wild in appearance, because of his prolonged stay in the mountains, his head squalid, his beard long, his clothes soiled, his whole body withered away. He carried a staff and was equipped with a pouch. About all his person there clung a grace inspired by an unseen source. But as soon as he was recognized, a confused clamor arose from the multitude, the friends of the Faith applauding for joy, the enemies of truth calling on the judge for the death penalty and condemning him beforehand to death. The whole region was filled with the clamor and tumult. The horses were ignored. The chariots were ignored. The display of the chariots became a meaningless uproar. No man's eyes saw ought but Gordius. No ear would hear ought but his words. And a murmuring, indistinct like a breeze, spread through all the theater and quelled the noise of the race.

"Now when silence had been proclaimed by the heralds and the flutes were hushed and instruments of many tones were quiet, Gordius was heard, Gordius was seen. And straightway he was taken before the governor who was seated there presiding over the games. In mild and gentle tones the governor asked him who he was and whence he came. When he had told his country, his race, the rank which he enjoyed, the cause of his flight, his return, he continued, 'I am here in contempt of your decrees and to show openly by my deeds my faith in God in whom I trust. I have heard that you excel many men in brutality. Wherefore I have chosen this occasion for the fulfillment of my vow.' At these words the wrath of the governor flamed up like fire and all his latent spleen was poured on Gordius. 'Get the executioners,' he cried. 'Where are the blades? Where the whips? Let him be stretched upon the wheel. Let him be wrenched in the equulus. Bring forth the tortures, wild beasts, fire, sword, the cross. Let a pit be dug. What will the knave gain, having only once to die?' 'What do I loose,' Gordius

quickly responded, 'unable to die many times for Christ?' The governor, beyond his savage nature, was still more enraged at beholding the dignity of the man whose great sublimity of soul he thought a reflection on himself. And the more he beheld his intrepid spirit, the more enraged he became and the more eager to overcome his fortitude by thoughts of tortures. But Gordius, looking up to God, calmed his soul in the words of the holy psalms, 'The Lord is on my side, I will not fear what man may do to me,' 'I will fear no evil for thou art with me', and in like sayings which he had learned from the Holy Scriptures, calculated to awaken fortitude. He was so far from giving in to threats or terror that he even summoned the punishments to his person. 'Why do you delay?', he asked. 'Why do you stand there? Let my body be mangled, let my limbs be twisted, let them endure whatsoever you will. Do not begrudge me this blessed aspiration. The greater the torments, the greater reward you will gain for me. This is my covenant with the Lord. In place of bruises standing out on my body, a radiant garment will blossom at my resurrection; in place of ignominy, crowns; instead of prison, paradise; instead of condemnation with criminals, fellowship with angels. Sow generously in me that the harvest may be the richer.'

"Since they could not win him over through fear, they changed their tact to flattery. This is the method of the devil. He frightens the timid; he softens the courageous. Such tactics that wicked governor now used. When he saw that he would not yield to his threats, he tried to win him with deceit and blandishments. Some gifts he offered him on the spot, others he promised would be forthcoming from the king; a high commission in the army, a large income, whatsoever he wished.

"But when he failed in this attempt too (for the blessed man, on hearing his promises, laughed at his folly that he should think himself able to offer anything comparable to the kingdom of heaven) then his wrath broke all bounds and he whipped out his sword and stood by the executioner. By hand and tongue soiling himself with murder, he condemned that blessed man to death. Then the whole theater passed over to that spot and all the inhabitants who had tarried in the city poured out before the walls to view that great struggle—a sight admired of

angels and all creation but distressing to the devil and wicked spirits. The city was emptied of its inhabitants and, like a river, the multitude flowed ceaselessly to that spot. Not a woman wished to be absent from that spectacle, not a man, eminent or obscure, was absent. The guards left their garrisons; wares were left scattered around the market-place; all property had one garrison and surety—the fact that all alike had gone forth. Not even a criminal was left in the city. Slaves left the tasks of their masters. Foreigners and natives alike went forth to gaze upon Gordius. Virgins dared the gaze of men; the old and the sickly, doing violence to their weakness, went out beyond the walls. Friends standing about that blessed man, now hastening through death to Life, with many laments were embracing him and giving him a last farewell and, bathing him in hot tears, were begging him not to give himself over to the fire, not to throw away his young years, not to leave this sweet earth. Others, with persuasive counsels, tried to mislead him. ‘Deny God with your lips alone. Cherish your faith, as you will, in your heart. God does not look to the tongue but to the heart of the speaker. Thus you will be able to appease the governor and God.’

“But he remained inflexible and unmoved, invulnerable to every assault of temptation. (There follows a long speech in which Gordius bids them weep not for him but for the enemies of Christ; regrets that he can die once only for Christ; professes his emulation of the centurion Cornelius, and, in a series of questions and answers, shows the advantages of martyrdom superior to recantation.) After he had spoken thus and signed himself with the sign of the cross, he advanced to the block, his color changing not a whit, his countenance not losing its eagerness. His attitude was not that of one going to meet the executioner, but of one about to give himself into the hands of angels who, taking up his body, would transfer him like Lazarus to a life of blessedness. Who will describe the cry of that multitude? What thunder ever sent forth such a sound from the clouds as then from those below went up to heaven?”

The ecphrasis on Gordius and that on the Forty Martyrs are the high-water mark of St. Basil's use of the device. There are many conventional points in the martyrdom of Gordius

described above. The incidents are obviously not entirely historical. The defiance, the mental struggle, the conflict with the governor, the amazingly long speech just before the execution are clearly commonplaces filled in by St. Basil for the edification of the multitude. And yet there were old men present who could have told St. Basil from personal observation some facts about the martyrdom that would have added a certain freshness to his narrative, whatever might thus have been lost of sophistic brilliance. That despite this fact St. Basil follows the fashion is a significant commentary on the strength of the sophistic tradition in him⁹. But even so this ecphrasis is not excessively sophistic. Basil has a good opportunity in the actual death of Gordius to paint a bloody scene. He barely suggests the execution in strange contrast to the dramatic details preceding and following the event.

St. Basil's use of ecphrasis is sophistic in manner, but not extremely so. Unlike St. Gregory of Nyssa, who included most of the categories found in the *Progymnasmata*,¹⁰ St. Basil is very indifferent to the conventional themes. St. Gregory of Nazianzus and St. John Chrysostom are more restrained than St. Gregory of Nyssa, but Chrysostom can wax redundant over a scene of torture¹¹ and Nazianzus can break off his discourse to describe the dance of the Menads.¹² St. Basil exhibits descriptive powers of the highest order, but they are always at the service of his preacher's purpose. The element of display is subordinated in him as it is not always in Nazianzus and Chrysostom. St. Basil's use of ecphrasis is consistent with his use of devices less peculiarly sophistic. He uses it liberally and skilfully, but for serious purposes and, considering the taste of the times, with restraint.

⁹ Delahaye, 224.

¹⁰ Méridier, 141.

¹¹ Delahaye, 218.

¹² Or. II P. G. 86, p. 260.

CHAPTER XIV

CONCLUSION

In common with his Christian contemporaries¹ St. Basil emphatically proclaims his complete divorce from that pagan culture which engaged his student years. From his sermons alone can be culled enough statements to present the appearance of an unvarying attitude.

In Hex. 6, 51 C he stops in the midst of a difficult piece of exegesis to deliver himself of this parenthesis:—"Now do not laugh at the homeliness of my diction, for we do not approve of your high-spun phrases and care not a jot for your harmonious arrangements. Our writers do not waste their time in polishing periods. We prefer clarity of expression to mere euphony." In discussing the intellectual pursuits of the time and their efficacy for salvation, after protesting against the study of geometry and astrology to the exclusion of religious education, he has this to say of what was largely his own curriculum in his youth:—"But poetry and rhetoric and the invention of sophisms engage the energies of many men, and the materials of these pursuits are a tissue of unrealities, for neither may poetry be developed without fables, nor rhetoric without the art of speaking, nor sophistry without sophisms."—In Princip. Proverb., 102 C. That he could thus baldly place the art of speaking by the side of fables and sophisms is a valuable index of opinion in Christian circles. Compare also in the same sermon 103 C-D and 103 E. Speaking on the attainment of humility in *De Humilitate* 162 A, St. Basil thus mentions artistic speech among the pursuits to be avoided:—"Do not, I pray you, display sophistic vanities in your speech."

¹ Méridier, 58-68; Guignet, 43-70; Ameringer, 20-28.

The pagan encomium was a literary type fast and fixed. The rhetorician Menander in his *Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν*² describes it in detail. In his panegyrics on the martyrs St. Basil makes several references to the laws of the encomium. In In Gordium, 142 D-143 A he expresses himself thus frankly on the utility of some of its commonplaces:—"The school of God does not recognize the laws of the encomium, but holds that a mere telling of the martyr's deeds is a sufficient praise for the saints and sufficient inspiration for those who are struggling towards virtue. For it is the fixed habit of encomia to search out the history of the native city, to find out the family exploits, and to relate the education of the subject of the encomium, but it is our custom to pass over in silence such details and to compose the encomium of each martyr from those facts which have a bearing on his martyrdom. How could I be an object of more reverence or be more illustrious from the fact that my native city once upon a time endured great and heavy battles and after routing her enemies erected famous trophies? What if she is so happily located that in summer and winter her climate is pleasant? If she is the mother of heroes and is capable of supporting cattle, what gain are these to me? In her herds of horses she surpasses all lands under the sun. How may these facts improve us in manly virtue? If we talk about the peaks of near-by mountains, how they out-top the clouds and reach the farthest stretches of the air, shall we deceive ourselves into thinking that drawing praise from these facts, we give praise to men? Of all things it is most absurd that when the just despise the whole world, we celebrate their praises from those things which they contemned."—Compare also In XL Martyres, 150 A. In In Mamantem, 185 D he again discusses encomia in no uncertain terms:—"The true encomium of a martyr is his wealth of spiritual graces. We cannot adorn his memory with the ways of pagan encomia. We cannot discuss his parents and ancestors. For it is a shameful thing to adorn with other ornaments him whose chief adornment was his own virtue."

Statements so positive bespeak an uncompromising opposition

² Spengel, III, 368-377.

to paganism in all its works and pomps. As to the pomps St. Basil was not entirely successful. It is worth noting for instance that in the very first of the above declarations, i. e. in Hex. 6, 51C, St. Basil registers his protest in a carefully constructed chiasmus. In In XL Martyres 150B, almost immediately after emancipating Christian panegyrics from "slavishly following the laws of the encomium," he touches upon two of its *τόποι* in a figurative way, those of *πάλαι* and *γένοις*, while the descriptions of martyrdoms found in his panegyrics are but another *τόπος* of the conventional encomium. Here and there in the sermons, moreover, are to be found figures and devices whose rarity and isolation only re-inforce their glaring sophistic character. I refer to the excessive elaborateness in structure, the astounding paradox, the atrocious pun, the far-fetched metaphor that one occasionally finds in his pages. They are exceptional in their class but they too demonstrate Basil's want of success in attaining that complete divorce from pagan rhetoric whereat he professed to aim.

The testimony of every chapter, however, is uniform in calling St. Basil restrained. In Figures of Redundancy there is a tendency towards turgescence but not an excessive tendency; of Figures of Repetition he gives us a few elaborate examples of a device otherwise restrained and never very numerous in his sermons; of Figures of Sound he is surprisingly sparing in both number and quality; Figures of Vivacity and Court-room Devices are considerable in number but restrained in character, a restraint emphasized by a few striking exceptions. In those Minor Figures especially characteristic of the Second Sophistic—antimetathesis, antonomasia, hyperbole, paradox, hendiadys, hyperbaton—the sophistic quality is very palpable, but the recurrences to these devices singularly rare. Figures of Parallelism are frequently found, examples clearly showing St. Basil's easy mastery of these devices, but not in the numbers to be expected in a product of the Sophistic. In antithesis, at least, he is very restrained; in homoioteleuton, remarkably so. There occur at great intervals prolonged examples of rhetorical questions, asyndeton, polysyndeton, metaphors, comparisons—all of them showing what St. Basil could have done, had he been so minded. Distinguishing for the moment the inflexible forms

of the sophistic rhetoric from their manner of development, we perceive that in the metaphor, comparison, and ecphrasis St. Basil cared little for conventional sophistic themes, but that he gives ample proof of a sophistic manner in developing the figures, being most sophistic in non-sophistic categories. This sophistic manner is most palpable in metaphors and comparisons, prosopopoiia and ecphrasis—in the meticulous correspondences worked out in the first two and the dramatic development of the second. But even here the preacher's purpose largely accounts for the sophistic quality. St. Basil must drive home his points with all the resources at his command and these resources were sophistic, acquired in the school-days at Nicomedia, Caesarea, and Athens.

Compared with the two Gregories and Chrysostom, St. Basil, so far as we may judge from his sermons, is the least sophistic of them all. On the grounds of frequency of figures the judgment is not in every case certain, but on the grounds of quality, from the most basic minor figures to ecphrasis, St. Basil is less excessive, less extravagant than they and he follows to a far less degree the conventional sophistic themes. Moreover, display is never the chief motive of any figure. And many of St. Basil's figures occur so rarely relative to the text that in the light of only general statements on the sophists of the epoch we are enabled on the grounds of frequency too to pronounce him moderate on the whole.

If Basil is so restrained among a people who loved rhetorical excess, how are we to account for his reputation as an orator in his own time? His serious purpose is probably the answer. A pagan sophist kept ever trying to out—do himself and other sophists in progressive extravagance simply because there was nothing else for him to do. He had no new materials. Therefore, to maintain his reputation and retain his audience, he must rely on rhetorical ingenuity. The Christian religion, and particularly the theological battles of the Fourth Century, eliminated the necessity for such measures to a large extent. A vigorous personality, thoroughly trained and with important themes, did not need to resort to the excesses of the sophists to make and preserve a reputation.

Towards the conclusion of Quod Mundanis, 170C to be

precise, occurs a splendid opportunity for one who was only a sophist. Basil has just referred to a fire in a near-by church. Here is an opportunity for a gorgeous ecphrasis on the fire, but Basil passes by, contenting himself with an elaborate metaphor, sophistic in manner, to be sure, but Christian in purpose. The opportunities for display and extravagance that the wide range of the sermons afford and his almost complete renunciation of such occasions, the sophistic manner most appearing when ancillary to the preacher's office, the undoubted quality of his purely sophistic departures compel us to concede to him a large measure of success in realizing an objective whose complete realization was impossible, a larger success, in fact, than can be granted the Gregories and Chrysostom. His serious purpose in all devices could well be summed up by his attitude toward the use of allegory in Hex. 9, 80B-C:—"I know the laws of allegory, though not from my own works but from the works of others. Some preachers do not concede the common sense of the Scriptures. They will not call water water, but some other nature. They interpret a plant or fish as their fancy wishes. They change the nature of reptiles and wild beasts to fit them in their allegories, like those who explain phenomena that appear in dreams to suit their own ends. When I hear the word grass, I understand that grass is meant. Plant, fish, wild beast, domestic animal—I take all in a literal sense. 'For I am not ashamed of the Gospel'."—

This serious purpose in contact with pagan excesses was betrayed in the heat and sweep of delivery into statements that of themselves admit of no compromise. Is not St. Basil more just to the pagans and to his own use of their devices in his sermons when he says of their culture in the excellent and dispassionate essay, *Ad Adolescentes*, 175B-C, "The fruit of the soul is pre-eminently truth, yet to clothe it with external wisdom is not without merit, giving a kind of foliage and covering for the fruit and an aspect by no means ugly?"—



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¹ Ordinarily reference is made neither to examples of a figure nor to its frequency. These regularly follow the "explanation of" or "description of".

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**A STUDY OF THE VOCABULARY AND
RHETORIC OF THE LETTERS
OF SAINT AUGUSTINE**

A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF LETTERS OF THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY
OF AMERICA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

SISTER WILFRID PARSONS, A. M.
(Of the Sisters of Notre Dame of Namur)

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(All citations in the course of this dissertation will be made by author and page only.)

CHRONOLOGY.

AUGUSTINE'S LIFE.

354. Nov. 13, Augustine born at Tagaste.
- Studied the rudiments at Tagaste; grammar and rhetoric at Madaura.
370. Returned to Tagaste.
371. Death of his father Patricius.
- Augustine went to Carthage to continue his studies.
372. Birth of Adeodatus. Augustine became a Manichæan.
373. Read Cicero's Hortensius.
374. Returned to Tagaste, taught rhetoric.
383. Went to Rome to teach rhetoric.
384. Went to Milan to teach rhetoric.
386. His conversion and retirement to Cassiciacum.
387. His baptism, April 24. Death of St. Monica. Death of Adeodatus.
388. Returned to Carthage. Returned to Tagaste. Wrote treatise on Music. Sold his property and decided on a monastic life.
391. Ordained priest.
392. Opened attack on Manichæans.
394. Opened attack on Donatists.

CONTEMPORARY HISTORY.

- 337-361. Constantius Emperor.
- 360-363. Julian Emperor, attempted to restore paganism.
- 363-364. Jovian, Emperor, proclaimed universal toleration.
364. Division of the empire.
- 364-375. Valentinian I, Emperor of East.
- 364-376. Valens, Emperor of the West.
- 367-383. Gratian { Emp. of
- 375-392. Valentinian II { West
376. Visigoths crossed the Danube.
378. Battle of Adrianople.
- 378-388. Theodosius Emperor of East.
381. Council of Constantinople.
385. Execution of Priscillian.
- 386-398. Revolt of Gildo in Africa.
- 388-395. Theodosius sole Emperor.
388. Massacre of Thessalonica. Penance of Theodosius. Christianity declared state religion.
390. Pagan worship forbidden by law.
394. Edicts against heresy.
395. Death of Theodosius. Division of the empire. Arcadius Emperor in East. Honorius Emperor in West. Revolt of Alaric and Visigoths.

396. Consecrated bishop of Hippo by Valerius.
 397. Confessions and De Trinitate.
 398. Attended Fourth Council of Carthage.
 400. De Catechizandis Rudibus.
 401-415. De Genesi ad Literam.
 404. Appealed to Caecilianus for protection against Donatists.
 411. Attended conference of African bishops with Donatists.
- 413-427. De Civitate Dei.
419. Attended Sixth Council of Carthage.
 420. Works against Priscillianists.
 424. Works against Semi-Pelagians.
426. Augustine's successor chosen.
 428. The Retractions.
 430. Death of Augustine, August 28th.
396. Alaric defeated by Stilicho in Greece.
406. Barbarian invasion of Gaul.
 408. Alaric invaded Italy. Rome ransomed at a heavy price.
 408-450. Theodosius II, eastern Emperor.
 409. Invasion of Spain by Vandals, Alans and Suevi.
 410. Sack of Rome by Alaric. Death of Alaric.
 413. Revolt and death of Heraclian in Africa. Several usurpers at Rome.
- 423-455. Valentinian III, western Emperor.
 425. Rivalry of Aetius and Boniface.
 427. Revolt of Count Boniface.
 428. Vandal invasion of Africa.
 430. Siege of Hippo. Desolation of Africa.

CONTEMPORARY EMPERORS.

- 337-361. Constantius.
 360-363. Julian the Apostate.
 363-364. Jovian.
 364-375. Valentinian I, West.
 364-378. Valens, East.
 375-392. Gratian.
 375-392. Valentinian II.
 378-395. Theodosius I.
 395-409. Arcadius, East.
 395-423. Honorius, West.
 423-455. Valentinian III, West.

CONTEMPORARY POPES.

- 352-366. Liberius.
 366-384. St. Damasus.
 385-398. St. Siricius.
 398-402. St. Anastasius I.
 402-417. St. Innocent I.
 417-418. St. Zozimus.
 418-422. St. Boniface I.
 422-432. St. Celestine.
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INTRODUCTION.

Until fairly recently the attitude of classical scholars toward the works of the Christian writers, especially the Christian Latin writers had been one of contemptuous neglect. Manuals of literature, when they referred to patristic writings at all, assigned them indiscriminately and disdainfully to the "Latin of the Decadence," while the few scholars who ventured to make studies of them offered the results with apologetic explanations of their purpose in so doing. Late Latin was generally assumed to be a language abounding in barbarisms, inflectional errors and syntactical monstrosities, a degenerate and unworthy successor to the noble and beautiful language of the classical period.

As a result of this attitude, which was based on inadequate knowledge, a rich field of literary research was left untilled, a most interesting phase of development of the Latin tongue was ignored, a literature capable of giving joy to many readers by its originality and spontaneity was left untouched, or at most was known to a few theological students who were more concerned with the content than with the form of what they read.

Happily the awakening has come in our own time. An encouraging number of studies of the Latinity of various Christian writers has already appeared and the literature of the subject is growing every year. Students of the Latin classics are learning that it is as far from the truth to speak of all late Latin as "low Latin" or "decadent Latin" or "poor Latin" as it would be to refer to Plautus and Terence as rudimentary Latin. The critic who would now venture to decry the Latin of a Jerome, an Ambrose or an Augustine because it is not the Latin of a Cicero, a Caesar or a Livy might with as fair a show of reason condemn the English of Thackeray, Emerson or Kipling because it differs from the language of Shakespeare or Milton. No one denies that the Latin of the Fathers is quite different from that of the Golden Age, but to stigmatize it as inferior for that reason is to show that one is not well acquainted with it. In the hands of writers like Jerome and Augustine, it is as flexible and expressive a medium as it was in Cicero's time, with an additional richness of vocabulary

which testifies to the inherent if undeveloped power and fertility of the language.

Latin did not then become or begin to become a dead language when Christianity supplanted paganism; on the contrary, from the moribund thing it was under the later pagan writers, it received an infusion of new life when the poets and apologists of the new religion began to use it. The same restoration which was brought about in morality was also effected in literature.¹ If the rulers of the later empire had been as successful in revivifying their political organization, this literary movement might have been something more than a temporary efflorescence; but the gradual breaking up of the Pax Romana had its inevitable reaction on the development of language and literature.

Of the three periods into which Latin Literature is usually divided: the ante-classical, the classical, and the post-classical, the last is by far the longest. Beginning with the reign of Hadrian, it ended only with the literature itself, and includes many pagan writers as well as all the Christian authors. Its tendencies, if more various, are no less clearly marked than are those of the Silver Age. The Romans themselves referred to the new style in writing as the *Elocutio Novella*, and regarded Fronto and Apuleius as the founders of it. Freedom from the stylistic trammels of previous ages was its ideal, in pursuit of which an extension of the Latin vocabulary and an emancipation from the laws of periodic structure were sought. Always a concrete and straightforward language, rich in verbal forms, but singularly poor in nouns, especially abstract nouns, Latin began to show unsuspected powers of abstraction and subtlety, qualities which made it invaluable for the purposes of Christian apologetics.

The aim of the present dissertation is to present the results of a study of the Latinity of Augustine's Letters as it is shown forth in his vocabulary and in his use of rhetorical ornament. No reference will be made to his syntax which is to form the subject of a separate study. Vocabulary and rhetoric are more closely related to each other than either of the two to syntax, hence in the division of the subject, made necessary by the voluminous material, these two have been chosen to form the subject of one dissertation.

The conclusions offered have been reached by the statistical method. The text followed is that of Goldbacher, Vienna 1895-

¹ Goelzer (1), 42.

1911, in the *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*. Citations are made by number of letter and paragraph. In the section on vocabulary, the references given are complete unless otherwise noted. Only words of post-classical, ecclesiastical, or late Latinity, or classical words of rare or poetical usage are given. The following abbreviations and expressions are used:

p. c. — post-classical, i. e. not used before 117 A. D., but occurring in the earlier writers of the period: Apuleius, Aulus Gellius, etc.

eccl. — ecclesiastical, i. e. used by Christian writers only.

late — words used by pagan as well as Christian writers but not occurring before the rise of Church Latin, i. e. not before Tertullian.

The author desires to express her grateful appreciation of the help and encouragement given by Dr. Roy Joseph Deferrari, head of the Greek and Latin departments of the Catholic University of America, who suggested the subject and directed its preparation.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

The first definite appearance of a Christian Latin literature was sufficiently late—not until the latter half of the second century A. D. Its beginnings are shrouded in obscurity. Tertullian is credited with being the founder of it, but it is generally admitted that a Latin version of the Scriptures, or at least of part of them, was in circulation long before this time. The early language of the Church, of which the first converts had been largely Hellenistic Jews, had been Greek, but as the number of gentile converts increased, it became necessary to make provision for the many who knew Greek but slightly or not at all. The Holy Scriptures, which were almost the sole spiritual nourishment as well as the principal dialectical weapon of the early Christians were thus translated at different times from the Greek of the Septuagint into Latin. Who made these earliest Latin versions, or when or where they were made are still matters of conjecture. Where there is no contemporary evidence, and even quasi-contemporary witnesses declare their uncertainty, scholars of today naturally shrink from making a pronouncement.

St. Augustine avows his perplexity thus:¹ “Qui scriptores ex Hebraea lingua in Graecam verterunt, numerari possunt, Latini autem interpretes nullo modo. Ut enim cuique primis fidei temporibus in manus venit codex Graecus et aliquantulum facultatis sibi utriusque linguae habere videbatur ausus est interpretari.”

The expression “primis fidei temporibus” is too vague to be used as a date, but the second century is generally regarded as a conservative estimate.² There seems to have been an African Latin version which may have been the first. The above passage leads to the belief that a confusing number of versions were in use when St. Jerome began his colossal work on the Vulgate.

It would hardly be possible to estimate the part played by the Latin Scriptures in forming the style of Christian Latinity. All the Latin Fathers were so accustomed to rest the proof of their arguments on the Bible, that even when they were not directly

¹ Doctr. Chr. 2, 11.

² De Labriolle, 65.

quoting it, their thought and expression were deeply impregnated with it.³ Now it must be borne in mind that the Latin version was made from a Greek text abounding in Semitisms and that these Semitisms were often rendered quite literally into Latin. Saint Augustine's early opinion of the Latinity of the Scriptures⁴ and St. Jerome's unfavorable comparison⁵ of the Scriptures with the pagan classics are well known.

But foreign as they might be to a taste formed to the classics, these early translations had a profound effect on the early Christian writers, opening up to them new avenues of thought and imagery, shaping their modes of expression. That breaking up of the old sentence-rhythms, visible as early as Apuleius, became even more marked in the Christian writers, as did also the use of forced and unusual metaphors, multiplication of figures and the use of short, symmetrical clauses, balanced two and two in poetical parallelism, like the verses of a psalm. All this is undoubtedly due to the influence of the Latin Scriptures.⁶

Augustine's style was not uninfluenced by the Scriptures, late in life as he made their acquaintance. Although in the Letters he generally prefers to quote directly and then to expound his text in his own words, it can easily be noted how unconsciously he falls into Biblical phraseology in the development of his ideas. Whatever the nature and date of the version he used, his debt to it is incontestable.

His literary predecessors were five: Tertullian, Minucius Felix, St. Cyprian, Arnobius, and Lactantius, all Africans like himself, for it is a remarkable fact that northern Africa furnished most of the Christian Latin writers during a period of more than three centuries, making at the same time no inconsiderable contribution to pagan literature.⁷

Whether it is correct to speak of a distinctively African Latinity, an *Africitas*, seems to be a vexed question. Some German scholars like Wölfflin⁸ and Sittl,⁹ cited by De Labriolle,¹⁰ hold that there

³ Cf. the influence of the King James Version on English literature.

⁴ *Conf.* III. 5. 9, VI. 5.

⁵ *Ep.* 22. 7.

⁶ *Leclercq*, 246.

⁷ *De Labriolle*, 79.

⁸ *Eclogae ex Scriptis* prop. 41, 48, 49.

⁹ *Die lokalen Verschiedenheiten der lat. Sprache*, 144.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 79.

was and they point to certain definite peculiarities which they call Africanisms. Hoppe¹¹ maintains this view also. Others like Kaulen,¹² and Niebuhr¹³ together with French writers like Bayard,¹⁴ De Labriolle¹⁵ and Leclercq¹⁶ following Erasmus seek to demolish this contention by referring these differences of idiom to three causes: 1) the *sermo plebeius*, which, they claim, operated in precisely the same way regardless of geography wherever its workings can be observed; 2) the rhetorical influence of the Neosophistic; 3) the character of the principal African Latin writers. Kaulen^{16a} uses the geographical argument and reaches the conclusion that Africanism is nothing more than the form taken by the *sermo plebeius* in Africa; that it differs but little from any other provincial dialect and that we are no more justified in claiming a special idiom for Africa than for Gaul, Pannonia or even Italy. Bayard prefers to attribute this *Africitas* to rhetorical devices or the character of the writer, and argues that a more careful distinction between language and style, and more accuracy in distinguishing between the different periods of literature would show that what were long taken for the characteristics of African style are nothing else than the rhetorical devices common in the schools from the time of Gorgias, in Africa as elsewhere.

In the midst of conflicting testimony the argument of Cooper¹⁷ seems to be sane and reasonable. He refutes the opponents of Africanism thus: "Such a view however is not only opposed to all linguistic principles as we see them working at the present day, but is directly contradicted by the testimony of ancient writers. Cicero (*Brut.* 46, 17) speaks of the prevalence of provincial expressions in Gallic Latin; similarly Augustine remarks (*De Doctr. Chr.* 4, 24) the lack of discernment shown in African Latin in the quality and quantity of vowel-sounds: '*Afrae aures de corruptione vocalium vel productione non iudicant*,' while Spartianus (*Sever.* 19, 9) is authority for the statement that the speech of the emperor Severus retained to his dying day strong evidence of his African origin: '*canorus voce, sed Afrum quiddam usque ad senectutem sonans*.'"

Granted then that there was an African Latin, distinguishable as such by both idiom and style, we find that Apuleius was the

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹² *Handbuch der Vulgata*, 4.

¹³ *Vorträge II*, 324.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, xvi.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 79.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 103.

^{16a} *Handbuch der Vulgata*, 4.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, xxv.

first thus to express the African temperament, ardent, vivacious, subtle, fond of violent contrast. Tertullian, Felix, Cyprian, Arnobius, Lactantius, Augustine, professional rhetoricians all, followed more or less closely the canons of style which he had established, varied, of course, by their own training and character and the subjects on which they wrote.

In this African school, however, we may distinguish between the pagan and the Christian writers, for no doubt the movement would have died almost at its inception, if the Christian apologists had not made it their own. Of these Tertullian may be regarded as holding first place both in time and importance. An African, a rhetorician and a genius, it has been as uncertain a task to form a true estimate of his style as to account for his puzzling change of camp in the midst of his warfare in defense of orthodox Christianity. The criticisms range all the way from "Father of Church Latin,"¹⁸ to "Tertullianum latinitatis certe pessimum auctorem."¹⁹ In reality he was a child of his age and probably owed something to Apuleius and to the Latin version of the Bible. But even when due allowance has been made for these factors, his originality is unmistakable and his contribution to the newly-expanding Latin vocabulary very considerable. He introduced into the language a large number of new words, many of which filled a long-felt want and were really useful additions. He also revived many archaic words which had been dropped from literary circulation, naturalized many Greek words and adapted the mechanism of pagan rhetoric to the needs of Christian exegesis. By critics of his own time²⁰ he was accused of obscurity and harshness, but never of banality or triviality.

There is some doubt of the African origin of Minucius Felix, but three good arguments in favor of it may be adduced. The first is the discovery of a stele at Tebessa and a dedicatory inscription at Carthage (C. I. L. VIII, 1964 and Suppl. 12, 499) bearing his name; the second the existence in his work of certain harsh expressions directed against the power of Rome, which would be surprising in a Roman (he practised his profession at Rome), but quite comprehensible in a provincial, especially an African, as the citizens of that dependency were always in a state of dissatisfaction

¹⁸ Harnack, A. C. L. 1, 667.

¹⁹ Ruhnken, *Zeitschr. für Hist. Theol.* 33.

²⁰ *Lact.* 5, 1, 23.

with the Roman administration. The third is the evident familiarity shown by his style with the works of African authors such as Fronto, Florus, Apuleius and Tertullian.²¹ He forms the link between Tertullian and Cyprian and represents a sort of reaction against the new tendencies, but contributes little to the development of Christian Latinity. Instead he seems to have turned back to the classical period for his style and models. Cicero, Seneca and Tacitus furnish him with both form and ideas, which he uses expertly, weaving his classical reminiscences into a plausible and symmetrical whole. In the history of ecclesiastical Latin he is not much more than a pleasant episode.

St. Cyprian occupies a middle position between Felix and Tertullian, whose works he studied with deep admiration. He is, however by no means a close imitator of the great apologist—his refined and delicate taste, fostered by careful training, was too far removed from the impetuous violence and unrestrained eloquence of his predecessor. He drew his inspiration²² and perhaps some of his method from Tertullian, but owes less to him in the domain of style. As a formative element in the African school, he stands for conservatism and good taste, giving his preference to those rhetorical devices which produce an effect of symmetry, harmony and pathos.²³ He generally avoids foreign words, hybrids, diminutives and plebeian words, but he is not for that a fanatical purist.

Arnobius is chronologically the next representative of the African school. He is more closely related to Tertullian than to Cyprian in his violently polemical work, *Adversus Nationes*. In his verbosity, in the freedom with which he introduced into the literary language a multitude of colloquial words²⁴ archaisms, commercial terms etc., he shows himself a true African. When he lacked words capable of expressing his ideas, he created new ones. The same prodigal extravagance which he shows in his vocabulary is also evident in his use of rhetorical embellishments, which he heaps one upon another with bewildering profusion. He is, like his predecessor, a stylist, always conscious of the form in which his thought is cast.

There is some doubt as to whether Lactantius was an African by birth, but there seems to be none that he was one by training. He was a pupil of Arnobius but differed even more widely from his

²¹ De Labriolle, 149.

²² Bayard, xxvii.

²³ Bayard, 326.

²⁴ Gabarrou, 3.

teacher than Cyprian did from Tertullian. "The Christian Cicero" was the name given him by the Renaissance, and it shows clearly the character of his style. Therein the reader will find none of the bold innovations of Tertullian and Arnobius, no new metaphors, hardly a trace of the imagery of his contemporaries. Yet he occupies an important place in the series of Christian apologists and his literary influence was a happy one. To the innovating elements of his predecessors, he added a much-needed moderation, balance and restraint.

This then is the literary ancestry of Augustine, these were the forces, action and reaction, which had shaped the language he was to use. One of the outstanding elements of this language was the admixture in it of archaic and plebeian words. The archaisms are easily explained. Latin was first carried to the provinces by the Roman legions and was there fostered by the colonizing policy of Rome. This Latin was not the literary language but the *sermo plebeius*, which "retained in vocabulary and syntax, as well as in accent and pronunciation, many features of the *prisca Latinitas*, long after they had been discarded by classic Latin."²⁵ Africa became a Roman province upon the fall of Carthage in B. C. 146, but there had been an army of occupation in Africa long before this. As the classical period did not begin before B. C. 83, the Latin which was carried to Africa was that of the ante-classical period, hence it is not surprising to find a strong resemblance between the language of Plautus and that of Apuleius and Tertullian. While at Rome the ruder archaisms of the popular speech were gradually superseded by a more polished language, in the provinces, cut off as many of them were from frequent communication with the city, the influence of classicism was so slight that we can almost date the order of their conquest by the varying degree of archaism in their speech.²⁶

It seems to be a fact generally admitted, Bonnet²⁷ and Sittl²⁸ to the contrary notwithstanding, that the original Latin, the *prisca Latinitas* separated, at the dawn of literature, into twin dialects, which pursued diverging paths of development for more than three centuries, but came together into one during the latter half of the post-classical period. Literary Latin was consciously fashioned on Greek ideals, first by Ennius, later by the litterateurs of the Sci-

²⁵ Cooper, xxi.

²⁶ Cooper, xxvii.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 31.

²⁸ *Jahresberichte* 58, 226.

pionic Circle and by the writers of the Golden Age. But the very efforts made to polish and refine it betrayed the artificiality of the literary idiom, and the limitations imposed on it began to work for its disintegration. The *sermo plebeius* had meantime gone on developing naturally, having in it the germ of life; but it must not be supposed that the two idioms were without points of contact, or that they were absolutely separate and distinct languages. In the early period, when education was the privilege of the few, and literature in the hands of fewer still, there was probably little reciprocal influence, but as culture and the taste for letters became more general, the *sermo plebeius* felt the refining influence of the literary tongue, especially in the city, where the *sermo urbanus* was the result. Finally the *sermo plebeius* became one of the forces ceaselessly acting on the literary language and the result was a single idiom comparable to the Greek *Κοινή* which was to give rise in its turn to the Romance languages.

This does not mean, however, that the common people spoke as the literary men wrote—that was no more the case then than it is today. There had, it is true, been a levelling of vocabulary, so that words and terminations which had previously been avoided by writers were now admitted by them, but no doubt the uneducated people spoke as incorrectly as their forbears had done. We know this from certain references made to it in literature. Apuleius for instance admits that he had to learn Latin all over again when he went to Rome: “in urbe advena studiorum quirritium indigenam sermonem aerumnabili labore nullo magistro praeunte aggressus excolui. En ecce praefamur veniam si quid exotici ac forensis sermonis rudis locutor offendero.”²⁹ This shows that the education given in Madaura must have improved vastly by the time Augustine made his studies there.

Augustine's education was one of the principal formative elements of his style; it will therefore be pertinent to the subject to trace briefly the course of his training. He began his studies in his native town of Tagaste, learning with considerable reluctance³⁰ to read and write, but showing such ability in spite of his lack of application that his parents decided to have him trained as a rhetorician. Rhetoric then offered a brilliant career to promising young students. Diocletian and Constantine had founded chairs of rhetoric in the principal cities of the empire, subsidized them and

²⁹ Met. I. 1.

³⁰ Conf. I. 6.

granted special privileges to teachers. Lecturers going from city to city made comfortable fortunes, rhetoricians had even been known to attain to enviable prominence in the state,²¹ to consulships and diplomatic posts and court appointments. Thus Fronto, an African rhetor, became the teacher of Marcus Aurelius and derived both fame and riches from his intimacy with his imperial pupil. What heights then might a gifted student like Augustine not hope to reach?

To this end he was sent to a grammar school first at Tagaste, later at Madaura. The study of grammar as the Romans understood it was in reality a training in the humanities. It included orthography, the laws of quantity, versification and the figures of speech, but it was chiefly a course in Greek and Latin literature. Homer, Hesiod and Menander of the Greeks, Vergil and Horace of the Latins were the authors most studied. Besides this, if he had a good teacher, the pupil might gain subsidiary information on mythology, history, the propriety of words and other subjects connected with the text under discussion. Cicero²² sums it up neatly: "in grammaticis poetarum pertractatio, historiarum cognitio, verborum interpretatio, pronuntiandi quiddam sonus."

Augustine was as deeply enamored of this part of his studies as he had been averse to learning his a b c's. He preferred the Latin authors to the Greek,²³ leaving us to infer from his own admission²⁴ that he knew very little Greek and that he had no love for it because of the punishments he had to suffer while studying it. His Letters show his familiarity with Latin literature, in which his favorite authors seem to have been Vergil, Cicero, Terence and Sallust.

After his conversion he bewailed the time²⁵ he had spent on pagan authors and the sympathy he had wasted on their fictional or mythological characters. He condemns their place in the educational system of his time and would banish them entirely from the curriculum of Christian schools, although he grudgingly admits that some good might be drawn from historical works. The interesting passage²⁶ in which this criticism occurs deserves to be quoted in full: "non ergo illae innumerabiles et impiae fabulae, quibus vanorum plena sunt carmina poetarum ullo modo nostrae consonant libertati, non oratorum inflata et expolita mendacia, non

²¹ Von Hertling, 12.

²² De Oratore I, 187.

²³ Lit. P. 2, 38.

²⁴ Conf. I, 13, 14.

²⁵ Conf. I, 3.

²⁶ Ep. 101, 2.

denique ipsorum philosophorum garrulae argutiae . . . absit omnino ut istorum vanitates et insaniae mendaces, ventosae nugae ac superbus error recte liberales litterae nominentur . . . historia sane cuius scriptores fidem se praecipue narrationibus suis debere profitentur, *fortassis habeat aliquid cognitione dignum liberis, cum sive bona sive mala hominum tamen vera narrantur.*"

The literary phase of Augustine's training must have been exceptionally thorough, for his habits of word-analysis gave him a singular power of expressing his ideas clearly and forcefully. Sometimes however they led him into strange etymologies and puerile explanations, as when he expounds the meaning of fides,⁸⁷ "cum ipsa fides in Latino sermone ab eo dicatur appellata quia *fit quod dicitur.*" He is somewhat happier in his derivation of virtus:⁸⁸ "virum a quo denominata dicitur virtus," and his careful discrimination between precari, deprecari, and imprecari, oratio, precatio, and preces⁸⁹ is scholarly and illuminating. He retained always his love for the beauty of words, even when he was obliged to condemn the use to which they were put by pagan writers.

After the completion of his literary studies, the well-born young Roman generally became a disciple of some rhetorician or orator of note, in order to learn the noble art of oratory. Thus the young Caelius studied under Cicero, the young Tacitus under Quintilian, and the young Jerome under Donatus. For reasons of family finances, Augustine was obliged to wait a year after finishing his grammatical course at Madaura before going to Carthage to begin his higher studies. A wealthy and generous friend, a sort of African Maecenas, then made up the sum necessary to defray his expenses, and he set off for the ancient city of Dido, which the Romans had rebuilt with great splendor. As his object in going to this seductive and tumultuous city was to study, in order afterward to make his living by the profession of rhetoric, he applied himself as much as was necessary to finish his course, but his real life there seems to have been a life of pleasure. His Confessions, which give us the most exact details of his youthful dissipations, unfortunately enlighten us but little as to his actual course of study. We know however, that the higher education of the time comprised, in addition to rhetoric and dialectics, geometry, music and mathematics. Its object was to form public speakers whether for the law-court or the lecture platform.

⁸⁷ Ep. 82, 2.

⁸⁸ Ep. 167, 10.

⁸⁹ Ep. 149, 13.

Augustine took to declamation with eager delight and soon won renown for his skill. His master was one Democratus. A singular incident of this time is related for us in detail.⁴⁰ His program of studies probably obliged him to make an analysis of the Hortensius, a philosophical dialogue of Cicero, which has unfortunately not come down to us. Its effect on him was startling. No doubt a reaction was already beginning in his truth-loving mind against the life of voluptuous ease and pagan enjoyment which he was leading. Whatever the reason, certain phrases in the Hortensius shook his soul to its foundations; in an instant of blinding illumination, he saw the vanity of pleasure and the austere beauty of the life of the intellect. There was nothing religious in this emotional experience, but it was nevertheless a preparation for his conversion. In the full tide of his reaction he decided to become a Christian Plato and he set himself to the study of the Scriptures. But he approached them with arrogance and intellectual pride and as a result he could make nothing of what he read, while at the same time his fastidious, over-trained literary taste was revolted by the unadorned, abrupt style of the Holy Books. It was not until later that he was able to overcome his prejudice against them.

At the age of twenty he had completed his rhetorical studies and seems to have given up the idea of studying law. Instead he returned to Tagaste and became a grammarian, "a merchant of words," as he called himself:⁴¹ "*qui aliquando ista pueris vendidit. Sed nec te volo esse adhuc puerum et me iam esse puerilium rerum sicut non venditorem ita nec largitorem decet.*" He was probably obliged to renounce his earlier ambition in order to earn his living, but this restricted field was hardly likely to satisfy the ardent spirit of Augustine, and he returned to Carthage to open there a school of rhetoric, which he maintained for nine years. During this time he read everything that fell into his hands and thereby laid the foundations of that vast learning which was afterward to appear in his works.

To this period belong his first attempts at writing—a dramatic poem for which he won a public prize, and a treatise on the beautiful. Apparently he did not make a brilliant success of teaching and finally, wearied and disgusted with the insubordination and superficiality of the young Carthaginians, he closed his school and

⁴⁰ Conf. 3, 4. Possidius, Vita, 212.

⁴¹ Ep. 118, 9.

went to Rome. But there also disappointment and disillusionment were his portion; the climate tried his health severely, he could not secure enough pupils to support himself, and those who came to him left him without payment. At last, through the efforts of his friends, he secured an appointment as official professor of rhetoric at Milan, but his life of teaching was soon to close. His intercourse with Saint Ambrose and his conversion soon showed him what his true work was to be; henceforth the brilliant and powerful intellect was to find a worthy field for its exercise, not in striving to keep alive the exhausted culture of a dying pagan world, but in defending the Catholic faith against every sort of attack.

After his conversion, Augustine applied himself seriously to the study of the Scriptures and the Fathers. He definitely renounced many of his ideas on rhetorical propriety, and entirely devoted now to the study of truth, deeply impressed with the seriousness of life and the inevitable approach of eternity, he looked on rhetoric as a means, not an end, an instrument to be used or rejected according as it might help or hinder the exposition of truth. The Christian orator, he said, ought to imitate the Jews coming out of Egypt;⁴² as they carried off the gold and silver vessels of their oppressors so should he appropriate such treasures of eloquence as are worthy of the service of truth. Thus did Cyprian, Lactantius, Victorianus, Optatus and Hilarius. He further inveighs against the use of rhetorical subtleties to compass unworthy ends:⁴³ "haec non est eloquentia . . . sed quaedam sophistica et maligna professio quae sibi proponit non ex animo sed ex contentione vel commodo pro omnibus et contra omnia dicere"; and he determines the true purpose of oratory in a noble passage:⁴⁴ "nec doctor verbis serviat sed verba doctori . . . sive submisce sive temperate, sive granditer dicat, id agit verbis ut veritas pateat, veritas moveat: quoniam nec ipsa quae praecepti finis et plenitudo legis est, caritas, ullo modo recta esse potest, si ea quae diliguntur non vera sed falsa sunt."

That he carried these precepts into execution in his own writing and speaking is clear from two passages: "melius est ut reprehendant nos grammatici quam non intelligant populi."⁴⁵ "nostra

⁴² Doctr. Chr. 2, 40, 60.

⁴³ In Ps. 138.

⁴⁴ Contra Crescon. 1.

⁴⁵ Doctr. Chr. 4, 27, 59.

non in expolitione sermonis sed in demonstratione veritatis est maior inventio." ⁴⁶

He began his career of Christian apologist with a treatise against the Academicians and followed it by the *De Beata Vita* and the *Soliloquies*. This was in 386 A. D. and from that year until his death he never ceased to wield his pen in defence of the Church.

His correspondence opens in 386 A. D. with a series of letters to Nebridius, a young pupil of his, and closes in 429, shortly before his death. There are 277 letters in the collection, but 50 of them are addressed to Augustine by various correspondents. They are on the most varied subjects, ranging all the way from an exhortation to Nebridius to bear manfully the enforced separation from his beloved friend and master, to a treatise of the most profound spirituality on the Beatific Vision. Many of them are not letters in the usual sense of the word, but treatises of considerable length, addressed to individuals and furnished with a salutation. Controversial topics abound and almost all the theological questions of the day are treated at greater or less length. There are refutations of the chief fallacies of paganism, Arianism, Sabellianism, Novatianism, Donatism and Pelagianism; there are also interpretations of obscure Biblical passages and explanations of the doctrine of grace and of the sacraments. There are letters of spiritual direction and letters answering all sorts of questions proposed by all sorts of people, for apparently Augustine was regarded as a professor of universal knowledge by his correspondents.

Licentius, for example, sends him a poem to criticise and receives in return some advice about his soul.⁴⁷ Dioscorus presents a long list of difficulties arising out of his readings in Cicero's philosophical works and asks to have them solved, "because one feels so stupid not to know these things when asked." He is favored ⁴⁸ with a sharp injunction not to annoy any more harassed bishops with "silly questions about Tully's dialogues," followed by a short sermon on vainglory and a lengthy disquisition on Cicero's idea of the divinity and the tenets of certain schools of Greek philosophy. A priest named Deogratias wanted the answer to six ill-assorted questions which were often raised by pagans, beginning with the Resurrection of Christ and ending with Jonas and the whale. They were all answered ⁴⁹ luminously and

⁴⁶ *Contra Crescon.* 1.

⁴⁷ *Ep.* 30.

⁴⁸ *Ep.* 118.

⁴⁹ *Ep.* 102.

convincingly, with the humorous comment at the end that persons who believed in the supposed miracles of Apollonius of Tyana and Apuleius of Madaura were hardly consistent in ridiculing the Bible narrative. However unnecessary or trivial the questions might appear, he answered all real difficulties with painstaking thoroughness; in fact some of his most beautiful treatises were the result of such interrogations.

The Letters have been variously divided. Chronologically they fall into four groups:

- 1) before his episcopal consecration (Ep. 1 to 30).
- 2) from his episcopal consecration to the Council of 411 A. D. (Ep. 31 to 123).
- 3) from 411 to his death (Ep. 124 to 231).
- 4) letters of the third period to which no positive date can be assigned (232 to 270).

Typically they may be classified as 1) theological, 2) polemical, 3) exegetical, 4) ecclesiastical or liturgical, 5) ethical, 6) philosophical, 7) historical, 8) familiar. The last-named group is the smallest and least significant of all, for Augustine seems to have regarded his correspondence, not as a relaxation or a means of communicating with his friends, but as a means of instructing souls in the principles of the spiritual life and of forwarding the cause of truth. The reader who would expect a revelation of personality from these letters would be disappointed; there are none addressed to any members of his family, none on purely social topics. Of the writer's tastes, feelings and inclinations we learn nothing—the Augustine of the Confessions is not portrayed in the Letters. The idea we form of him from his correspondence is of a tremendously vital and powerful mind, able to treat with penetrating insight of widely diverse subjects, but at the same time willing to admit the possibility of error and to confess ignorance. We gain indirectly an idea of the position he occupied among his contemporaries and of the deference paid to him by all ranks of the clergy, even his superiors. There are also interesting sidelights on Church life and customs in Africa, and in the later letters we catch an echo of the bewilderment and terror which came upon the world when Rome fell. Count Boniface, commander of the Roman forces in Africa, where the last stand was made against the Vandals, was one of Augustine's most distinguished correspondents, and received both spiritual and temporal advice from the great bishop.

An interesting little group of letters to women deserves at least passing mention because they show so clearly the high level of education and of theological knowledge among the women of the fifth century. The nature of the subjects treated and the manner in which they are developed are no less profound than is the case when the objects of the instruction are men. There is no more substantial spiritual nourishment in the whole range of the Letters than the treatise on Prayer addressed to Proba⁵⁰ or that on the Vision of God⁵¹ which he wrote for Paulina.

The versatility of the bishop and the wide scope of his pastoral solicitude is exemplified in his letter⁵² to a community of Sisters. After settling a point in dispute, he proceeds, in admirably terse Latin, to outline a rule of life for the religious, many points of which are as practicable today as they were fifteen centuries ago.

The letters to St. Jerome show Augustine under strong restraint, weighing his words with care, keeping back his natural vigor and exuberance of expression, often adopting an apologetic tone not found elsewhere in the Letters. This was probably owing to the testiness of Jerome's temper, which made him likely to take exception to the most unexpected statements. But Augustine had the greatest possible respect for Jerome's learning and sincerely desired to be instructed by him. To all his other correspondents he was the teacher, deferred to and consulted by popes and bishops as well as by the laity, the outstanding intellectual force of his time.

⁵⁰ Ep. 130.

⁵¹ Ep. 147.

⁵² Ep. 211.



PART I. VOCABULARY.

I. Morphology.

CHAPTER I. DERIVATIVES.

i. NOUNS.

The ecclesiastical writers whose medium was Latin, found themselves at a decided disadvantage as compared with their Greek contemporaries. The latter had a flexible and analytic language, capable of expressing the finest distinctions of abstract thought, while the former were obliged to set forth ideas far removed from Roman thought and life in a tongue which showed a curious aversion for abstraction. The writers of the classical period, while deploring the poverty of Latin in this respect, nevertheless attempted to perpetuate this poverty by condemning the only two sources whence the language might be enriched: neologisms and foreign loan-words. But the later writers, overruling these outworn canons of criticism, proceeded to open wide the gates which had been barred so long, and to form new words or to borrow Greek ones at need. Provincial writers, especially Africans, show the most extensive traces of this tendency; of these Tertullian and Augustine made the most impressive contribution to the literary vocabulary.

The following categories are those which show the greatest divergence from the classical vocabulary in the Letters of Augustine.

1. *Nouns in -a.*

An immense number of words in *-a* of classical usage occur throughout the Letters, as might be expected in view of the fact that *-a* is such a common suffix in Latin. The following are worthy of note because they show deviation from classical diction by being late, colloquial or poetical.

basterna (late) 10, 1. (Pall. 7, 2, 3; Lampr. Elag. 21; Amm. 14, 6, 16; Hier. Ep. 22, 16.)

bucca (colloquial) 3, 5. (Cato ap. Gell. 2, 22, 29; Plaut. Stich. 5, 4, 42; Juv. 3, 262; Hier. Ep. 22, 16.)

buda (colloq.) 78, 6; 105, 3. (Anthol. Lat. 5, 189, 2; Don. ad Verg. A. 2, 135.)
 ficulnea (late) (Vulg. Osee, 9, 10; Luc. 13, 7; Hier. in Jerem. 2 ad 8, 13.)
 lucta (p. c.) 187, 24. (Capitol. Maxim. 6; Auson. Ep. 93; Hier. Ep. 124, 5.)
 papa (eccl.) 31, 8; 175, 6; 190, 22; 209, sal.; 215, 2. (Prud. *oreph.* 11, 127; Tert. Pudic. 13.)
 senecta (a. c. and poet.) 179, 7; 197, 4. (Lucil. ap. Non. 492, 23; Enn. ap. Cic. Or. 55, 184; Plaut. Most. 1, 3, 60; Lucr. 4, 1256; Vulg. Psal. 70, 18; Eccli. 3, 14; Isai. 46, 4.)
 vindicta (poet.) 145, 5; 153, 16. (Juv. 16, 22; Phaedr. 1, 29, 10; Vulg. freq. Deut. 32, 43 to 1 Petr. 2, 14.)

2. Nouns in -ar, -are.

torcular (rare) 47, 3; 78, 9; 111, 2. (Plin. 18, 26, 62; Vitr. 6, 9; Vulg. Num. 18, 27; Deut. 15, 14; Prov. 3, 10 etc.)
 luminaria (eccl.) 55, 11, 12. (Hier. adv. Vigil. 3; Vulg. Gen. 1, 16; Ex. 25, 6; Judith, 13, 6 etc.)
 salutare (as noun: late) 140, 46. (App. M. 2, 128; Vulg. Gen. 49, 18; Psal. 41, 5.)

3. Nouns in -arius, -arium.

Those in *-arius* usually denote an agent and are especially frequent in the *sermo plebeius*. Plautus shows a remarkable fondness for them. This is properly an adjectival termination, so that many of these nouns are adjectives used substantively. Both uses are found in the Letters. Nouns in *-arium* are few and mostly of late formation: they usually denote a place where things are kept.

apothecarius (late) 185, 15. (Dig. 12, 58, 12.)
 tributarius (mostly p. c.) 220, 7. (Gai. Inst. 2, 21; Flor. 3, 4, 1; Suet. Aug. 40; Vulg. Josue 16, 10; Judic. 17, 13; 3 Reg. 9, 21; Esth. 10, 1 etc.)
 breviarium (coll. for summarium¹) 141, 1; 185, 6. (Suet. Galb. 12; Hier. Ep. 148, 14.)
 cellarium (p. c. access. form to cella) 145, 10; 211, 12, 13. (Dig. 32, 41, 1; Cael. Aur. Acut. 1, 11, 93; Ambros. in Cant. Cant. 1, 20; Hier. adv. Jovin. 11, 14; Vulg. Deut. 28, 8; 1 Par. 28, 11; Prov. 24, 4 etc.)

¹ Cf. Sen. Ep. 39, 1: haec quae nunc vulgo breviarium dicitur olim cum Latine loqueremur summarium vocabatur.

hastarium (late) 96, 2. (Tert. Ap. 13 ad Nat. 1, 10.)
plantarium (rare) 108, 13; 141, 6. (Plin. 13, 4, 8; 17, 20, 34;
 Hier. Ep. 79, 10.)
vestiarium (rare) 211, 12. (Plin. 15, 8, 8.)

4. *Nouns in -atus.*

These are abstracts formed from the supine stem, some of which have parallels in *-io*; or purely noun forms made on the analogy of the verbal forms. These latter are largely ecclesiastical terms, some of them of hybrid formation. Very few occur in the classical period, but they are found with increasing frequency after the third century A. D.²

affatus (poet.) 130, 20; 147, 1, 18, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 47; 258; 259, 5. (Stat. 2, 4, 7; Verg. A. 4, 284; Cod. Just. 5, 4, 23.)
apostolatus (eccl.) 40, 5. (Tert. adv. Marc. 1, 20; Sid. Ep. 7, 4; Vulg. Act. 1, 25; Rom. 1, 5.)
clericatus (eccl.) 35, 2; 60, 1; 78, 3; 125, 2; 126, 3, 6, 7, 8, 12; 185, 44, 45. (Hier. Ep. 51, 1.)
comitatus (= court, late) 88, 7, 10; 97, 2; 141, 10; 225, 1. (Dig. 49, 16, 13; Aus. Ep. 17.)
episcopatus (eccl.) 23, 1; 28, 1; 43, 4; 51, 2, 4; 53, 6; 59, 2; 69, 2; 71, 2; 82, 32; 86; 108, 5; 128, 2, 3; 149, 34; 173, 3; 185, 44; 209, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10. (Amm. 27, 3, 10; Tert. Bapt. 17; Vulg. Psal. 108, 7.)
famulatus (rare) 232, 4. (Sen. Hippol. 991; Arn. 1, 26; Vulg. Exod. 1, 14.)
flatus (poet.) 118, 11; 190, 16; 169, 10; 205, 19. (Hor. A. P. 205; Ov. M. 13, 418; Verg. G. 2, 339; Vulg. Isai. 30, 33; Dan. 5, 23, etc.)
latratus (poet.) 29, 2. (Verg. G. 3, 411; Ov. M. 4, 450, etc.)
potentatus (lit.—might, late) 51, 3. (Arn. 1, 31; Vulg. Psal. 19, 7; Eccli. 10, 11.)
primatus (a. c.) 36, 12; 38, 2; 43, 3; 59, 1; 209, 3. (Varro, R. R. 1, 7, 10; Vulg. Eccli. 24, 10; Coloss. 1, 18, 3; 3 Joan. 9.)
principatus (= angels, good or bad: eccl.) 149, 25, 26, 30. (Vulg. Rom. 8, 38; Col. 1, 1, 16.)

² Goelzer, 9.

reatus (— guilt: late) 98, 6; 125, 3; 126, 1; 164, 13; 166, 6, 27. (Arn. 1, 64; App. Met. 7; Vulg. Deut. 21, 8; Exod. 32, 35.)

tractatus (— homily: eccl.) 44, 10; 224, 2. (Aug. Haeres. 4, praef.)

5. Nouns in *-bulum*, *-culum*, *-crum*.

These are sometimes mistaken for diminutives. The suffix is added to verbs and usually indicates an instrument of action. Augustine appears to favor the nouns in *-culum*, using only one, a classical word, in *-bulum* (vocabulum) and one in *-crum*.

lavacrum (p. c.) 35, 3; 108, 6, 10; 127, 7; 185, 39; 187, 28; 190, 21; 193, 3; 194, 32. (Gell. 1, 2, 2; Amm. 16, 10, 14; Tert. Cor. 3; Vulg. Tit. 3, 5.)

defensaculum (ἀπαξ λεγόμενον) 102, 35.

habitaculum (p. c.) 78, 3; 185, 30. (Gell. 5, 14, 21; Pall. 1, 23.)

obstaculum (p. c.) 165, 11, 14. (Prud. Ham. 601; App. Flor. p. 361, 11; Arn. 2, 62; Amm. 17, 3.)

offendiculum (rare) 164, 16. (Plin. Ep. 9, 11, 1; Paul. Nol. Carm. 27, 96; Hier. in Isai. 13, 49, 8; Vulg. 1 Cor. 8, 9; Isai. 57, 14.)

retinaculum (— bond, p. c. very rare in sing.) 118, 3. (Amm. 30, 4, 4.)

signaculum (p. c.) 23, 4; 185, 23. (Tert. Apol. 21; Prud. Psych.; App. Flor. 9, 11, 16; Hier. Ep. 123, 3.)

sustentaculum (very rare) 104, 5; 126, 10; 262, 8. (Tac. H. 2, 28; Varro R. R. 1, 51; Aug. Mor. Eccl. Cath. 33.)

umbraculum (— shade: rare) 102, 35; 137, 3; 187, 31. (Verg. E. 9, 42.)

6. Nouns in *-edo*.

These are usually denominative or verbal. Only four are found in the Letters, one classical.

intercapedo (rare) 147, 43. (Cic. Fam. 16, 21; Suet. Vesp. 10; Plin. Ep. 4, 9.)

putredo (late) 93, 8; 102, 5; 104, 7; 140, 20; 205, 9. (App. M. 9, p. 222; Prud. Cath. 9, 31; Macr. S. 1, 17, 57; Hier. Ep. 61; Vulg. Job 7, 5; Prov. 12, 4; Joel 2, 20.)

turpedo^a (rare) 91, 5. (Cic. Rep. 1, 2, 2; Tert. Cor. Mil. 14.)

^a A syncopated form of turpitude. Goelzer, 106.

7. *Nouns in -ela.*

Nouns of this class are rare, being found chiefly in early and late Latin. It is a termination belonging to the *sermo plebeius*. The following occur in the Letters:

- cautela* (a. and p. c.) 43, 20; 108, 10; 148, 17; 209, 9; 264, 2.
 (Plaut. Mil. 3, 1, 6; App. M. 2, p. 117; Dig. 3, 3, 15.)
incoorruptela (eccl.) 205, 14, 15. (Tert. de Carne Christi 15;
 Vulg. 1 Cor. 15, 50.)
loquela (poet.) 3, 1; 21, 5; 28, 1; 80, 2; 151, 4. (Plaut. Cist.
 4, 2, 76; Verg. A. 5, 842; Lucr. 5, 230; Vulg. Psal. 18,
 4; Eccli. 13, 14; Matth. 26, 73; Joan. 4, 42.)

8. *Nouns in -ia, -ntia.*

The termination *-ntia* is especially frequent in the African writers and is much favored by Augustine. The abstract nature of the ideas he sets forth calls for a wide variety of abstract terms, such as were usually avoided by the classical writers. Many of the nouns in *-ntia* have been developed, by an easily understood transition, from present participles in the neuter plural, while others have been formed on the analogy of these from adjectives.

a) *Nouns in -ntia.*

- absentia* (rare) 22, 9; 27, 2; 31, 2, 4; 40, 1; 69, 2; 28, 15;
 84, 1, 2; 95, 1, 6; 101, 1; 102, 4; 108, 8; 120, 14; 122,
 1, 2; 124, 2; 126, 3, 6; 142, 1, 1; 147, 5, 7, 11; 151, 13;
 162, 3; 166, 1; 228, 8, 9; 263, 4. (Cic. Pis. 16, 37;
 Quint. 4, 2, 70; Tac. A. 4, 64; Vulg. Philip. 2, 12.)
abstinentia—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.
apparentia (eccl.) 147, 5. (Tert. adv. Marc. 1, 19; Firm.
 Math. 5, 8.)
circumstantia (rare) 140, 23; 149, 24. (Gell. 3, 7, 5; Sen.
 Q. N. 2, 7, 2; Tert. Or. 3; Vulg. Psal. 140, 3.)
concincentia (p. c. for *concentus*) 55, 29. (Macr. Somn. Scip.
 2, 2; Sid. Ep. 8, 4.)
congruentia (very rare) 3, 4; 54, 1; 55, 10, 10, 21; 111, 12;
 140, 5; 194, 16. (Suet. Oth. 2; Plin. Ep. 2, 5, 11; App.
 M. p. 283, 15.)
concupiscentia (eccl.) 55, 36; 95, 6; 102, 25; 130, 23, 24, 26;
 131; 138, 12; 140, 19; 155, 11; 164, 19; 167, 11; 184,
 A. 3; 187, 31; 194, 44; 196, 5, 6; 211, 10; 220, 4. (Tert.
 Res. Car. 45; Hier. Ep. 63, 1; Paulin. Nol. Ep. 30, 3;

- Vulg. Num. 11, 34; Deut. 9, 22; Tobiae 3, 16; Psal. 105, 14; Marc. 4, 19.)
- consequentia (p. c. and juristic) 36, 28; 93, 33; 102, 37. (Gell. 12, 5, 10; Auct. Her. 4, 54, 67; Dig. 4, 3, 19.)
- corpulentia (= corporeity, late, very rare) 120, 12. (Tert. Carn. Chr. 3.)
- diffidentia (= unbelief, eccl.) 23, 6; 88, 10; 217, 10. (Vulg. Rom. 4, 20; Ephes. 2, 2.)
- discernentia (ἀπαξ λεγόμενον) 4, 1.
- displicentia (rare) 108, 10. (Sen. Tranq. An. 2, 8; Cael. Aur. Tard. 3, 6, 86.)
- eminentia (mostly p. c.) 55, 31; 140, 44, 62. (Gell. 5, 11, 9; Ulp. Frag. 11, 3; Vulg. Macc. 6, 19.)
- essentia (rare) 120, 17; 166, 4. (Quint. 2, 14, 2; Sen. Ep. 58, 6; App. Dogm. Plat. 1, 6.)
- experientia—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.
- faeculentia (p. c.) 108, 6. (Sid. Ep. 3, 13.)
- flagrantia (p. c.) 194, 1. (Gell. 17, 10, 8; Arn. 2, p. 69; Mart. Cap. 8, p. 183.)
- honorificentia (p. c.) 64, 2; 148, 15; 164, 9; 238, 7. (Arn. 3, 2; Symm. Ep. 6, 36; Vop. Aur. 25, 6; Ambros. de Abr. 2, 10, 69; Vulg. Judith 15, 10.)
- indigentia (rare) 102, 6, 17; 126, 7; 157, 29; 243, 12. (Cic. Lael. 8, 27; Ambros. de Isaac, 7, 60; Vulg. Amos, 4, 6.)
- indulgentia (= remission of guilt, p. c.) 87, 9; 104, 9; 105, 6; 137, 16; 151, 11; 166, 10; 185, 23, 45; 186, 16. (Capitol. Anton. 6, 3; Amm. 16, 5, 16; Vulg. Isai. 61, 1; 1 Cor. 7, 6.)
- inoboedientia (eccl.) 35, 2; 184, A. 3; 185, 24; 190, 10; 262, 9. (Civ. Dei 14, 17; Hier. Quaest. Hebr. ad Reg. 2, 1; Vulg. Esth. 16, 24; Rom. 5, 19; 2 Cor. 10, 6.)
- invidentia (rare) 140, 54. (Cic. Tusc. 4, 8, 17; Cael. Aur. Tard. 4, 9, 132.)
- manentia (ἀπαξ λεγόμενον), 11, 3.
- observantia (= observance of religious duties: late) 262, 9. (Cod. Th. 16, 5, 12; Vulg. 2 Macc. 6, 11.)
- omnipotentia (p. c.) 80, 2; 82, 5; 92, 5; 102, 5; 118, 15; 137, 6, 20; 149, 18. (Macr. S. 1, 16; Hier. Ep. 58, 3; Hilar. Trin. 1, 4.)
- paenitentia—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.
- perseverantia—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.

- placentia** (p. c.) 108, 10. (App. Dogm. Plat. 2, p. 15; Hier. Nom. Hebr. col. 69.)
- praescientia** (eccl.) 73, 6, 7; 102, 14; 149, 20; 186, 25. (Civ. Dei 5, 9; Tert. adv. Marc. 2, 5; Mart. Cap. 2, 159; Ambros. S. S. 3, 16; Hier. adv. Rufin. 1, 22; Vulg. Eccli. 31, 2; Act. 2, 23; 1 Petr. 1, 2.)
- providentia** (= Providence of God: eccl.) 19; 23, 8; 98, 4; 102, 13; 103; 108, 6; 137, 8; 138, 2; 140, 13, 31; 153, 4, 17; 159, 4; 184 A, 6; 194, 32; 231, 7. (Vulg. Sap. 14, 3; Act. 24, 2.)
- redundantia** (rare) 126, 7. (Cic. Or. 30, 108; Vitr. 1, 6; Tert. Apol. 31; App. Dogm. Plat. 2, 5.)
- resplendentia** (ἀπαξ λεγόμενον) 155, 14.
- reticentia** (rare) 151, 1. (Plaut. Mer. 5, 2, 52; Cic. Phil. 14, 12, 33; Quint. 9, 1.)
- somnolentia** (late) 194, 32. (Sid. Ep. 2, 2.)
- sufficientia** (p. c.) 130, 12, 13; 194, 19; 262, 8. (Tert. ad Uxor. 1, 4; Sid. Ep. 6, 12; Vulg. 2 Cor. 3, 5; 1 Tim. 6, 6.)
- sustinentia** (eccl.) 140, 26. (Lact. Ep. 34, 7; Cyp. Bon. Patient. 2; Interpr. Irenai. 5; Haeres. 5, 1.)
- tolerantia** (very rare) 22, 1, 3; 27, 1; 41, 1; 43, 23; 44, 11; 55, 25; 73, 7; 93, 1; 105, 16; 130, 18; 140, 63; 199, 29; 208, 2; 248, 2. (Cic. Par. 4, 1, 27; Sen. Ep. 67, 5; Quint. 2, 20, 10; Vulg. 2 Cor. 1, 6.)
- valentia** (a. and p. c.) 102, 6; 145, 6; 243, 3. (Titin. ap. Non. 186, 25; Macr. Som. Sc. 2, 14; Tert. adv. Jud. 9.)
- vinulentia** (rare) 29, 13, 10. (Cic. Phil. 2, 39, 101; Suet. Vit. 17)
- vinolentia** (rare) 55, 35; 35, 2.

b) *Nouns derived from verbals in -ax.*

- efficacia** (rare) 86; 205, 17. (Plin. 11, 5, 4; Amm. 14, 8, 5; Lact. de Ira D. 10, 37; Vulg. Eccli. 9, 4.)
- fallacia** (in sing., a. and p. c.) 102, 20. (Plaut. Ps. 2, 4, 15; Flor. 1, 16, 7; Vulg. Eccli. 1, 40; 2 Macc. 15, 10; Matth. 13, 22.)

c) *Nouns in -monia (-monium).*

- acrimonia** (mostly a. c.) 159, 1; 88, 2, 13. (Cato R. R. 15, 7, 5; Naev. ap. Non. 73, 18; Auct. Her. 4, 37, 49.)
- parsimonia** (mostly a. and p. c.) 159, 4; 167, 6. (Plaut. Most. 1, 3, 78; Ter. Heaut. 3, 1, 32; Amm. 15, 4, 8.)
- sanctimonia** (rare) 59, 2; 150, 1; 187, 15; 188, 1; 209, 6. (Cic.

Rab. Perd. 10, 30; Tac. A. 3, 69; Quint. 30, 93; Vulg. Psal. 95, 6; Hebr. 12, 14.)
 sanctimonium (eccl.) 36, 9. (Vulg. Interpr. Ital. Hebr. 10, 14; Exod. 15, 17; Aug. in Psal. 99; Petr. Diac. De Incarn. 1.)
 pactimonium ⁴ (ἁπαξ λεγόμενον) 61, 2.

This is another plebeian termination and one which tended to develop two sets of forms: feminine and neuter. Like Cicero, Augustine seems to have preferred the feminine termination, as pactimonium and sanctimonium are the only words in *-monium* to be found in his letters. Of the five words in *-monia*, all but acrimonia have collateral forms in *-monium*.

d) *Double forms in -ia, -ies.*

It has been noted ⁵ that 75% of the words in *-itia* have corresponding forms in *-ities*; that those in *-itia* are nearly all classical and largely Ciceronian, while those in *-ities* belong to early or late Latin and are probably plebeian. Augustine has twenty words in *-itia*, all classical, for only two of which he has collateral forms in *-ities*.

duritia (class.) 84, 2; 88, 9;	durities (poet.) 93, 41. (Lucr. 4, 268; Cat. 66, 50; Ov. M. 1, 401.)
mollitia (class.) 48, 2.	mollities (rare) 27, 2. (Cic. Att. 1, 17, 4; Just. 1, 7, 13.)
luxuria (class.) 36, 14, 15; 55, 12; 144, 2; 199, 12.	luxuries (rare) 36, 14. (Cic. Rosc. Am. 27, 75; Verg. G. 1, 112.)
materia (class.) 17, 2; 169, 10.	materies (rare) 159, 5; 155, 6; 231, 6; 253, 2. (Cic. Or. 2, 21, 88.)

⁴ Cf. Du Cange, Vol. V, 4: "sed videtur legendum patrimonii ita ut innuat recuperaturos patrimonium et continentiam, hoc est redditus suos et quod cuique necessarium est ad suam conditionem manutenendam."

The Vienna Corpus gives as variant sanctimonii (m). The substitution of patrimonium for pactimonium would seem either to violate the meaning of the author who is speaking of spiritual things only, or to give a forced meaning of inheritance of virtue to patrimonium, which would need some qualifying explanation.

⁵ Cooper, 48.

It is worthy of note that both *luxuria* and *luxuries* occur in the same passage in successive sentences. Other words in *-ies* are:

- barbaries (poet.) 199, 35. (Ov. M. 15, 829; Lucr. 8, 812.)
- conluvies (rare) 138, 17. (Att. ap. Cic. Att. 9, 10, 7; Tac. H. 2, 16; Just. 2, 6, 4; Dig. 43, 22.)
- ingluvies (rare) 118, 32. (Hor. S. 1, 2, 8; Gell. 7, 16, 4; Eutr. 7, 18.)
- pauperies (poet.) 211, 5. (Verg. A. 6, 437; Hor. C. 3, 2, 1; Lact. 6, 20, 25; Vulg. Prov. 6, 11.)

9. *Nouns in -io.*

This is one of the largest categories of nouns found in the Letters, as indeed it is in the Latin language itself. The scarcity of abstract words was conveniently supplied by the formation of nouns in *-io*. Cicero enriched the language with a long list of these words, some of which were used by himself alone. After his time the termination fell into disfavor with classical writers,* but remained extraordinarily fertile in the popular speech. Used with *esse*, these nouns often took the place of active verbs and retained their verbal meaning. In the post-classical period we find the suffix once more appearing in literary Latin, and the language was enriched with numbers of nouns by Gellius, Apuleius, Tertullian, Cyprian, Arnobius, Jerome, Ambrose and Augustine. It is rather significant, in view of Augustine's training as a rhetorician, that many of the words he uses are technical rhetorical terms, although he does not always use them with their purely rhetorical connotation. He also has several which are not in common circulation in Latin outside of Cicero.

- abolitio (rare, mostly juristic) 153, 15; 193, 6, 7. (Tac. Ann. 13, 51; Cod. Th. 9, 37, 3; Dig. 48, 16; Apul. de Mund. 8.)
- abominatio (eccl.) 47, 3; 199, 30, 31. (Hier. in Matth. 4, ad 24, 15; Vulg., freq. Exod. 8, 26, to Apoc. 21, 27; Hilar. in Matth. 25, 3.)
- abstentio (late) 196, 3. (Cael. Aur. Acut. 3, 18; Hilar. in Ps. 1, 11.)
- acceptio (= esteeming: late) 54, 7; 93, 53; 167, 18; 193, 4. (Cod. Th. 1, 9, 2; Vulg. 2 Par. 19, 7; Eccli. 20, 24; Rom. 2, 11; 1 Petr. 1, 17.)

* Goelzer (1), 79.

- adimpletio (eccl.) 102, 37. (Tert. adv. Marc. 5, 17; Lact. 4, 20.)
- admemoratio⁷ 59, 1. "Sic codd. saec. XIII; commemoratio codd. saec. XV."
- adnuntiatio (eccl.) 55, 10; 164, 12, 13. (Lact. 4, 21; Arn. 7, 43; Vulg. I Joan. 1, 5.)
- adoratio (rare) 149, 13, 16. (Plin. 29, 4, 20; App. M. 4, p. 155; Hier. in Is. XII ad 44, 6.)
- adquisitio (late) 228, 8. (Dig. 44, 4, 4; Tert. Ex. Cast. 12; Vulg. Prov. 3, 14; Eccli. 4, 24; Act. 19, 25; I Petr. 2, 9.)
- adstructio (late and very rare) 104, 14. (Mart. Cap. 5, p. 149; 9, p. 314.)
- adsumptio (very rare) 148, 10. (Cic. Fin. 3, 5, 18; Isid. Orig. 2, 9, 2; Vulg. Psal. 88, 19; Thren. 2, 14; Luc. 9, 51; Rom. 11, 15.)
- adtestatio (late) 43, 14; 82, 32; 180, 4. (Macr. Somn. Sc. 2, 9; Treb. Poll. XXX Tyr. 30; Vulg. Gen. 43, 3.)
- aedificatio—Cf. ch. v. Semantica.
- afflictio (very rare) 93, 20; 100, 1; 137, 16; 166, 16, 20. (Sen. Cons. ad Helv. 16; Vulg. Gen. 16, 11 to Act. 7, 34.)
- agnitio (rare) 95, 22; 149, 32. (Cic. N. D. 1, 1; Macr. Somn. Sc. 1, 8; Cass. Incarn. 4, 2; Vulg. Gen. 45, 1; Sap. 3, 18; Eccli. 1, 15; Ephes. 1, 17.)
- amissio (rare out of Cicero) 130, 3; 232, 3. (Cic. Pis. 17, 40; Fam. 4, 3; Sen. Ep. 4; Vulg. Jud. 16, 28; Act. 27, 29; Rom. 11, 15.)
- anticipatio (rare out of Cicero) 164, 9. (Cic. N. D. 1, 16, 43; Arn. 3, p. 107.)
- apparitio (= attendance: very rare) 150, 1. (Cic. Fam. 13, 54.)
- ascensio (rare for ascensus) 54, 1; 130, 2; 199, 20, 24, 35. (Plaut. Rud. 3, 1, 7; Vulg. Josue 15, 7; 1 Par. 26, 16; Psal. 8, 3, 6.)
- assertio (= assertion: late) 108, 5; 186, 39; 190, 2, 13. (Arn. 1, p. 18.)
- aversio (lit. = a turning away. This use of the word is confined to the adverbial expression *ex aversione*. Augustine uses it in the nom. and in the ab. of instrument.) 140, 56, 74; 147, 31. (Auct. B. Hisp. 22.)
- bacchatio (rare) 35, 2. (Cic. Verr. 21, 12; Hyg. Fab. 48.)
- benedictio (eccl.) 31, 9; 41, 2; 61, 2; 137, 15; 175, 5; 179, 4;

⁷Thes. Ling. Lat., Vol. I.

- 184A, 3. (Paul. Nol. Ep. 32; Sulp. de Vita S. Mart. 2, 12; Vulg. Gen. 26, 29; Deut. 16, 10; Gal. 3, 14.)
- breviatio (late) 139, 3; 199, 20, 29, 30. (Jordan. Get. Praef.)
- cantatio (a. and p. c.) 26, 3. (Varro L. L. 6, 7; App. M. 2, p. 125; Vulg. Psal. 70, 6.)
- causatio (p. c. juristic) 108, 2; 126, 4. (Cod. Th. 3, 5, 2; Tert. ad Marc. 5, 20; Gell. 20, 1.)
- circumcisio (eccl.) 23, 4; 82, 8, 11, 12, 15, 20; 147, 14; 187, 34; 196, 3, 9, 11, 14; 199, 29; 265, 3. (Lact. 4, 17, 1; Tert. adv. Jud. 2, 3; Vulg. freq. Gen. 17, 25 to Tit. 1, 10.)
- circumpositio (eccl.) 262, 9. (Ambros. Ep. 38, 1.)
- circumventio (p. c. ex. Cic.) 78, 5. (Cic. Att. 2, 16, 4; Hier. in Eph. III ad 4, 14; Dig. 4, 4, 17; Cod. Just. 2, 43, 3; Cyp. 595, 9; Arn. 5, 3; Vulg. Ephes. 4, 14.)
- cohabitatio (late) 78, 8, 8. (Alcim. Avit. p. 505; Greg. Tur. H. F. 2, 12, p. 80; Hilar. in Ps. 64, 5.)
- coinquatio (late) 236, 2. (Sulp. Sev. Ep. 2, 9; Vulg. 1 Esd. 6, 21; Judith 9, 2; 2 Macc. 5, 27; 2 Petr. 2, 13.)
- collatio—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.
- comminatio (rare) 145, 3. (Cic. De Or. 3, 54, 206; Plin. 8, 45, 70; Vulg. Isai. 30, 30; Jerem. 10, 10.)
- commixtio (p. c.) 137, 11. (Marc. Emp. 8; Hier. Ep. 71, 1; Vulg. Levit. 18, 20; Num. 19, 13; Osee 7, 4.)
- communicatio (rare out of Cicero) 53, 6; 54, 1; 98, 5; 202A, 1. (Cic. Balb. 13, 31; Fam. 5, 19, 2; Plin. 24, 14, 80.)
- communio—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.
- compassio (eccl.) 40, 4. (Tert. Res. Carn. 4.)
- compensatio (trop. in Cic. only) 23, 8; 166, 18, 20; 185, 44; 188, 6. (Tusc. 5, 33, 95; N. D. 1, 9, 23.)
- completio (late) 49, 2. (Paul. ex Fest. p. 105; Jul. Ep. Nov. c. 66; Vulg. Ezech. 5, 2.)
- concertatio (rare out of Cicero) 147, 49. (Cic. Fin. 1, 8, 27; de Or. 1, 43, 194; Plin. 29, 1, 5; Vulg. 2 Reg. 3, 1.)
- concurso (rare out of Cicero) 118, 28. (Cic. Ac. 1, 2, 6; Fin. 1, 6, 17; Auct. Her. 4, 12, 18; Vulg. Act. 21, 30.)
- condemnatio (p. c. and juristic) 88, 7; 57, 11; 166, 24; 169, 13. (Dig. 2, 10, 5; Cod. Just. 8, 14, 8; Gai. Inst. 3, 180; Vulg. 1 Esdr. 7, 26; Sap. 12, 27; Rom. 5, 16; 2 Cor. 7, 3.)
- confectio (rare out of Cicero) 43, 3; 228, 8; 250, 1. (Cic. Sen. 1, 2; de Or. 2, 15; Cod. Just. 6, 23, 27.)
- confessio—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.

- conflictatio (— dispute: eccl.) 193, 4. (Vulg. 1 Tim. 6, 5.)
 confractio (eccl.) 140, 50. (Vulg. Psal. 105, 23; Isai. 24, 19;
 Hier. Vir. Ill. 16.)
 conlocutio (very rare out of Cicero) 9, 2; 33, 4; 40, 1. (Cic.
 Tusc. 1, 33, 30; Auct. Her. 1, 15, 25.)
 connexio (— union: rare and late) 137, 15; 140, 29. (Isid.
 Orig. 18, 12, 6; Serv. ad Verg. A. 9, 517.)
 conquestio (very rare) 29, 7; 44, 12; 138, 1, 6. (Cic. Q. Fr. 1,
 1, 7; Sen. Ep. 78, 12.)
 conscissio (Augustine only) 51, 3. (Mor. Eccl. Cath. 34.)
 consecratio—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.
 consideratio (rare) 28, 5; 34, 3; 173, 6; 228, 10. (Cic. Ac.
 2, 41, 129; Gell. 13, 29.)
 consignatio (p. c. and rare) 61, 2. (Quint. 12, 8, 11; Dig.
 22, 3, 4.)
 consparsio (late) 186, 19. (Pall. Nov. 13, 3; Hier. in Matth. 2
 ad 16, 8; Tert. adv. Marc. 4, 24; Vulg. 1 Cor. 5, 7.)
 constipatio (p. c.) 118, 29, 30; 126, 2. (Vop. Aur. 21; Amm.
 26, 6, 14; Hier. Ep. 58, 4.)
 constrictio (p. c.) 36, 25. (Pall. Mart. 1; Scrib. Comp. 84;
 Macr. S. 7, 6.)
 contaminatio (— contamination: p. c.) 118, 8; 185, 17. (Dig.
 48, 5, 2; Arn. 5, 168; Vulg. Ezech. 14, 6; 1 Macc. 4, 43.)
 contritio (— contrition: eccl.) 122, 2. (Lact. 7, 18; Vulg. Jer.
 30, 15; Psal. 13, 3.)
 conversio—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.
 correctio—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.
 correptio (— rebuke: eccl.) 53, 7; 73, 4; 153, 10; 250, 3. (Tert.
 Pudic. 14; Vulg. Tobiae 3, 21; Sap. 1, 9; Eccli. 8, 6.)
 creatio (very rare) 166, 25; 177, 1. (Dig. 1, 7, 15; Vulg.
 Hebr. 9, 11.)
 crucifixio (eccl.) 140, 39. (Hier. in Galat. 3, ad 5, 24.)
 cubitio (ἄπαξ λεγόμενον) 3, 1.
 damnatio—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.
 deceptio (late) 82, 12; 205, 16. (Mart. Cap. 4; Cod. 11, 47, 6;
 Hier. in Isai. 7 ad 22, 2; Vulg. Sap. 14, 21; Dan. 2, 9;
 Mich. 1, 14.)
 deliberatio (very rare out of Cicero) 62, 3; 125, 1. (Cic. Phil.
 1, 1, 2; de Or. 2, 82; Liv. 2, 45, 7.)
 dementatio (late and very rare) 204, 5. (Fredegarius Chron. 68.)

- deportatio (rare, a. and p. c.) 102, 26; 126, 12. (Cato R. R. 144, 3; Dig. 48, 13, 3.)
- depositio (juristic and late) 4, 2; 38, 2. (Dig. 16, 31; Cod. 2, 43, 3; Vulg. 1 Petr. 3, 21.)
- depraedatio (late) 185, 30. (Cod. 2, 6, 4; Lact. Epit. 11; Hier. in Is. 4 ad 16; Vulg. Judith 10, 12; Isai. 33, 1.)
- desertio (late, rare) 173, 4; 228, 5, 11. (Dig. 49, 16, 3.)
- desolatio (eccl.) 130, 3, 5, 30; 199, 29, 30, 31. (Salv. Gub. Dei. 6; Hilar. in Psal. 58, 7; Vulg. 2 Par. 36, 21; Psal. 72, 19.)
- destitutio (very rare) 130, 30. (Quint. 5, 20; Suet. Dom. 14; Vulg. Hebr. 9, 26.)
- devitatio (very rare) 238, 9. (Cic. Att. 16, 2, 4.)
- devotio (— piety: eccl.) 20, 3; 44, 1; 55, 2, 13; 58, 1; 80, 2; 130, 26; 269, 1, 3. (Lact. 2, 11; Lampr. Heliog. 3.)
- dictatio (late) 139, 3. (Dig. 29, 14.)
- diffusio (very rare) 93, 40; 166, 4. (Mart. Cap. 6, 661; Sen. Vit. Beat. 5, 1.)
- diindicatio (very rare) 78, 3. (Cic. Leg. 1, 21, 56.)
- dilatatio (late) 140, 67. (Tert. Anim. 37; Hier. in Ezech. 10 ad 31; Vulg. Prov. 21; Ezech. 31, 7.)
- dilectio (late) 23, 5; 27, 6; 28, 4; 31, 9; 36, 1; 48, 3; 55, 3; 73, 6; 82, 36; 88, 9; 93, 6; 99, 2; 104, 7 et saepe to 266, 4. (Tert. adv. Marc. 4, 27; Hier. Ep. 5, 6; Vulg. freq. Tobiae 8, 9, to Judae, 21.)
- diremptio (very rare) 78, 1; 144, 3. (Val. Max. 4, 7, 1.)
- discissio (late for discidium) 82, 8; 128, 3; 209, 1. (Augustine only).
- discretio (p. c.) 120, 21; 147, 27, 38; 155, 16; 167, 6; 186, 27. (Pall. Jul. 4, 5; Lact. 7, 12, 4; Macr. Somn. Sc. 1, 6, 17; Hier. in Matth. 2 ad 13, 17.)
- discussio (— disputation: late) 17, 5; 23, 1; 43, 9; 44, 6. (Macr. Somn. Sc. 1, 16, 8; Tert. Pudic. 11.)
- dispersio (— scattering: late) 185A; 204, 2; 232, 3. (Tert. adv. Jud. 13; Vulg. Joan. 7, 35.)
- distentio (very rare) 187, 41. (C. Aur. Tard. 1, 4, 66; Hier. in Eccle. Col. 392; Cels. 2, 4, 8; Vulg. Eccle. 8, 16.)
- dormitio* (a. and p. c.) 3, 1. (Varr. ap. Non. 100, 1; Tert. Patient. 9; Vulg. 2 Macc. 12, 45; Hier. Ep. 108, 15; Arn. 5, 9.)

*Tertullian and Jerome give this word a figurative meaning: death; Augustine, like Arnobius, uses it literally. Cf. Gabarron, 18.

- electio (= election to salvation: eccl.) 186, 7, 15, 25; 194, 34.
(Vulg. Act. 9, 15; Rom. 9, 11; 1 Thess. 1, 4; 2 Petr. 1, 20.)
- enervatio (very rare) 243, 10. (Arn. 3, 10.)
- evigilatio (Augustine only) 140, 76. (Solil. 1, 1; Civ. Dei. 17, 18, 1.)
- exaggeratio (rare) 44, 4; 155, 8. (Cic. Tusc. 6, 26, 64; Gell. 13, 24, 9.)
- examinatio (p. c.) 44, 12. (Dig. 3, 5, 8.)
- excaecatio (*ἀπαξ λεγόμενον*) 88, 12.
- excitatio (p. c.) 9, 3; 28, 1. (Arn. 7, 237.)
- execratio (= an object of execration: eccl.) 43, 3; 69, 1. (Vulg. Levit. 18, 27.)
- exhibitio (p. c.) 55, 3; 105, 3. (Gell. 14, 2, 7; Dig. 29, 3, 2; Tert. Idol. 6.)
- expiatio (rare) 235, 2. (Cic. Leg. 1, 14, 20; Liv. 9, 1, 4; Vulg. Exod. 29, 36; Levit. 1, 4.)
- expoliatio (late) 157, 14. (Civ. Dei 28, 8; Isid. 18, 2, 1; Hier. adv. Jovin. 1, 38; Vulg. Coloss. 2, 11, 1.)
- finctio (*ἀπαξ λεγόμενον*) 236, 3.
- fluctuatio (very rare) 187, 37. (Sen. de Ira 2, 35, 3; Liv. 9, 25, 6; Vulg. Psal. 54, 23; Eccli. 40, 4.)
- fornicatio (eccl.) 55, 24; 140, 74; 259. (Tert. Pudic. 1, 2; Hier. Ep. 79, 10.)
- fractio (eccl.) 149, 32. (Hier. Ep. 108, 8; Vulg. Luc. 24, 35; Act. 2, 42.)
- generatio—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.
- glorificatio (eccl.) 140, 36; 142, 1. (Aug. Tract. 105, 3; Hier. Didym. S. S. 38.)
- humiliatio (p. c.) 35, 3. (Tert. Virg. Vel. 13; Hier. adv. Jovin. 2, 15; Cass. 7, 29, 31; Vulg. Eccli. 2, 5; Mich. 6, 14.)
- immissio (rare) 91, 9. (Cic. de Sen. 15, 53; Dig. 8, 5, 8; Vulg. Psal. 77, 49.)
- immolatio (rare) 36, 30; 157, 23; 196, 3. (Cic. Div. 1, 52, 119; Quint. 2, 13, 13.)
- impositio (rare) 149, 16; 185, 32; 265, 7. (Varro, L. L. 8, 5; Vulg. Act. 8, 18; 1 Tim. 4, 14; 2 Tim. 1, 6; Hebr. 6, 2.)
- improbatio (very rare) 169, 2. (Auct. Her. 2, 6, 9; Cic. Verr. 2, 3, 74.)
- incarnatio (eccl.) 137, 12, 15; 186, 31; 166, 17; 187, 34; 190, 8; 238, 23. (Hilar. Trin. 2, 33; Hier. adv. Jovin. 2, 30.)

- inchoatio** (late) 120, 13. (Hilar. in Psal. 118, 10; Hier. Chron. 35; Vulg. Hebr. 6, 1.)
- incorruptio** (eccl.) 95, 7; 118, 14; 155, 6; 164, 9; 205, 4, 89. (Aug. De Trin. 13, 7; Tert. Res. Carn. 51; Vulg. Sap. 6, 19; 1 Cor. 15, 53; 2 Tim. 1, 10.)
- increpatio** (p. c.) 147, 42. (Tert. adv. Marc. 4, 7; Hier. Ep. 21, 13; Vulg. freq. Deut. 28, 20 to 2 Macc. 7, 33.)
- indevotio** (p. c.) 122, 1. (Cod. Just. 7, 2, 15; Dig. 39, 9, 1; Ambros. de Elia 17, 62.)
- infestatio** (late) 220, 3; 243, 8. (Tert. Apol. 1.)
- infusio** (mostly p. c.) 202A, 9. (Ambros. Apol. Dav. 3, 11; Cael. Aur. Tard. 3, 8.)
- ingurgitatio** (late) 29, 10; 36, 11. (Firm. 5, 8.)
- inlatio** (p. c.) 7, 2, 3. (Arn. 4, 30; Dig. 11, 72; Cassiod. Var. 2, 16; Paul. Sent. 5, 4, 1.)
- inlustratio** (very rare) 82, 20; 118, 15; 147, 14. (Quint. 6, 2, 321.)
- innovatio** (late) 55, 5; 166, 26. (Tert. adv. Marc. 1, 1; Arn. 1, 7; App. Trism. p. 95; Vulg. 1 Macc. 12, 17.)
- inquinatio** (eccl.) 190, 20. (Vulg. Sap. 14, 26.)
- inreptio** (ἁπαξ λεγόμενον) 217, 5.
- insertio** (p. c.) 49, 50. (Isid. Orig. 17, 6, 2; Macr. S. 1, 7, 25.)
- inspiratio** (late) 145, 8; 188, 1, 3; 194, 30; 217, 23. (Sol. 7, 23; Tert. De Pat. 1; Vulg. 2 Reg. 22, 16; Job 32, 8; Psal. 17, 16; Act. 17, 25.)
- instructio**—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.
- intentio**—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.
- intortio** (p. c.) 262, 9. (Arn. 3, 108.)
- iuratio** (p. c.) 47, 2; 62, 2; 93, 21; 125, 3, 4; 126, 2, 3, 4, 5, 11, 12, 13; 147, 40; 237, 3. (Macr. S. 1, 6, 30; Tert. Idol. 1.)
- iussio** (p. c.) 43, 4; 51, 3; 66, 1; 88, 5; 89, 7; 101, 3; 105, 3; 107, 6, 7, 10, 14; 114; 128, 4; 174; 217, 8. (Dig. 40, 4; Lact. 4, 15, 9; Vulg. Gen. 27; Exod. 40, 19; 2 Reg. 19, 8.)
- iustificatio** (late) 82, 25; 140, 71; 157, 11, 12, 13, 14; 177, 9; 186, 1; 193, 6. (Civ. Dei 16, 36; Salv. Avar. 3, 2; Vulg. Num. 9, 3.)
- laesio** (= injury: late. Used by Cicero as a rhetorical term, De Or. 5, 33, 205, to denote an attack in argument on an opponent. It took on a literal meaning in late Latin).

- 73, 9; 220, 11. (Dig. 10, 3, 28; Lact. Ira D. 17; Vulg. 1 Esdr. 4, 14; Dan. 6, 23.)
- lectio (= that which is read: p. c.) 20, 3; 22, 8; 173, 9; 209, 3. (Macr. S. 7, 7, 5; Cod. Just. 6, 61, 5; Isid. 1, 20, 3; Amm. 30, 4, 18; Cael. Aur. Tard. 1, 5, 163.)
- magnificatio (p. c.) 140, 49. (Macr. 5, 13, 41; Hilar. in Ps. 68, 26.)
- maledictio (= a curse: eccl.) 184A, 3. (Vulg. Gen. 24, 41; Num. 5, 21; Deut. 11, 26, etc.)
- manifestatio (p. c.) 55, 5; 62, 2; 93, 2; 141, 2; 199, 1. (Hier. Ep. 64, 19; Civ. Dei 20, 3; Sulp. Sev. Dial. 3, 4; Vulg. 1 Cor. 17, 7; 2 Cor. 4, 2.)
- mundatio (eccl.) 23, 4; 44, 10; 190, 21. (Theod. Prisc. 1, 19; Hier. in Luc. Hom. 18; Vulg. Levit. 16, 30.)
- obduratio (Augustine only) 194, 14. (In Psal. 77.)
- obiectio (p. c.) 166, 15. (Ambros. Ep. 100, 14; Arn. 6, 3; Tert. ad Uxor. 2, 5; Macr. Somn. Sc. 2, 16, 20; Mart. Cap. 5, 445.)
- oblatio (p. c.) 22, 6; 149, 16. (Hier. Ep. 18, 17; Dig. 5, 2, 8; Cod. Th. 5, 13, 18; Vulg. freq. Gen. 34, 18 to Hebr. 18, 1.)
- obligatio (= entanglement: p. c.) 157, 22; 190, 5. (Dig. 48, 10, 1; Vulg. Psal. 48, 10; Act. 8, 23.)
- obsecundatio (p. c. very rare) 22, 1. (Cod. Th. 1, 92.)
- opitulatio (p. c.) 155, 12. (Arn. 4, 4; Dig. 4, 4, 1; Hier. in Ephes. 2 ad 3, 5; Oros. Hist. 5, 18; Vulg. 1 Cor. 12, 28.)
- oratio (= prayer: eccl.) 20, 2; 21, 6; 22, 3; 29, 3; 36, 9; 48, 1; etc. saepe. (Fathers freq., Vulg. freq.)
- ordinatio (= ordination: late) 21, 2; 43, 4; 61, 2; 78, 3; 108, 5; 126, 6; 185, 17; 205, 17. (Sid. Ep. 7, 6; Cassiod. H. E. 9, 36.)
- participatio (p. c.) 98, 5; 118, 15; 140, 10, 11, 52, 56, 66, 69, 74, 77, 80, 81, 82; 141, 5; 147, 34; 149, 17; 153, 12; 166, 21; 170, 10; 177, 19; 202A, 17. (Spart. Jul. 6; Hier. adv. Pelag. 1, 19.)
- parturitio (late) 151, 6; 243, 7. (Hier. adv. Jovin. 1, 22; Vulg. 1 Par. 24, 1; Ezech. 48, 29.)
- passio (p. c.) 36, 30; 40, 6; 44, 10; 54, 1; 55, 2; 76, 1; 98, 7; 105, 11; 133, 1; 134, 3; 137, 16; 139, 2; 140, 13; 164, 2; 170, 8; 177, 15, 185, 9; 187, 9; 199, 31; 205, 9; 228, 12; 236, 12; 265, 3. (Maxim. Gall. 3, 42; Prud. σρεφ.

- 5, 291; Tert. adv. Val. 9; Lact. 5, 23, 5; Vulg. Act. 1, 3; Rom. 8, 18; 2 Cor. 1, 5.)
- perditio (p. c.) 93, 52; 105, 2, 7, 9; 175, 6; 178, 1; 185, 11; 186, 4; 188, 7; 190, 9; 194, 6; 209, 10; 231, 6. (Hier. Ep. 120, 10; Alcim. 4, 138; Lact. 2, 14, 11; Vulg. freq. Deut. 29, 21 to 2 Petr. 3, 16.)
- perfructio (Augustine only) 102, 27. (Quant. Anim. 33; Trin. 6, 10.)
- permissio (= permission: very rare) 217, 14. (Cic. Q. Fr. 3, 1, 3; Ambros. in Luc. 7, 115.)
- perpensio (late, very rare) 185, 36. (Boeth. in Aristot. lib. de Imag. p. 360.)
- perpetratio (p. c.) 167, 17. (Tert. Poen. 3; Aug. Trin. 13, 6.)
- persecutio (= persecution: eccl.) 43, 8; 44, 4; 51, 2; 76, 4; 82, 9; 87, 9; 88, 8; 89, 2; 93, 6; 98, 3; 99, 2; 134, 4; 137, 16; 140, 41; 185, 7; 199, 39; 210, 8; 228, 4; 248, 1. (Tert. Spec. 27; Vulg. Matth. 5, 10.)
- persolutio (late, very rare) 147, 1. (Gesta Collat. Carthag. in fin.)
- perventio (late) 149, 1; 155, 12. (Mart. Cap. 4, 406; Aug. Conf. 6, 1.)
- praedestinatio (eccl.) 149, 22; 187, 37; 194, 34; 199, 34; 217, 9, 13. (Hier. in Ephes. 1 ad 1, 9; Fulg. de Dupl. Praedest. 1, 22; Prosp. Resp. ad Capit. Gall. 15.)
- praedicatio (= preaching: eccl.) 87, 7; 164, 11, 12, 16; 166, 21; 169, 3, 4; 185, 18, 23; 194, 7; 199, 49; 217, 9; 228, 12; 238, 4; 243, 6. (Vulg. Jonae 3, 2; Matth. 12, 41; Rom. 16, 25.)
- praefiguratio (eccl.) 140, 47. (Civ. Dei 16, 2; Cyp. 763, 14; Hier. Ep. 53, 8; Hilar. in Psal. 118, 3.)
- praefocatio (p. c.) 167, 13. (Scrib. Comp. 100; Cael. Aur. Acut. 2, 6.)
- praesentatio (p. c.) 147, 13. (Cod. Just. 12, 28, 2; Aug. in Psal. 59, 6.)
- praestructio (eccl.) 147, 6. (Tert. adv. Marc. 4, 14.)
- praesumptio (= presumption: p. c.) 36, 10, 18; 43, 1; 92A; 93, 13, 21, 39, 42; 102, 21; 186, 36, 37; 194, 21; 202A, 1; 219, 1; 238, 23; 262, 5. (Tert. Cult. Fem. 2; Sulp. Sev. H. 3, 1, 33; App. Mag. p. 323, 17; Vulg. Eccle. 6, 9; Eccli. 18, 10.)
- praevaricatio (= transgression: eccl.) 158; 177, 13; 179, 13;

- 186, 32, 33; 190, 7; 194, 30; 217, 9. (Vulg. Levit. 7, 18; Deut. 19, 16; Psal. 100, 3.)
- promissio (p. c. in plural) 102, 35; 151, 5, 10; 177, 13; 248, 2. (Vulg. Sap. 12, 21; Rom. 15, 8; 2 Cor. 1, 20; Gal. 3, 16; Hebr. 6, 12.)
- propensio (once only, in Cicero) 27, 3. (Cic. Fin. 4, 17, 47.)
- prosecutio (p. c.) 128, 1. (Cod. Th. 8, 5, 47; Symm. Ep. 7, 59; Ambros. Fid. 2, 13, 108.)
- protectio (p. c.) 148, 12. (Tert. Fug. in Persec. 2; Ambros. Sermon. 8; Vulg. Psal. 90, 1; Eccli. 6, 14; Isai. 4, 5; 2 Macc. 13, 17.)
- protestatio (p. c.) 185, 25. (Symm. Ep. 1, 56; Hilar. Trin. 1, 27; Vulg. 2 Macc. 7, 61.)
- putrefactio (*ἄραξ λεγόμενον*) 33, 5.
- rebaptizatio (eccl.) 33, 7; 43, 22. (Optat. 7 Schism. Donat. 4; Vict. Vit. 2; Pers. Vand. 9.)
- reclamatio (very rare) 126, 13. (Cic. Phil. 4, 2, 5; App. Mag. p. 315, 7.)
- recreatio (once only) 248, 2. (Plin. 22, 23, 49.)
- redemptio—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.
- refragatio (late) 241, 1. (Symm. Ep. 10, 50; Ambros. in Psal. 118, Sermon. 1, 11.)
- refrenatio (very rare) 130, 24. (Sen. de Ira, 3, 15.)
- regeneratio (eccl.) 157, 11, 12, 13; 155, 8; 184A, 3; 186, 11, 27, 30, 34, 35, 36, 37; 190, 15, 21, 22; 194, 32, 42, 44; 196, 11; 202A, 17, 20; 217, 2; 250, 1. (Civ. Dei 20, 5; Tert. Res. Carn. 4; Hier. in Matth. 3 ad 19, 28; Vulg. Matth. 19, 28; Tit. 3, 5.)
- relevatio (= relief: p. c.) 99, 2. (Front. Ep. ad M. Caes. 4, 13; Cael. Aur. Tard. 5, 10, 96; Octav. Hor. 1, 9.)
- religio—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.
- remissio—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.
- renuntiatio—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.
- reparatio (late) 262, 11. (Inscr. Orelli 1147; Prud. Cath. 10, 128; Rufin. in Rom. 4, 7.)
- resalutatio (once only) 187, 23; 197, 1; 203. (Suet. Nerv. 37.)
- restrictio (eccl.) 104, 3. (Aug. Mor. Eccl. Cath. 31.)
- resurrectio (eccl.) 36, 12, 28, 31; 54, 1; 55, 2, 3, 4, 5, 16, 23, 24, 25, 28, 30, 31; 95, 7; 102, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 35, 38; 120, 9, 15, 17; 130, 2; 140, 25, 26, 30; 142; 147, 9; 148, passim; 149, 2, 31; 155, 4; 157, 14; 164, 9; 166, 21; 177, 15;

- 180, 5; 186, 32; 187, 5; 193, 9; 199, 4; 205, 2; 220, 1; 236, 2. (Civ. Dei 22, 28; Tert. Res. Carn. 1; Lact. 4, 19, 9; Sulp. Sev. Chron. 2, 33, 5; Vulg. Soph. 3, 8; 2 Macc. 7, 9; Matth. 22, 23; Marc. 12, 18 etc.)
- retributio** (eccl.) 55, 25. (Civ. Dei 22, 23; Tert. Apol. 18; Sid. Ep. 4, 11; Lact. 6, 18, 27; Vulg. Psal. 18, 2; Eccli. 12, 2; Isai. 1, 23; Matth. 9, 20.)
- revelatio** (eccl.) 36, 22; 80, 3; 147, 30, 31; 169, 11; 177, 12; 188, 12, 13; 264, 1. (Arn. 5, 35; Tert. adv. Marc. 5, 4; Lact. Epit. 42, 8; Vulg. Eccli. 22, 27; Luc. 2, 32; 1 Cor. 1, 7; 1 Petr. 1, 7.)
- sanctificatio** (eccl.) 36, 5; 55, 18, 19, 30; 126, 6; 147, 15; 148, 18; 149, 16; 187, 25, 32, 37. (Tert. Exhort. ad Cast. 1; Sid. Ep. 8, 14; Vulg. freq. Exod. 29, 36 to 1 Petr. 1, 2.)
- seductio** (= seduction: eccl.) 53, 7; 127, 1; 185, 18. (Tert. adv. Marc. 2, 2; Ambros. in Luc. 7, 218; Vulg. Jerem. 14, 14; 2 Thess. 2, 10.)
- segregatio** (eccl.) 108, 9. (Tert. Anim. 43; Rufin. Orig. homil. 1 in Gen. 2.)
- sermocinatio** (mostly p. c.) 12; 28, 6; 34, 2; 36, 2; 44, 1; 98, 8; 120, 1; 128, 11; 151, 4; 233. (Quint. 9, 2, 31; Gell. 19, 8, 2; Arn. 1, 59.)
- subministratio** (p. c.) 177, 4, 7. (Tert. Apol. 48; Vulg. Ephes. 4, 16; Philip. 1, 19.)
- suggestio** (= suggestion: p. c.) 133, 3; 185, 12; 217, 14; 243, 10. (Vop. Aur. 14, 19; Symm. Ep. 9, 20; Inscr. Orelli, 2.)
- supputatio** (mostly p. c.) 55, 7. (Vitr. 3, 1, 6; Arn. 2, 71; Mart. Cap. 6, 609; Vulg. Levit. 25, 15.)
- temptatio**—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.
- traditio**—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.
- transformatio** (eccl.) 147, 51. (Aug. Trin. 15, 8; Hier. Ep. 108, 22.)
- transgressio**—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.
- tribulatio** (eccl.) 55, 5; 63, 4; 93, 30; 97, 3; 99, 2; 111, 3; 113, 1; 122, 2; 124, 2; 140, 33; 149, passim; 164, 21; 199, passim; 209, 1; 210, 1. (Tert. adv. Jud. 11; Hier. Ep. 108, 18; Vulg. freq. Gen. 35, 3, to Apoc. 7, 14.)
- velatio** (ἀπαξ λεγόμενον) 150.
- ventilatio** (late) 76, 3; 87, 8; 93, 33; 108, 16; 129, 5; 185, 16; 208, 4. (Vict. Vit. 2; Pers. Vand. 6; Ennod. Apol. p. 204.)
- visitatio** (p. c.) 164, 11. (Tert. adv. Jud. 13.)

10. *Nouns in -men, -mentum.*

These two suffixes are related⁹ and are regarded as especially characteristic of African Latin.¹⁰ The forms in *-men* are mostly poetic and occur in prose only in post-Augustan times; *-mentum*, on the other hand was a popular suffix and showed great activity of formation in all periods of the language. Often a word is found with both endings, e. g. tutamen and tutamentum. Only two post-classical words in *-men* are found in the Letters:

- moderamen (poet. and p. c. prose) 88, 3; 166, 13; 246, 2. (Ov. M. 15, 726; Cod. Th. 11, 30, 64.)
munimen (poet. and p. c. prose) 89, 1; 243, 1. (Verg. G. 2, 352; Amm. 1, 6, 29; Pall. 3, 24, 1; Vulg. 1 Macc. 10, 23.)

Nouns in *-mentum* are more numerous:

- additamentum (rare) 194, 27, 30; 219, 3. (Cic. Sest. 61, 38; Sen. Ep. 17, 6; Pseud. Sall. ad Caes. de Rep. Ord. 2; App. M. 9, 6; Vulg. Isai. 15, 9.)
decrementum (p. c. for diminutio) 55, 6. (Gell. 3, 10, 11; App. M. 11, p. 257.)
delectamentum (very rare) 157, 34. (Ter. Heaut. 5, 1, 79; Cic. Pis. 25, 60; Vulg. Sap. 7, 2; 16, 2; 16, 20.)
deliramentum (a. and p. c.) 55, 12; 118, 31. (Plaut. Am. 2, 2, 64; Front. Ep. ad M. Caes. 2, 1; Hier. Ep. 124, 6; Vulg. Luc. 24, 11.)
figmentum (p. c.) 7, 1, 2; 120, 7; 195, 5. (Hier. Ep. 120, 10; M. Fel. 11, 9; Tert. Jud. 1; Gell. 20, 9, 1; Amm. 22, 9; Lact. 7, 2, 2; Vulg. Psal. 102, 14; Sap. 10, 7; Isai. 29, 16)
firmamentum (= sky: late) 56, 2; 140, 36; 147, 50; 166, 20; 187, 33. (Tert. Bapt. 3; Vulg. freq. Gen. 1, 6 to 1 Tim. 3, 15.)
implicamentum (late) 243, 5. (Aug. Serm. Dom. 1, 3.)
indumentum (p. c.) 211, 13. (Gell. 16, 19, 12; Prud. Cath. 9, 99; Lact. 6, 13, 12; Tert. Ux. 1, 7; Hier. Ep. 108, 19; Vulg. Exod. 22, 27; Esther 14, 2; Job 24, 7, etc.)
inquinamentum (rare) 55, 6; 125, 3. (Vitr. 8, 5; Gell. 2, 6, 25; Tert. Nat. 1, 10; Vulg. Deut. 7, 26; Ezech. 24, 11; 2 Cor. 7, 1.)

⁹ Goelzer (1), 61.

¹⁰ Cooper, 85, 86.

machinamentum (= trick, device: late) 43, 18; 137, 13. (Cod.

Th. 6, 28, 6.)

sacramentum—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.

11. *Nouns in -orium.*

The corresponding adjectives in *-orium* are more numerous in the Letters than the nouns in *-orium*. Both are characteristic of popular Latin.

adiutorium (rare) 28, 1; 78, 1; 81; 118, 4; 130, 21; 137, 12; 138, 17; 140, 5; 144, 3, 8; 147, 1, 27; 148, 15; 155, 6; 157, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 16; 166, 22; 167, 21; 169, 11; 171A, 1; 175, 2; 176, 2; 177, 1, 9, 16, 18; 178, 1; 179, 5; 185, 14, 51; 186, 1, 9; 190, 22; 194, 10; 196, 7; 207; 214, 7; 218, 3; 224, 3; 231, 6; 242, 3; 250, 1; 253, 2; 262, 11. (Vell. 2, 112; Sen. Ep. 31; Quint. 3, 6, 83; Vulg. Gen. 2, 18; Judic. 5, 23; 1 Reg. 4, 1; Tobiae 8, 8; Eccli. 8, 19.)

commonitorium (late) 54, 6; 97, 4; 125, 4; 126, 4; 139, 2, 4; 151, 11; 164, 22. (Amm. 28, 1, 1; Symm. Ep. 5, 21; Cod. Th. 2, 29, 2.)

oratorium (eccl.) 211, 7. (Alcim. Ep. 6; Vulg. Judith 9, 1.)

notoria (late) 129, 1, 7; 133, 1; 134, 2. (Gall. ap. Treb. Claud. 17; App. M. 7, p. 189.)

12. *Nouns in -tas.*

This was a suffix of particular fertility in African Latin. Apuleius, Tertullian, Cyprian¹¹ and Arnobius¹² all made abundant use of these words, enriching the language with many new ones. Augustine contributed no less than 26, of which 6 apparently occur first in the Letters. They are: *convertibilitas*, *ineffabilitas*, *spectabilitas*, *annositas*, *mendositas* and *quaternitas*, a coinage for which he assumes a tone of apology. In addition to the following post-classical, late or rare forms, many others of classical and frequent use occur.

absurditas (late) 17, 2; 89, 5; 137, 6; 238, 22. (Claud. Mam. 3, 11.)

affabilitas (very rare) 151, 8. (Cic. Off. 2, 14, 48.)

animositas (p. c.) 33, 5; 35, 5; 43, 1, 20; 55, 29; 88, 3; 89, 2; 93, 10, 16, 17; 185, 30; 238, 16. (Cyp. 422, 28; Amm.

¹¹ Bayard, 20.

¹² Gabarrou, 13.

- 16, 12; Sid. Ep. 4, 3; Macr. Somn. Sc. 1, 6; Vulg. Eccli. 1, 28; 2 Cor. 12, 20; Hebr. 11, 27.)
- annositas (p. c. and rare) 269. (Cod. Th. 1, 2, 1.)
- beatitas—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.
- capacitas (rare) 118, 15; 120, 4, 17; 137, 19. (Cic. Tusc. 1, 25, 61; Dig. 31, 55.)
- caritas—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.
- christianitas (late) 53, 1. (Cod. Th. 16, 7; 12, 1, 112.)
- convertibilitas (eccl.) 169, 11. (Oros. 1, 1; Rufin. vertens Orig. *περί ἀρχῶν*, 1, 7, 2.)
- corruptibilitas (eccl.) 147, 51; 205, 5. (Tert. adv. Marc. 2, 16.)
- curiositas (very rare) 118, 1, 12; 138, 19. (Cic. Att. 2, 12, 2; Macr. S. 1, 11, 45; Tert. adv. Haeret. 17.)
- deitas (late for divinitas) 147, 37; 148, 10; 164, 17; 241, 1. (Civ. Dei 7, 1; Prud. Apoth. 144; Hier. Ep. 15, 4.)
- disparilitas (a. and p. c.) 120, 12. (Varro L. L. 10, 36; Gell. Praef. 3.)
- divinitas—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.
- dubietas (late) 62, 2. (Amm. 20, 4; Eutr. 6, 19.)
- duplicitas (late) 243, 10. (Lact. Opif. Dei 8; Hier. in Psal. 56.)
- ebriositas (very rare) 36, 3; 199, 37. (Cic. Tusc. 4, 12, 27; Eugypp. Thes. 519.)
- eximietas (late) 27, 4; 34, 4; 97, 2, 4; 99, 1; 113, 1; 116, 1; 139, 1, 4; 189, 1; 203; 257. (Symm. Ep. 3, 3.)
- falsitas (p. c.) 7, 2; 28, 4; 33, 3; 40, 3; 47, 4; 66, 2; 82, 6; 89, 1; 93, 23; 95, 8; 105, 5; 118, 16; 120, 17; 141, 1; 143, 8; 153, 25; 164, 22; 185, 8. (Lact. 5, 3, 23; Amm. 15, 5, 12; Arn. 2, 5, 6; Cael. Aur. Tard. 3, 4, 65.)
- fatuitas (very rare) 166, 17. (Cic. Inv. 2, 32, 99; Firm. Math. 8; Vulg. Prov. 14, 24; Jerem. 23, 13.)
- festivitas (= festival: p. c.) 55, 16, 23. (Cod. Th. 15, 5, 3; Lampr. Alex. Sev. 63; Vulg. Exod. 12, 16; Deut. 16, 14; Judith 16, 31.)
- fraternitas (very rare) 23, 1; 26, 3; 52, 1; 269. (Tac. A. 11, 25; Lact. 5, 6, 12; Vulg. 1 Macc. 12, 10; Rom. 12, 10; 1 Petr. 1, 22.)
- generalitas (p. c.) 169, 3. (Serv. ad Verg. G. 1, 21; Mart. Cap. 4, 348; Symm. Ep. 2, 90.)
- gentilitas—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.
- humilitas—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.
- immutabilitas (very rare) 187, 9. (Cic. Fat. 9, 17.)

- impossibilitas** (p. c.) 199, 16; 200, 1. (App. M. p. 179; Tert. Bapt. 2.)
- incommutabilitas** (late) 171A, 2. (Aug. Conf. 12, 12; Dionys. Exig. vertens Ep. Procli ad Armen. ante med.)
- incorruptibilitas** (eccl.) 130, 7; 168, 11. (Tert. Apol. 48; adv. Marc. 2, 16.)
- infidelitas**—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.
- incredulitas** (p. c.) 93, 21. (App. M. 1, p. 111; Cod. Th. 16, 8, 19; Paulin. Nol. Car. 6, 95; Vulg. Matth. 13, 58; Marc. 6, 6; Rom. 3, 3, etc.)
- ineffabilitas** (Augustine only) 147, 31; 242, 5.
- innumerabilitas** (very rare) 118, 30. (Cic. N. D. 1, 26, 73; Arn. 3, p. 132.)
- inseparabilitas** (eccl.) 11, 3; 167, 4; 187, 16. (Aug. Trin. 15, 23; Faustin. de Trin. 8.)
- invisibilitas** (p. c.) 147, 23; 148, 10. (Tert. adv. Prax. 14.)
- longanimitas** (eccl.) 140, 62, 64, 82. (Cassiod. H. E. 5, 42; Vulg. Rom. 2, 4, 2; Gal. 5, 22; 2 Cor. 6, 6; 2 Petr. 3, 15.)
- medietas** (p. c. except Cicero) 140, 3. (Cic. Univ. 7, 20; Lact. 10, 19; App. M. 2, p. 116; Tert. de Bapt. 3; Vulg. Exod. 26, 12; 1 Par. 9, 6; Tobiae 12, 4.)
- mendositas** (eccl.) 71, 5; 261, 5. (Civ. Dei. 15, 13; Cassiod. Inst. Div. 4.)
- modicitas** (late) 202A, 7. (Venant. Carm. 5, 5.)
- mutabilitas** (very rare) 55, 10; 140, 56; 137, 10. (Cic. Tusc. 4, 35, 76; Mart. Cap. 8, 871.)
- nativitas** (p. c.) 102, 3; 140, 9; 163, 23; 179, 12; 190, 5; 217, 16. (Dig. 50, 1, 1; Tert. Anim. 39; Arn. 1, 2; Vulg. Gen. 11, 28; Exod. 28, 10; Psal. 106, 37.)
- novitas**—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.
- nuditās** (late) 143, 10. (Lact. 2, 12, 18; Sulp. Sev. Vit. Mart. 2, 2; Tert. de Virg. Vel. 12; Vulg. Deut. 28, 48; Jerem. 2, 25; Rom. 8, 35; Apoc. 3, 18.)
- nugacitas** (late) 227. (Aug. de Musica 6; Vulg. Sap. 4, 12.)
- numerositas** (p. c.) 108, 5; 179, 8; 190, 12; 204, 2. (Macr. S. 5, 20; Tert. Monog. 4; Cod. Th. 12, 5, 3; Sid. Carm. 23, 150.)
- paternitas** (eccl.) 153. (Fulg. Myth. 1, 1; Isid. Orig. 9, 69; Interpr. Ital. Num. 1, 2; Vulg. Ephes. 3, 15.)
- parilitas** (p. c.) 104, 15; 167, 14. (Gell. 14, 3, 8; App. M. 2, p. 119.)

- perplexitas (p. c.) 118, 1. (Amm. 18, 6, 10.)
- possibilitas (p. c.) 92, 4; 167, 9; 175, 4; 177 *passim*; 178, 13; 179, 7; 186, 36. (Amm. 19, 2, 15; Arn. 1, 44; Mart. Cap. 4, 335; Vulg. 2 Esdr. 5, 8.)
- profunditas (p. c.) 137, 5; 140, 21, 62, 64; 164, 11. (Macr. Somn. Sc. 1, 6, 36; Cassiod. Var. 2, 21; Hadrian ap. Vop. Sat. 8; Vulg. Eccle. 7, 25.)
- prolixitas (p. c.) 140, 17; 185, 6; 199, 8; 261, 1. (App. de Mundo, p. 60, 21; Arn. 4, 17; Dig. 36, 1, 22; Symm. Ep. 2, 8.)
- puerilitas (a. and p. c.) 137, 2. (Varro, ap. Non. 494, 19; Val. Max. 5, 4, 2.)
- puritas (p. c.) 56, 2; 171A, 2. (Macr. Somn. Sc. 1, 11; Pall. 11, 14, 12; Capitol. Ver. 3; Hier. Ep. 57, Arn. 5, 11; Vulg. Psal. 17, 21.)
- pusillanimitas (p. c.) 95, 4. (Lact. de Ira Dei 5; Hier. in Galat. ad 5, 22; Vulg. Psal. 59, 4.)
- quaternitas (eccl.) 140, 12. (Boeth. de Nat. Christi, p. 955; Vinc. Lerin. Commonit. 18; Marcellin. Chron. 512.)
- singularitas (p. c.) 140, 12. (Tert. adv. Valent. 37; Mart. Cap. 7, 750; Salv. cont. Avar. 7, p. 70.)
- solemnitas (p. c.) 29, 2; 40, 6; 54, 1; 98, 9; 137, 2; 269. (Gell. 2, 24, 15; Sol. 7; Aus. Grat. Act. 36; Amm. 23, 3, 7; Vulg. freq. Exod. 10, 9 to Malac. 2, 3.)
- strenuitas (very rare) 263, 2. (Varro L. L. 8, 15; Ov. M. 9, 320.)
- summitas (p. c.) 120, 4; 232, 5. (Amm. 15, 10, 6; Pall. 1, 6, 10; Macr. Somn. Sc. 1, 6; Arn. 1, 13; Vulg. freq. Gen. 6, 16 to Aggaei 2, 13.)
- surditas (very rare) 155, 3. (Cic. Tusc. 5, 40; Cels. 6, 7, 7.)
- tenacitas (very rare) 7, 1; 118, 1; 167, 9. (Cic. N. D. 2, 47, 122; Plin. 2, 29, 46.)
- trinitas (eccl.) 11, 2, 3; 54, 1; 55, 28; 61, 2; 120 *passim*; 130, 15, 28; 140, 12; 143, 4; 145, 11, 18, 20, 23; 162, 2; 164, 11; 169 *passim*; 170, 3, 5, 9; 171A, 2; 173A; 174; 175, 1; 187, 15, 16; 188, 10; 194, 12. (Tert. adv. Prax. 3; Cod. Just. 1, 1, 1; Hier. Ep. 15, 5.)
- unanimitas (very rare) 248, 2. (Pac. ap. Non. 101, 26; Liv. 40, 8, 14; Hilar. Trin. 1, 28.)
- vitiositas (rare) 153, 13. (Cic. Tusc. 4, 15, 34; Macr. S. 7, 10, 10.)

The number of words in *-ositas* (6) and *-bilitas* (15), compound suffixes which are especially frequent in African Latin, is not notably large in comparison with the total number of words in *-tas* (208).

13. *Nouns in -tor, -sor, -trix.*

The frequent use of nouns in *-tor* to express ideas which classical Latin would convey by a verb or a clause, is one of the peculiarities which first attracts the notice of a reader of patristic Latin. Although not an exclusively African characteristic, it is much affected by African writers.¹³ In classical Latin these nouns were formed from verbs and were used to express either a habitual action or state, as e. g. *laudator temporis acti*, or an enduring quality resulting from a single act as e. g. *conditor urbis*.¹⁴ A few words only, mostly juridical terms like *accusator*, *petitor*, had a general signification.¹⁵ By degrees however, this distinction disappeared, nouns in *-tor* came to denote a temporary state or action and were found to offer a convenient means of variety in a sentence. It is also a device which lends brevity and conciseness to the style together with a certain sonorousness when the words occur in groups. Augustine makes use of such groups to secure that balance of construction and recurrence of rhyme of which he is so exceedingly fond.

e. g. *conlatorem enim et disputatorem, non assentatorem et adulatorem se esse cupiebat* (36, 3)

non dei servos sed domus alienae penetratores et tuos captivatores et depraedatores putans (262, 5)

ex egregio praesumptore tam creber negator effectus (140, 36)

Examples could be multiplied indefinitely; indeed it must be admitted that Augustine sometimes overdoes it, and produces monotony or an unconscious effect of flippancy.

A number of words in *-tor* are additions of his to the language: *captivator*, *impensor*, *impertitor*, *inflator*, *rebaptizator*, *sacrator*, *saturator* appear first in the Letters.

acceptor (p. c.) 143, 2; 194, 4, 31. (Cod. Th. 8, 56, 10; Vulg. Act. 10, 34.)

advector (p. c.) 194, 2. (App. Flor. p. 363.)

¹³ Hoppe, 57.

¹⁴ Gabarrou, 6.

¹⁵ Goelzer (1), 56.

- approbator (very rare) 153, 9, 10, 15. (Cic. Att. 16, 7, 2; Gell. 5, 21, 6.)
- auditor—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.
- baptizator (eccl.) 53, 6; 98, 7; 185, 37. (Tert. Bapt. 12.)
- captivator (eccl.) 262, 5. (— deceiver, Aug. only: — one who captures, Verecund. in Cantic. Debborae 17).
- concupitor (late) 147, 29. (Firm. Mat. 8, 22.)
- confessor (eccl.) 139, 1; 186, 39. (Lact. Mort. Pers. 35; Sid. Ep. 7, 17.)
- conlator (— one who compares: Aug. only) 33, 3.
- conscriptor (p. c.) 82, 23. (Arn. 1, 56.)
- considerator (p. c.) 166, 15. (Gell. 11, 52; Aug. Tract. ap. Joan. fin.)
- consumptor (very rare) 185, 15. (Cic. N. D. 2, 15, 41; Ambros. in Luc. 7, 132.)
- contradictor (late, juristic) 29, 3; 81, 4; 199, 10. (Dig. 40, 11, 27; Amm. 31, 14, 3; Hier. in Tit. ad 2, 9.)
- creator (— God: eccl.) 18, 2; 55, 28; 102, 20; 120, 12; 127, 9; 137, 4, 15, 17; 138, 5; 141, 81; 143, 7; 144, 2; 148, 7; 164, 4; 166, 10, 15; 169, 6, 10, 11; 177, 1, 7, 9; 186, 1, 37; 187, 13; 190, 1, 4, 14, 16; 194, 37; 202A, 4; 205, 17 (passim); 232, 5; 235, 1. (Vulg. Deut. 32, 18; Judith 9, 17; Eccle. 12, 1, 2, etc.)
- criminator (very rare) 43, 9. (Plaut. Bacch. 4, 7, 28; Tac. A. 4, 1; Lact. 2, 8, 6; 2 Tim. 3, 3.)
- damnator (late) 43, 3, 10; 53, 6; 80, 1; 87, 1; 108, 1, 4; 129, 5; 166, 26; 173, 9. (Tert. ad Nat. 1, 3; Sedul. Hymn. 1, 10.)
- deceptor (late for fraudator) 184A, 2; 194, 13, 32. (Lact. de Ira D. 4, 8; Hier. in Tit. ad 1, 10; Aug. Serm. 362, 18.)
- decessor (— predecessor: mostly late) 99, 3; 108, 1, 9. (Tac. Ag. 7; Aug. in Psal. 43, 16; Ulp. Dig. 1, 16, 4.)
- demonstrator (very rare) 20, 3; 187, 23. (Cic. de Or. 2, 86, 353; Tert. Apol. 23.)
- depraedator (Augustine only) 138, 9; 262, 5.
- desiderator (eccl.) 147, 26. (Vulg. Interpr. Ital. Num. 11, 34.)¹⁶
- dilector (p. c.) 27, 1; 104, 4; 128, 2, 4, 7; 145, 6; 147, 27; 177, 15; 179, 10; 186, 39; 258, 1; 263, 2. (App. Flor. 9, p. 347; Tert. adv. Marc. 4, 23.)

¹⁶ "Sunt etiam qui tribuunt Digesto, loco tamen non indicato." Forcellini, Vol. 2, 663.

- dispositor (rare) 166, 13. (Sen. Q. N. 5, 18, 4; Lact. 4, 9, 2.)
- disputator (rare) 33, 3; 36, 8; 147, 22, 29, 34; 67, 2. (Cic. Off. 1, 1, 3; Val. Max. 8, 12.)
- distributor (p. c.) 37, 2. (App. Trism. p. 92, 26; Hier. Ep. 108, 13.)
- donator (= one who absolves: Aug. only) 153, 15.
- effector (rare out of Cicero) 202A, 14. (Cic. Univ. 5; Div. 2, 26; de Or. 1, 33.)
- exauditor (eccl.) 130, 19. (Venant. Vit. S. Martin. 4, 594; Vulg. Eccli. 35, 19.)
- execrator (eccl.) 105, 17. (Tert. Pud. 15.)
- exhortator (p. c.) 35, 1; 218, 1. (Tert. de Fuga in Persec. fin.; Hier. in Ezech. 7 ad 21, 8.)
- explicator (Cic. only) 31, 7. (Or. 9, 31; Inv. 2, 2, 6.)
- expositor (late) 199, 21; 217, 6; 238, 6. (Firm. Mat. 13, 5; Cassiod. Var. 9, 21.)
- factor (a. and p. c.) 190, 16. (Tert. Apol. 2; Dig. 49, 16, 6; Plaut. Curc. 2, 3, 18; Cato R. R. 13, 64; Vulg. Deut. 32, 15; Prov. 14, 31; Eccle. 2, 12 etc.)
- fideiussor (late) 153, 17; 250A. (Just. Inst. 3, 20; Dig. 27, 7; Ambros. De Tob. 12, 89; Vulg. Prov. 20, 16; Eccli. 29, 20.)
- ieiunator (eccl.) 36, 10. (Hier. in Jov. 2, 16.)
- illusor (p. c.) 237, 9. (Tert. adv. Marc. 4, 35; Paulin. Nol. Car. 20, 72; Vulg. Prov. 3, 32; Isai. 28, 14; 2 Petr. 3, 3.)
- immissor (late) 104, 17. (Eucher. Instr. 1, 2 ad Cor. in fin.)
- impensor (ἄπαξ λεγόμενον) 192, 2.
- impertitor (ἄπαξ λεγόμενον) 97, 4.
- inflator (eccl.) 194, 13. (Gloss. Graec. Lat. φυσηγής.)
- inhabitor (p. c.) 125, 4; 187, 21. (Dig. 9, 3, 5; Hier. ad Helv. 1; Vulg. Sap. 12, 3; Soph. 2, 5.)
- insinuator (eccl.) 118, 12. (Arn. 1, 63; Tert. ad Nat. 2, 1.)
- instaurator (p. c.) 261, 2. (Amm. 27, 3, 5.)
- institutor (p. c.) 44, 13; 257. (Amm. 14, 8, 6; Lact. 2, 8; Treb. Poll. Trig. Tyr. 3, 1.)
- intellector (eccl.) 148, 15. (Aug. Doct. Chr. 2, 13; Gen. ad Lit. 2, 2; Maxim. Taurin. Serm. 107; Interpr. Irenaei Haer. 21, 2.)
- interrogator (p. c.) 118, 9. (Dig. 11, 1, 11.)
- lector—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.
- mediator (p. c.) 130, 26; 137, 9, 12; 140, 39, 43, 69; 149, 17,

- 26; 166, 5, 20; 177, 12; 186, 1; 187, 34; 140, 5, 12, 13;
194, 21; 202A, 20; 217, 10, 11; 232, 5. (Lact. 4, 25;
Tert. Carn. 15; Vulg. Judic. 11, 10; 1 Tim. 2, 5.)
- meditator (p. c.) 34, 2. (Prud. *σρεφ.* 5, 265.)
- miserator (p. c.) 188, 8. (Tert. adv. Marc. 5, 11; Juven. 2,
295; Vulg. Psal. 85, 15; Isai. 49, 10; Jacob. 5, 11.)
- negator (p. c.) 140, 36. (Tert. adv. Haer. 5, 11; Prud. Cath.
1, 57; Sid. Ep. 9, 16.)
- opinator (= tax-collector: late) 268, 1. (Cod. Just. 12, 38, 11;
Cod. Th. 7, 4, 26.)
- ordinator—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.
- pastor—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.
- peccator (eccl.) 33, 3; 82, 20; 93, 7; 105, 12; 108, 6; 111, 3;
128, 2; 133, 22; 147, 7; 153, 8; 155, 5; 157, 2, 7, 21;
185, 17; 193, 6; 194, 9; 196, 4; 204, 4; 205, 11; 217,
11; 248, 1. (Lact. 3, 26; Tert. Spect. 3; Arn. 7, 8;
Vulg. freq. Gen. 13, 13 to Judae 15.)
- penetrator (p. c.) 262, 5. (Prud. Hamart. 883; Paul. Nol.
Carm. 20, 285.)
- perlator (p. c.) 38, 3; 45, 1, 2; 97, 3; 111, 9; 149, 2, 4; 178, 3;
179, 17; 186, 3; 189, 8; 191, 1; 193; 194, 2; 202A, 3;
224, 3; 232, 3; 242, 5. (Symm. Ep. 5, 28; Amm. 21,
16, 11.)
- perpetrator (p. c.) 138, 18. (Civ. Dei 20, 1; Sid. Ep. 8, 6.)
- perscrutator (p. c.) 205, 3. (Capitol. Max. 1; Veg. Mil. 3, 3.)
- persecutor (p. c.) 23, 4; 35, 4; 43, 23; 76, 1; 89, 2; 141, 1;
149, 9; 153, 3; 179, 9; 185, 6; 238, 2, 6. (Capitol. Alb.
11, 7; Hier. Ep. ad Helv. 13; Prud. *σρεφ.* 1, 28; Vulg.
2 Esdr. 9, 11; Esth. 9, 2; Thren. 1, 3.)
- persolutor (*ἅπαξ λεγόμενον*), 110, 2.
- plantator (eccl.) 147, 1, 27, 52; 157, 37; 193, 13; 194, 11.
(Hier. in Is. 18 ad 65, 21.)
- praecessor (eccl.) 79; 141, 8. (Tert. adv. Prax. 1; Hier. in Ruf.
3, 20; Vulg. Luc. 22, 26.)
- praecursor—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.
- praedecessor (p. c.) 96, 2. (Symm. Ep. 10, 47; Alcim. Avit.
p. 110, 20; Rutil. Nam. 1, 424.)
- praedicator—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.
- praesumptor (p. c.) 93, 38; 140, 36; 149, 22; 194, 13. (Tert.
Poen. 6; Hier. Ep. 89; Sedul. 2, 4.)
- praevaricator (= sinner, apostate: eccl.) 17, 5; 82, 20; 102, 18;

- 157, 15; 196, 4. (Lact. 2, 16; Hilar. in Psal. 118, 15, 11; Vulg. 2 Reg. 23, 6; Prov. 13, 2; Eccli. 40, 14, etc.)
- pransor (a. c.) 46, 10, 16. (Plaut. Men. 2, 2, 2.)
- precator (a. c.) 130, 19. (Ter. Heaut. 5, 2, 23; Plaut. Ps. 2, 2, 12.)
- probator—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.
- rebaptizator (Aug. only) 44, 8; 53, 6; 66, 1. (Serm. 46, 37; 33, 5.)
- redditor (eccl.) 110, 5; 127, 6, 16; 138, 15. (Vulg. Eccli. 5, 4.)
- redemptor—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.
- remunerator (p. c.) 194, 32. (Tert. Apol. 36; Vulg. Hebr. 11, 6.)
- rigator (late) 147, 1, 27, 52; 193, 13; 194, 11. (Tert. adv. Valent. 15.)
- sacrator (ἀπαξ λεγόμενον) 261, 2.
- salvator (late) 54, 4, 8; 140, 21, 36; 142, 1, 55, 59; 145, 3; 147, 29; 157, 17; 164, 5, 8; 169, 7; 175, 6; 176, 2; 177, 1, 11, 17; 178, 1; 179, 2; 185, 20; 186, 2, 6, 27, 38; 187, 23, 28, 37; 188, 1, 3; 190, 22; 194, 5, 28; 199, 1, 13; 207; 215, 1; 217, 26; 232, 1; 238, 23; 258, 5. (Mart. Cap. 5, 5, 10; Tert. adv. Marc. 3, 18; Lact. 4, 12, 6; Prud. 1, 115; Vulg. freq. Gen. 41, 45 to Judae 25.)
- sanctificator (eccl.) 34, 3. (Tert. adv. Prax. 2; Vulg. Ezech. 37, 28.)
- saturator (ἀπαξ λεγόμενον) 140, 62.
- seductor (eccl.) 55, 10; 237, 9. (Aug. Tract. in Joan. 29; Vulg. Matth. 27, 63.)
- separator (eccl.) 93, 42. (Tert. Praescr. 30; Vulg. Zach. 9, 6.)
- susceptor (p. c.) 186, 6. (Cod. Th. 2, 12, 6; Cod. Just. 10, 70; Amm. 17, 10, 4; Vulg. Psal. 3, 4 et passim.)
- temptator—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.
- tractator—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.
- transgressor (late) 157, 2. (Arn. 7, 7; Tert. Res. Carn. 39; Alcim. 2, 120; Vulg. Isai. 24, 16; Ezech. 20, 38; Jacob. 2, 9.)
- traditor—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.
- trucidator (Aug. only) 194, 28. (Civ. Dei 1, 1.)
- ventricultor (ἀπαξ λεγόμενον) 36, 11.

Nouns in -triz.

- amatrix (poet.) 211, 16. (Plaut. Poen. 5, 5, 25; Mart. 7, 69, 9.)

- conditrix (late) 118, 18; 237, 9. (Macr. Somn. Sc. 1, 11; Tert. Spect. 7; Lact. 1, 5, 6.)
 effectrix (Cic. only) 118, 18. (Fin. 2, 17, 35; Univ. 10, 32.)
 exactrix (ἄπαξ λεγόμενον) 110, 1.
 flagitatrix (ἄπαξ λεγόμενον) 261, 1.
 insinuatix (ἄπαξ λεγόμενον) 111.
 liberatrix (rare) 194, 28. (Prosp. Ep. ad Rufin.; Cassiod. de Anim. 10.)
 ordinatrix (ἄπαξ λεγόμενον) 118, 24.
 peccatrix (p. c.) 153, 11; 166, 10; 179, 9; 190, 14, 21, 22, 24, 25. (Paul. Nol. Car. 28, 117; Hier. adv. Joan. Jerosol. 4; Vulg. Isai 1, 4; Marc. 8, 38; Luc. 7, 37.)
 praevaricatrix (eccl.) 157, 20. (Hier. in Isai 5, 12, 3; Vulg. Jerem. 3, 7.)
 sanctificatrix (ἄπαξ λεγόμενον) 232, 5.
 ultrix (poet.) 108, 6. (Verg. A. 4, 473; Sen. Med. 967; Stat. Th. 10, 911.)

Of the forms in *-trix* all but *flagitatrix*, used as an adjective, show the corresponding forms in *-tor*.

14. Nouns in *-tudo*.

This is a suffix used in forming abstract nouns with about the same force as the ending *-tas*. It was more favored in ante-classical than in classical times, and survived rather in the popular speech than in the literary language. Augustine makes a restrained use of it, showing in some cases forms of both sorts, e. g. *beatitas* and *beatitudo*. Only 3 non-classical nouns in *-tudo* appear in the Letters.

- inquietudo* (p. c.) 55, 29, 31; 133, 1; 194, 47; 209, 9. (Cod. 7, 14, 5; Sol. 1; Vulg. Judith 14, 9.)
paenitudo (a. and p. c.) 16, 1. (Pac. ap. Non. 15, 30; Sid. Ep. 6, 9; Hier. Ep. 84; Ambros. Laps. Virg. 8, 33.)
rectitudo (p. c.) 40, 9; 56, 2; 120, 6; 155, 13. (Hier. in Isai. 8, 10; Just. Nov. 13.)

15. Nouns in *-tura, -sura*.

This is another instance of a plebeian termination having a parallel in the literary language. The parallel of *-tura, -sura* was *-tio, -sio*, and as the former was never much favored, it gradually gave way to the latter ending. Originally abstract in character,

indicating state or condition, this suffix shows formations in the late period of the language with concrete signification. Sometimes the same word is used in both abstract and concrete sense, e. g. *creatura*, which may mean creation in general or creature.

creatura (late) 18, 2; 55, *passim*; 102, *passim*; 137, 10; 140, *passim*; 164, 4; 166, 8, 15; 169, 5, 6, 11; 170, 4; 185, 48; 187, 17; 190, 4; 199, 30; 204A, 13; 238, 15; 239, 1. (Tert. Apol. 30; Prud. Hamart. 508; Vulg. freq. Tobiae 8, 7 to Apoc. 8, 9.)

censura—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.

cultura (= religious worship: eccl.) 105, 15; 149, 23, 27. (Lact. 5, 7; Tert. Apol. 21; Lampr. Heliog. 3; Vulg. 2 Par. 31, 21; Judith 5, 19; Sap. 14, 27.)

factura (= work: late) 132. (Prud. Apoth. 792; Vulg. Num. 8, 4; Ephes. 2, 10.)

ligatura (p. c.) 245, 2. (Isid. Orig. 8, 9; Pall. 1, 6, 11; Vulg. 1 Reg. 25, 18; Eccli. 45, 13.)

pressura—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.

scissura—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.

scriptura—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.

16. *Nouns in -tus, -sus.*

These derivatives, like nouns in *-io*, are formed from the supine. Originally¹¹ there was a difference of meaning between the two terminations, nouns in *-io* signifying action, nouns in *-tus* the result of action. By degrees, however, the two suffixes became interchangeable and the distinction was lost. Nouns in *-tus* were frequent in all periods of the language, but showed certain peculiarities in the post-classical period, especially in writers of the African school. The first of these is their recurrence in the dative and other unused case-forms, where in classical Latin only the ablative appears; the second their frequency in the plural, particularly the ablative plural. In Augustine's Letters the number of forms in *-us* is small; he does not favor datives in *-ui*, but ablative plurals are fairly numerous.

abscessus—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.

ausus (rare) 91, 8. (Petron. 123, 184; Cod. 1, 2, 14.)

captus—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.

computus (late) 199, 34. (Firm. Mat. 1, 12.)

¹¹ Goelzer (1), 86.

conflictus (rare) 44, 6; 51, 4; 92A; 202A, 13; 217, 29. (Cic. N. D. 2, 9, 25; Gell. 6, 2, 8; Pacat. Pan. ad Theod. 31.)
 contractus (a. and p. c.) 93, 19. (Varro R. R. 1, 68; Dig. 50, 16, 19; Just. Inst. 1, 2, 2; Gell. 4, 4, 2.)
 contuitus¹⁸ (rare and only in ab. sing.) 43, 6; 147, 5, 35; 232, 5; 257. (Plaut. Trin. 2, 1, 27; Curt. 5, 12, 19; Plin. 11, 37, 54.)
 exitus—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.

The following are found in the ablative plural:

apparatibus 118, 32.
 aspectibus 148, 8; 204, 6.
 contactibus 140, 25.
 gemitibus 29, 6; 186, 41; 194, 16.
 motibus 55, 6; 187, 25; 205, 17.
 obtutibus 147, 10.
 spiritibus 22, 1, 6.
 visibus 147, 38.

The following are found in the dative singular:

cultui 164, 2; egressui 167, 13; episcopatui 209, 10; spiritui 259, 4.

17. *Miscellaneous Forms.*

litigium (a. c.) 186, 14. (Plaut. Cas. 3, 2, 21; Vet. Jur. Cons. 7, 1.)
 litterio (= language-master, used as a term of contempt: late) 118, 26. (Amm. 17, 11, 1; Aug. Adv. Leg. et Proph. 1, 52.)
 morio (colloquial: quos vulgo moriones vocant) 166, 17. (Plin. Ep. 9, 17, 1; Mart. 8, 13.)
 naevus (= fault, blemish: late) 85, 1. (Symm. 3, 34.)
 primas (late) 43, 8; 59, 1; 88, 3; 209, 6. (App. M. 2, p. 123; Cod. Th. 7, 18, 13; Vulg. 2 Macc. 4, 21.)
 putor (a. and p. c.) 124, 2. (Cato R. R. 157; Varro L. L. 5, 25; Lucr. 2, 872; Arn. 7, 222.)
 rancor (late) 73, 1; 202A, 4. (Pall. 1, 20, 2; Hier. Ep. 13, 1.)
 satellitium (eccl.) 118, 1. (Aug. Doctr. Chr. 3, 18.)

¹⁸ Contuitus, found only in the ablative singular in classical authors, occurs twice in the Letters in the accusative: 147, 35 and 257. In the other passages cited, it appears in the ablative.

solidi (= money: late) 8, 34; 268. (Dig. 9, 3, 5; Cod. Just. 10, 75, 5; Vulg. 1 Par. 19, 7; App. M. 10, p. 242.)

ii. ADJECTIVES.

1. *Adjectives in -alis.*

This termination was formed from a demonstrative suffix meaning of or belonging to and was more common in later Latin than in the earlier period.¹⁹ Because of the facility with which it could be used, it was readily adopted by the writers who were shaping the new ecclesiastical vocabulary. Augustine has a number of classical forms in the Letters, in addition to the following:

carnalis (eccl.) 22, 2, 6; 29, 2, 9, 11; 34, 3; 35, 5; 36, 11, 23, 28; 43, 27; 52, 4; 55, 36; 88, 11; 91, 6; 92, 5; 93, 6; 95, 2; 98, 1; 102, 20; 104, 17; 113, 1; 118, 14; 120, 7; 124, 1; 126, 7; 130, 24; 140, 3; 142, 4; 144, 36; 147, passim; 149, 26; 157, 11; 164, 19; 166, 21; 167, 11; 175, 2; 184A, 33; 186, 8; 187, passim; 194, 44; 196, passim; 199, 32; 211, 2; 214, 3; 217, 27; 237, passim; 243, passim; 262, 1; 264, 3. (Hier. Ep. 16, 1; Tert. Poen. 3; Min. Fel. Oct. 32; Prud. Apoth. 1051; Lact. 4, 17, 21; Vulg. Esth. 14, 10; Rom. 7, 14; 1 Cor. 3, 1; Ephes. 6, 5.)

conregionalis (Aug. only) 60, 2. (Civ. Dei 2, 17.)

episcopal (eccl.) 43, 3, 5; 44, 5; 85; 86; 88, 3; 89, 33; 91, 7; 93, 13; 94; 118, 9; 128, 2; 141, 7; 148, 4; 151, 5; 153, 21; 175, 1; 178, 2; 185, 6; 186, 2; 190, 22; 209, 8; 214, 5; 242, 1; 253. (Prud. *συναφ.* 33; Hier. Ep. 117, 1; adv. Ruf. 1, 10; Capitol. Gord. 3, 33.)

fiscalis (p. c.) 96, 2. (Dig. 43, 8, 2; Aur. Vict. Caes. 41.)

glacialis (poet.) 140, 55. (Verg. A. 3, 285; Ov. M. 2, 30; Juv. 2, 1; Luc. 1, 18; Arn. 2, 42.)

intellectualis (p. c.) 120, 12; 202A, 17. (App. Dogm. Plat. 3, 1; Hier. Ep. 124, 14.)

localis (late) 120, 10; 140, 57; 147, 43; 166, 4. (Tert. adv. Marc. 4, 34; Amm. 14, 75.)

maritalis (poet.) 262, 2. (Ov. A. A. 2, 258; Juv. 6, 43; Vulg. 1 Macc. 1, 28.)

officialis (late—also used as noun) 43, 20; 115; 153, 24; 185,

¹⁹ Goelzer (1), 146.

- 15; 190, 20. (Dig. 36, 4, 5; Tert. adv. Marc. 1, 25; Lact. 6, 11, 9; App. M. 1, p. 113.)
- orientalis* (p. c.) 36, 4; 44, 5; 52, 2; 82, 14; 87, 4; 118, 9; 137, 15; 148, 10; 177, 15; 217, 4. (Hier. Ep. 121; Gell. 2, 22, 11; Arn. 7, 40; Just. 14, 2, 8; Vulg. freq. Gen. 4, 16 to Zach. 14, 8.)
- originalis* (p. c. especially frequent in the expression *originale peccatum*) 157, 9, 19, 22; 179, 6, 9; 184A, 2; 186, 27; 187, 25; 190, *passim*; 193, 3; 194, 34, 38, 46; 202A, 18, 20; 215, 1; 250, 2. (App. M. 11, p. 257; Hier. adv. Jovin. 1, 27; Macr. Somn. Sc. 1, 2; Vulg. 2 Petr. 2, 5.)
- paschalis* (eccl. from the Hebrew) 36, 30; 51, 4; 82, 14. (Cod. Th. 9, 35, 4; Hier. Ep. 99, 1.)
- pastoralis*—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.
- pontificalis*—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.
- praesidialis* (p. c.) 86. (Treb. Poll. xxx, Tyr. 24; Cod. Just. 4, 24, 11; Amm. 28, 1, 5; Symm. Ep. 4, 71.)
- sanctimonialis* (eccl. used as a noun in the feminine to signify nun) 254. (Just. 1, 3, 56; Aug. Retract. 2, 22.)
- spiritalis* (spiritual: eccl. Form preferred by Augustine to *spiritalis*) 23, 1; 29, 2; 31, 7; 34, 3; 36, 11; 37, 2; 43, 27; 55, 9; 69, 2; 93, 6; 95, 6; 98, 1; 102, *passim* and freq. to 261, 2). (Tert. Apol. 22; Prud. *σρεφ.* 10, 13; Vulg. Osee 9, 7; Rom. 1, 11; 1 Cor. 2, 13; Gal. 6, 1; Ephes. 1, 3; Colos. 1, 9; 1 Petr. 2, 5.)
- venialis* (p. c.) 137, 12; 153, 23. (Macr. S. 7, 16; Sid. Ep. 8, 11.)
- vidualis* (p. c.) 130, 8, 11; 262, 9, 10. (Civ. Dei 15, 26; Ambros. in Psal. 40, 27.)

Words in *-alis* form, after those in *-ilis* the largest single category of adjectives in Augustine's Letters. They lend a certain sonority to his sentences, and are especially useful in expressing abstract ideas.

2. Adjectives in *-anus*, *-aneus*.

These are sometimes used as nouns, some of them exclusively so, as *publicanus*, *septimana* (week), *castellanus*. Besides the following, several classical forms also occur, but on the whole this group is not a large one. The exceedingly frequent use of *christianus* as both noun and adjective is easily explained by the polem-

ical nature of many of the letters, which were written against the various heresies and heretics of the time.

castellanus (rare) 209, 4. (Sall. J. 92, 7; Hirt. B. Alex. 42, 3; Liv. 34, 27, 2.)

christianus²⁰ (mostly eccl.) 17, 5; 20, 1; 23, passim; 28, 6; 29, 4, 6, 8, 9, etc. very frequently to 268, 2. (Cod. Just. 16, 8, 18; Tac. A. 15, 44; Plin. Ep. 10; Vulg. Act. 11, 26; 1 Petr. 4, 16.)

mundanus (late) 166, 4. (Macr. Somn. Sc. 2, 16; Avien. Arat. 216.)

publicanus—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.

quatrduanus (p. c.) 157, 15. (Hier. Ep. 108, 24; Vulg. Joan. 11, 39.)

septimana²¹ (late) 211, 16. (Cod. Th. 15, 5, 5; 2 Macc. 12, 31.)

triduanus (p. c.) 55, 5. (App. M. 10, p. 247; Hier. Ep. 54, 10; Paul. Nol. Car. 12, 207.)

spontaneus (late) 185, 32. (Macr. Somn. Sc. 2, 22; Cod. Just. 2, 3, 2; Arn. 3, p. 114; Vulg. Num. 29, 39; Deut. 16, 10; Ezech. 46, 12.)

subitaneus (rare) 199, 8. (Cpl. 1, 6, 24; Sen. Q. N. 7, 22; Vulg. Sap. 17, 6.)

3. *Adjectives in -aris.*

This is a variation of the suffix *-alis*, used with stems in which an *-l-* occurs. Apparently the repetition of the *-l-* sound was disagreeable, so that these adjectives represent cases of dissimilation. Of 19 words in *-aris* in the Letters, only 5 are non-classical.

angularis (mostly a. and p. c.) 187, 31. (Cato R. R. 14, 1; Col. 5, 3, 2; Vulg. Job, 38, 6; Isai 28, 16; Ephes. 2, 20; 1 Petr. 2, 6.)

luminaris (rare) 40, 2. (Vitr. 6, 4.)

saecularis—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.

²⁰ This word ought to be *christanus* as the *-i-* is part of neither stem nor suffix. It is an example of false analogy, such as occurs frequently in adjectives formed from proper names, e. g., *Julianus* is correct because *-i-* belongs to the stem, but *Caesarianus*, *Augustianus*, etc., have no reason to admit *-i-* before *-anus*.

²¹ Equivalent to *septima dies* used to represent the Hebrew *sabbatum*, then, like *sabbatum*, taken to mean week when the Christian calendar came into use.

salutaris—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.

scholaris (late) 118, 9. (Mart. Cap. 3, 326; Prud. στεφ. 9, 16;
Hier. Ep. 36, 14.)

4. *Adjectives in -arius.*

These are closely connected with nouns in *-arius*, *-arium* (q. v.). The suffix was a common one in the sermo plebeius, especially in the sermo rusticus and the sermo castrensis. Many of the forms are archaic. In late Latin it is of frequent occurrence, and is sometimes found as an additional termination to adjectives whose meaning is not thereby altered.²²

dominicarius (ἀρχὴ λεγόμενον) 36, 24.

litterarius—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.

plenarius (eccl.) 43, 19; 51, 2; 54, 1; 64, 4; 215, 2. (Prosp.

Acq. Vit. Cont. 3, 33; Ennod. Ep. 8; Cassiod. Var. 3, 5.)

sabbatarius (eccl. except. Mart. 4, 4, 7) 36, 21. (Sid. Ep. 1, 2.)

voluptuarius (p. c. for voluptarius) 36, 9. (Capitol. Ver. 2;
Mart. Cap. 2, 144.)

There occur also 15 classical forms in *-arius*, some of them numerals as quinaris, quadragenarius, septenarius, etc. These latter are found principally in Ep. 55, 28, where Augustine gives a curious and intricate explanation of the significance of certain numbers. Adversarius, contrarius, necessarius and temerarius, all formed from adverbs, occur frequently.

5. *Adjectives in -ax.*

This termination denotes habit, desire or inclination, sometimes with an idea of excess, or an implication of censure. Because of their convenient metrical form and the verbal idea conveyed by many of them, these words were more common in poetry than in prose, until the post-Augustan age, when so many poetical words entered the prose vocabulary.

The number of them occurring in the Letters is not large—only 15. Besides the classical audax, contumax, efficax, fallax, loquax, mendax, minax, pervicax, vorax, the following are found:

capax (poet.) 28, 6; 98, 10; 153, 12; 260, 1. (Lucr. 6, 123;
Hor. C. 2, 7, 22; Ov. M. 3, 172.)

²² Cooper, 151. Goelzer (1), 147.

- fugax (poet.) 7, 5; 43, 3; 118, 12; 209, 2. (Verg. A. 10, 724; Hor. C. 3, 2, 14; Ov. M. 13, 809.)
- mordax (poet.) 248, 1. (Ov. A. A. 2, 417; Hor. C. 4, 6, 9; Pers. 5, 86.)
- pertinax (poet.) 43, 1; 53, 6; 139, 1. (Hor. C. 1, 9, 24; Plaut. Capt. 2, 239; Vulg. Gen. 49, 7.)
- verax (rare) 28, 5; 82, 3, 7, 29, 30; 91, 3; 95, 7; 102, 17; 104, 11; 108, 6; 118, 26; 126, 13; 129, 2; 131; 138, 8; 140, 82; 155, 2; 157, 35; 181, 6; 190, 8. (Plaut. Capt. 5, 2, 6; Tib. 1, 2, 41; Cic. Ac. 2, 25, 79; Hor. S. 1, 4, 89; Vulg. Exod. 34, 6; Job 12, 20; Eccli. 15, 8; Apoc. 19, 11, etc.)
- vivax (poet.) 137; 10. (Ov. Am. 2, 6, 54; Hor. S. 2, 1, 53; Verg. E. 7, 30.)

The use of such adjectives as these is one of the means by which Augustine secures force and brevity of style, in substituting phrases for clauses or words for phrases. They sometimes occur in pairs with an effect of rhyme, e. g.

apostolicam mordacem veracemque sententiam 243, 1;
 quam vivaces, quam efficaces 137, 10
 non minaces ulterius sed fugaces 209, 2.

6. *Adjectives in -bundus.*

The meaning of an exaggerated present participle, sometimes with a slightly contemptuous implication, distinguishes this plebeian termination. It is found principally in early and late Latin. In addition to moribundus, a classical word, the following occur in the Letters:

- furibundus (rare) 34, 3; 108, 14. (Cic. Sest. 7, 15; Sall. C. 31; Lucr. 6, 367; Hor. Ep. 1, 10; Vulg. 3 Reg. 20, 43.)
- gemibundus (very rare) 186, 41. (Ov. M. 1, 188 only.)
- indignabundus (rare) 98, 8. (Liv. 38, 37, 7; Suet. Aug. 40; Gell. 19, 9, 8.)
- insultabundus (late, occurs for first time here) 36, 3. (Acta Ss. Jacobi et Mariani, Mm. n. 8.)
- mendicabundus (ἀπαξ λεγόμενον) 261, 1.
- vagabundus (a. and p. c.) 35, 2; 92, 4. (Fenest. ap. Fulg. 3, 9; Sol. 5, 24; Dracont. Hexaem. 1, 257; Sol. 5, 24.)

7. *Adjectives in -eus, -ius.*

These two denote provenance or resemblance. The first is a common ending used to show the material of which a thing is made, like English *-en* in *wooden*, *earthen*, *golden*, etc., although it was at its origin a poetical suffix expressing resemblance.

carneus (p. c.) 22, 1, 3, 4; 166, 12, 27. (Hier. Ep. 36, 16; Maximian. Gall. 1, 85; Prud. Apoth. 370; Vulg. 2 Par. 32, 8; Job 10, 4; Ezech. 11, 19.)

corporeus (found mostly in Lucretius before it became a part of the Christian vocabulary) 2, 1; 3, 2; 9, 1; 13, 2; 95, 8; 118, passim; 120, passim; 127, 11; 147, passim; 148, 1, 8; 159, 2, 5; 162, passim; 177, 19, 39; 188, 23. (Lucr. 2, 186; Cic. N. D. 2, 15, 41; Mart. Cap. 6, 607.)

faeneus (very rare) 140, 13. (Cic. Fragm. Or. Cornel. 1, 1; Ascon. p. 62; Aug. c. Acad. 3, 18.)

incorporeus (p. c.) 118, passim; 137, 11; 140, 56; 147, passim; 166, 4; 169, 3, 4, 11; 187, passim; 190, 15; 202A, 10; 228, 10; 236, 3; 238, 15, 24; 247, 38, 47. (Gell. 5, 15, 1; Macr. 3, 7, 15.)

spineus (very rare) 29, 6, 7. (Ov. M. 2, 789; Sol. 7; Vulg. Marc. 14, 17; Joan. 19, 5.)

virgineus (poet. for *virginalis*) 137, 8. (Tib. 3, 4, 89; Ov. M. 3, 607; Lucr. 1, 87.)

aërius (poet.) 9, 3; 55, 15; 102, 20; 166, 4. (Lucr. 5, 825; Ov. A. A. 2, 44; Hor. C. 1, 28, 5; Vulg. Esth. 1, 6; 8, 15.)

praescius (poet.) 140, 48. (Verg. A. 12, 452; Ov. F. 1, 538; Lact. 2, 9, 11.)

The large percentage of poetical words in this and other categories seems to be a consequence of Augustine's literary training and of that affection for and frequent reading of Latin poetry, especially Vergil, which he bewails in the Confessions.²³

8. *Adjectives in -enus, -inus.*

This is a participial suffix, originally passive in force, but found also with active meaning. Only three words in *-enus* occur in the Letters: *serenus* (class.) and:

egenus (rare and poet.) 127, 26; 145, 15; 247, 1. (Verg. A.

²³ Conf. 1, 3.

1, 599; Sil. 6, 304; Vulg. freq. Deut. 15, 11 to Galat. 4, 9.)

terrenus—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.

Of 15 words in *-inus* only one is non-classical, while two show change of meaning.

divinus—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.

morticianus (a. and p. c.) 93, 21; 137, 6. (Varro, R. R. 2, 9, 10; Plaut. Pers. 2, 4, 12; Prud. 10, 384; Vulg. Levit. 7, 24; Num. 19, 13.)

transmarinus—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.

This was an infrequent termination at all periods of the language and shows no particular development in the late period. Augustine found *terrenus* a convenient word to use in expressing an idea which he is continually urging on his readers or hearers, viz. contempt for earthly things: *terrena*. He prefers this term to *mundanus*, which conveys the same thought but is a later word. In this he is probably obeying the same puristic instinct which in his youth had made him despise the Holy Scriptures because of the (to him) barbaric Latin in which the Itala version was clothed. He usually prefers a classical word where there is one, even if he has to use it with an altered meaning.

9. *Adjectives in -icus, -icius.*

This termination is common to Greek and Latin, and as many ecclesiastical words are of Greek origin, the category is a large one in the Letters. The following list contains only Latin adjectives in *-icus*; those formed from Greek words will be considered in Chapter III, on foreign loan-words.

civicus (rare and poet. except in the phrase *corona civica*) 212. (Hor. Ep. 1, 3, 23; Flor. 3, 21, 5; Ov. F. 1, 22.)

dominicus—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.

iuridicus (mostly p. c. and juristic) 134, 4. (Plin. 3, 1, 3; Cod. Th. 3, 12, 7; Dig. 1, 20.)

urbicus (rare) 36, 3, 8, 20. (Gell. 15, 1, 3; Suet. Ner. 14; Lampr. Heliog. 20; Dig. 43, 8, 11.)

In *-icius* only one non-classical word occurs:

immolaticius (late) 47, 4, 4. (Gloss. Gr. Lat. *ειδωλοθυσία*.)

Of 5 forms in *-ficus*, one only is non-classical:

beatificus (p. c.) 118, 15; 164, 8. (App. Doct. Plat. 1, p. 3, 29; Aug. Conf. 2, 5.)

10. *Adjectives in -ilis, -ibilis.*

This formation occupies among adjectives the position of numerical superiority held by words in *-io* among nouns. It was a plebeian suffix, particularly common in early and late Latin; and, in the latter period much favored by African writers.²⁴ Usually conveying a passive meaning and added to the present stem of verbs, it may nevertheless be found in words of undisputed active sense, and the number of words other than the present stems of verbs to which it was added is a significant proof of the freedom with which it was handled in late writers. The following occur in the Letters:

abominabilis (late) 204, 5. (Vulg. Levit. 11, 10; Deut. 22, 5; 3 Reg. 21, 26; Prov. 11, 20, etc.)

acceptabilis (eccl.) 228, 4. (Tert. de Or. 7; Hier. adv. Jovin. 2, 6; Vulg. Levit. 1, 4; Esth. 10, 3; Isai. 58, 5; 2 Cor. 6, 2.)

accessibilis (late) 138, 18. (Tert. adv. Prax. 15.)

audibilis (late) 169, 10. (Boeth. Top. Arist. 1, 15.)

conspicibilis (eccl.) 147, 10. (Prud. *σρεφ.* 10, 631; Hier. in Osee 1, 2, 14; Sid. Ep. 8, 4; Hilar. in Matth. 17, 2.)

contaminabilis (eccl.) 236, 2. (Tert. adv. Marc. 4, 20; Civ. Dei 9, 16.)

contemptibilis (p. c.) 153, 7; 167, 3; 185, 15; 199, 45; 204, 13. (Dig. 1, 16, 9; Arn. 4, p. 155; Hier. Ep. 146, 2; Lampr. Alex. Sev. 20; Vulg. Sap. 10, 4; Isai. 49, 7; 1 Cor. 1, 28.)

convertibilis (p. c.) 147, 19; 169, 9. (Prud. Apoth. 344; Hier. Did. S. S. 5, 13; App. Dog. Plat. 3, p. 33, 1.)

corruptibilis (eccl.) 130, 7; 131, 1; 143, 5; 137, 37, 40, 50; 148, 11; 155, 2; 166, 27; 178, 3; 190, 4; 205, 2, 13; 220, 1; 236, 2; 263, 1. (Arn. 2, 68; Lact. 6, 25; Hier. adv. Pelag. 1, 18; Vulg. Sap. 19, 20; Eccli. 14, 20; 1 Cor. 9, 25.)

culpabilis (p. c.) 93, 8; 126, 8; 137, 16; 149, 20. (App. Mag. p. 233; Arn. 7, p. 222; Hier. Ep. 119, 10; Tert. ad Uxor. 2, 1.)

²⁴ Bayard, 30. Gabarrou, 39.

- damnabilis** (late) 89, 1, 2; 108, 5, 10, 19, 20; 138, 19; 153, 7; 157, 36. (Hier. in Isai. 13, 47, 1; Treb. Poll. xxx Tyrann. 17; Salv. 6.)
- desiderabilis** (rare) 27, 2; 87, 10; 159, 5; 185, 21; 190, sal.; 242, sal.; 248, sal.; 254, sal.; 261, eal. (Cic. Top. 18, 69; Tac. H. 2, 76; Vulg. freq. Job 33, 20 to Malac. 3, 12.)
- divisibilis** (eccl.) 148, 1, 4, 10, 15. (Tert. Anim. 14; Hilar. in Matth. 9, 7; Hier. Did. S. S. 13.)
- docibilis** (late) 171A, 2; 266, 2. (Tert. Mon. 12; Ambros. in Psal. 47, 21; Vulg. Joan. 6, 45; 2 Tim. 2, 24.)
- effabilis** (p. c.) 232, 5. (App. Mag. p. 315, 41; Apol. 64; Casiod. Orthogr. 6.)
- fidelis**—Cf. ch. v. Semantica.
- gentilis**—Cf. ch. v. Semantica.
- honorabilis** (very rare) 23, 1; 170, 1; 171, 1; 189, 1; 204, 3, 9; 208, 1; 209, 1, 3; 242, sal.; 254; 257; 269, sal.; 264, 2; 266, 2. (Cic. de Sen. 18, 62; Amm. 30, 4, 16; Vulg. Psal. 71, 14; Eccli. 1, 14; Isai. 3, 3; Act. 5, 34.)
- impalpabilis** (eccl.) 130, 24. (Arn. 2, 7; Interpr. Ign. Ep. ad Polycarp. 3.)
- impassibilis** (eccl.) 120, 7, 8. (Prud. Apoth. 84; Tert. Apol. 10; Lact. 1, 3, 23; Hier. Ep. 100, 10.)
- imperturbabilis** (eccl.) 248, 2. (Fulgent. ad Trasim. 3, 16.)
- impossibilis** (p. c. except Quint.) 102, 5; 188, 13; 203. (Quint. 5, 10, 18; App. M. 1, p. 111; Just. 2, 4; Dig. 43, 11, 1.)
- inaccessibilis** (p. c.) 92, 3; 147, 45; 197, 4. (Tert. adv. Prax. 15; Hier. adv. Pelag. 3, 12; Mam. Geneth. Maxim. 9, 3; Serv. ad Verg. A. 7, 11.)
- incapabilis** (late) 238, 3. (Aug. Serm. 199, 2; Interpr. Irenaei Haeres. 1, 2, 1; Gloss. Philox. ἀχώρητος.)
- incommutabilis** (rare) 55, 8; 92A; 95, 6; 102, 11; 118, 6, 15, 17; 120, 4, 11; 137, 9; 140, passim; 147, 20, 37; 148, 1; 166, 3; 169, 5, 7, 11; 171A; 232, 5; 238, 1, 24. (Varro L. L. 9, 99; Cic. Rep. 2, 33, 57; Aug. Retract. 1, 9.)
- inconvertibilis** (eccl.) 179, 7. (Tert. Anim. 21; adv. Hermog. 12.)
- incorruptibilis** (eccl.) 92, 3; 130, 27; 131, 1; 148, 11, 16, 18; 166, 3; 169, 3; 205, 13; 263, 4. (Tert. Anim. 50; Lact. 1, 3; Vulg. Rom. 1, 23; 1 Petr. 1, 4.)
- inculpabilis** (late) 162, 7; 166, 7. (Prud. Apoth. 10, 15; Avien. Arat. 28; Sol. 30; Vulg. Num. 32, 22.)

- ineffabilis (p. c. except Plin.) 11, 4; 23, 6; 29, 7; 30, 2; 55, 17; 130, 5; 137, 5; 140, 22; 147, *passim*; 148, 16; 166, 13, 15; 169, 2, 11; 190, 22; 232, 3; 235, 1; 243, 3, 5; 248, 2. (Fulgent. Mythol. 1, 1.)
- inexcusabilis (poet. and p. c.) 93, 41; 194, *passim*. (Hor. Ep. 1, 18, 58; Ov. M. 7, 511; Dig. 5, 1, 50; Cod. Th. 11, 16, 7.)
- infidelis—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.
- inflexibilis (rare) 104, 16. (Plin. 28, 12, 52; Cael. Aur. Acut. 3, 6, 65.)
- inrationabilis (p. c.) 120, 3; 166, 16. (App. Dogm. Plat. p. 21; Amm. 31, 12, 15; Vulg. 2 Petr. 2, 12.)
- inscrutabilis (eccl.) 147, 34; 185, 12, 17; 194, 33. (Hier. in Jerem. 3, 17, 9; Hilar. Trin. 8, 38; Vulg. Job 5, 9; Prov. 25, 3; Jerem. 17, 9.)
- interminabilis (p. c.) 35, 2; 36, 22, 25. (Tert. adv. Marc. 2, 3; Sid. Ep. 2, 7.)
- investigabilis (eccl. This is a negative word, unsearchable, and must be distinguished from *investigabilis* < *investigo*, which has the opposite meaning) 194, 6. (Hier. in Abac. 1, 1, 1; Vulg. Prov. 5, 6; Rom. 11, 33; Ephes. 3, 8.)
- invisibilis (mostly p. c.) 55, 89; 58, 2; 92, 3; 118, 20; 145, 2; 147, *passim*; 148, *passim*; 151, 10; 159, 2; 169, 11; 190, 15; 194, 25; 220, 10; 232, 5; 238, 3; 239, 1. (Cels. Praef.; Tert. adv. Herm. 29; Lact. 7, 9; Paulin. Nol. Carm. 35, 208; Vulg. Tobiae 12, 19; 2 Macc. 9, 5; Rom. 1, 20; Colos. 1, 15.)
- invulnerabilis (rare) 166, 3. (Sen. Ben. 5, 5, 1; Vulg. 2 Macc. 8, 36.)
- passibilis (p. c.) 120, 7. (Arn. 7, 214; Prud. Apoth. 74; Tert. adv. Prax. 29; Hier. Ep. 100, 11; Vulg. Act. 26, 23; Jacob. 5, 17.)
- perprobabilis (late) 10, 1. (Aug. Music. 1, 6, 12.)
- perspicabilis (p. c.) 27, 2. (Amm. 14, 8, 3.)
- portabilis (p. c.) 31, 4. (Sid. Ep. 8, 11.)
- praedicabilis (rare and late except once in Cicero) 232, 1, 7; 255. (Cic. Tusc. 5, 17, 49; Ambros. in Luc. 1, 15.)
- reprehensibilis (late) 196, 8. (Hier. Ep. 112, 8; Lact. 4, 28, 8; Salv. Gub. Dei 4, 14; Vulg. Galat. 2, 11.)
- sensibilis (rare) 3, 2, 3, 4; 4, 1, 2, 7, 5; 13, 2, 3. (Vitr. 5, 3; Sen. Ep. 124, 2; Lact. 2, 10, 3.)

- spectabilis (p. c. as title of respect) 133, 3; 134, 2; 222, 2. (Dig. 1, 15, 5; Imp. Theod. et Val. Cod. 7, 62, 32.)
- umbratilis (rare) 102, 35. (Cic. Tusc. 2, 11, 27; Col. 1, 2, 1; Amm. 18, 6, 2.)
- violabilis (poet.) 236, 2. (Ov. H. 15, 79; Verg. A. 2, 154; Stat. Th. 5, 258.)
- visibilis (p. c.) 55, 8; 95, 7; 118, 20; 140, 8; 147, passim; 148, passim; 162, 9; 169, 10; 177, 7; 179, 5; 204, 4; 205, 7; 220, 10; 232, 5; 238, 23. (App. de Mundo, p. 60, 37; Prud. Apoth. 146; Vulg. Colos. 1, 16; Hebr. 11, 8.)
- vituperabilis (very rare) 177, 12. (Cic. Fin. 3, 12, 40; Leg. 3, 10, 33.)
- volatilis (= fowl: late) 105, 16; 186, 22. (Vulg. freq. Gen. 1, 20 to Act. 11, 6.)

Of words in *-bilis*, five have an active meaning: *impassibilis*, *incapabilis*, *inculpabilis*, *passibilis*, *spirabilis* (class.) As in the case of adjectives in *-ax*, Augustine is fond of using words in *-ilis* in pairs or groups, giving thereby a certain rhythm and fulness of vowel-sound to his sentences.

- e. g. *violabilis et corruptibilis et contaminabilis*. 136, 2.
visibilem et corruptibilem. 238, 23.
immutabilis mutabilium. 138, 6.

11. *Adjectives in -ivus*.

This is a suffix which, having formed very few words in early and classical Latin, became extremely active in the late period. Five-sixths of all adjectives in *-ivus* are late, and barely 4% are classical.²⁵ In the Letters seven classical forms appear and the following:

- abortivus (poet. rare) 243, 8. (Hor. S. 1, 3, 40; Juv. 2, 32; Mart. 6, 93; Vulg. Exod. 21, 22; Num. 12, 12; Job 3, 16; 1 Cor. 15, 8.)
- comitivus (p. c.) 120, 7. (Veg. Mil. 2, 9; Cod. Th. 11, 21, 3; Cod. Just. 1, 33, 3.)
- dispensativus (p. c.) 82, 24. (Isid. Orig. 2, 24, 16.)
- festivus (a. and p. c.) 17, 2. (Enn. ap. Serv. Verg. A. 9, 401; Plaut. Cas. 4, 1, 3; Gell. 18, 13, 1.)

²⁵ Cooper, 106.

relativus (p. c.) 170, 6. (Arn. 7, p. 221; Mart. Cap. 5, 451.)
 significativus (late and juristic) 102, 17; 169, 9. (Dig. 50, 16;
 2, 32; 45, 1.)

Compared with other late Latin writers, Augustine makes a sparing use of this ending. Apuleius, Tertullian, Caelius Aurelianus and Boethius enriched the language with many new words in *-ivus*, while Jerome, whose additions are otherwise so numerous, contributed but five, Augustine six, none of which occur in the Letters.

12. *Adjectives in -lentus.*

Of this plebeian and archaic suffix only six forms occur in the Letters: four classical words and the following:

corpulentus (corporeal: late) 190, 14. (Tert. Adv. Herm. 19.)
 truculentus (poet.) 50. (Ter. Ad. 5, 4, 12; Plaut. Bacch. 4, 5,
 3; Ov. M. 13, 558.)

13. *Adjectives in -orius.*

This is a compound termination belonging, like the substantive form *-orium*, to the sermo plebeius. Originally it seems to have consisted of a suffix *-ius* added to nouns in *-tor*, *-sor*, but later was treated as a whole termination added to verb-stems. The verbal force predominant in the later formations, which far outnumber the earlier ones, is explained by this fact. These adjectives are fairly numerous in the Letters.

adulatorius (rare) 104, 11; 232, 2. (Tac. A. 6, 32.)
 communicatorius (late and rare) 43, 1, 8, 16, 19; 44, 3. (Hilar.
 Fragm. Hist. 2, 13; Concil. Ilhiberit.)
 consolatorius (rare: once each in Cicero and Suetonius, otherwise late) 208, 1; 259, 1. (Cic. Att. 13, 20, 1; Suet.
 Oth. 10; Cassiod. Var. 10, 18; Vulg. Zach. 1, 13.)
 consultatorius (late and very rare) 169, 13. (Macr. S. 3, 5.)
 deceptorius (eccl.) 108, 6. (Aug. Doctr. Chr. 2, 23; Mar. Mer-
 cat. ad Anath. Nest. 1, 9; Auct. Vit. S. Hilar. Arelat. 2.)
 dispensatorius (eccl.) 82, 4, 27. (Hier. in Isai. 14, 53, 12;
 Dion. Exig. de Creat. 31.)
 emendatorius (Aug. only) 211, 11. (Tr. in Ps. 27.)
 excitatorius (*ἅπαξ λεγόμενον*) 26, 2.
 excusatorius (late) 83, 2. (Gloss. on ἀπολογητικός; Sid. Carm. 9.)
 exhortatorius (eccl.) 208, 1; 243, 2. (Hier. Ep. 54, 6; Fulg. de
 Aet. 174, 3.)

- gratulatorius (p. c.) 58, 2. (Capitol. Max. et Balb. 17; Jul. Val. Rer. Gest. Alex. 3, 34.)
 simulatorius (eccl.) 82, 3. (Ambros. Hex. 1, 2, 7; Vin. Ler. Common. 20; Gelas. Ep. 1, 28.)
 tractatorius (eccl.) 43, 8. (Fulgent. Mythol. 11.)
 tractoria (as noun: late) 59, 1. (Cod. Just. 12, 32; Fulg. Myth. 48, 9.)
 transitorius (transitory: eccl.) 27; 33, 6; 122, 1; 127, 2, 4; 137, 7; 140, 5; 143, 3; 164, 11; 185, 28; 220 1, 8; 243, 3. (Boeth. 5, 6; Hier. in Isai. 6, 13, 2; Cassiod. Amic. p. 602.)

Aside from the jurists, the use of forms in *-orius* belongs largely to the African writers.²⁶ Augustine is no exception to this generalization, as the above list will show. Five words contributed by him to this class are found in the Letters for the first time; fifteen more are found in his other works. Cooper²⁷ includes iudicatorius in his list of Augustinian additions, as found in Ep. 153, 10. In this he evidently does not cite the text of the Vienna Corpus, which has the reading iudiciarius. The form iudicatorius is the Ms. reading of the Codex Parisinus, nov. acq. 1444.

14. *Adjectives in -osus.*

Like adjectives in *-orius*, those in *-osus* are more frequent in colloquial than in literary Latin. They seem to have been especially favored by rustic and African writers, partly no doubt because this suffix could be added to almost any part of speech, even verbs, but also because its length and forcefulness commended it to seekers of emphasis. It marks an abundance or excess of the quality indicated. Augustine has the following in the Letters:

- annosus (poet.) 42; 72, 2; 118, 7. (Verg. A. 6, 282; Hor. C. 3, 17, 13; Ov. F. 2, 571; Tib. 3, 6, 58.)
 caenosus (rare) 88, 6; 241, 1. (Col. 7, 10, 6; Juv. 3, 266.)
 caliginosus (rare) 102, 20; 242, 4. (Cic. Tusc. 1, 19, 43; Plin. 17, 22; Val. Max. 1, 7, 1; Vulg. Isai. 13, 2; Jerem. 13, 16; 2 Petr. 1, 19.)
 contentiosus (p. c. except Pliny) 40, 3; 54, 3; 81, 6; 93, 32; 98, 10; 138, 20; 184A, 1; 186, 19; 187, 28; 213, 1; 265, 8. (Plin. Ep. 2, 19, 4; App. M. 8, p. 202, 23; Tert.

²⁶ Cooper, 158.

²⁷ Ibid., 102.

de Pudic. 2; Arn. 6, 13; Vulg. Jerem. 8, 5; 1 Cor. 11, 16.)
 deliciosus (late) 118, 1, 13. (Cass. Var. 7, 9; Mart. Cap. 7, 727; Ambros. de Poen. 19, 24; Sedul. prol. 8.)
 discordiosus (very rare) 202A, 6. (Sall. J. 66, 2; Sid. Ep. 6, 2.)
 egestosus (late) 104, 3, 4, 5. (Aurel. Vict. Epit. 12.)
 exitiosus (rare) 157, 5. (Cic. Cat. 4, 3, 6; Tac. A. 6, 36.)
 fabulosus (poet.) 7, 4; 138, 18; 140, 82; 143, 12. (Hor. C. 1, 22, 7; Suet. Caes. 81; Curt. 3, 1, 2.)
 lacrimosus (poet.) 138, 17; 140, 55; 204, 2. (Ov. M. 1, 8, 111; Plin. 38, 6; Hor. S. 1, 5, 80.)
 latebrosus—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.
 leprosus (late) 82, 18. (Sedul. 4, 191; Prud. *σρεφ.* 2, 285; Vulg. freq. Exod. 4, 6 to Luc. 17, 12.)
 meticulous (a. and p. c.) 28, 6. (Plaut. Am. 1, 1, 137; App. Flor. p. 341; Dig. 4, 2, 7.)
 morbosus (a. and p. c.) 243, 17. (Cato R. R. 2; Varro R. R. 2, 1, 21; Gell. 4, 2, 5.)
 nodosus (= intricate: poet.) 241, 1. (Hor. S. 2, 3, 69; Val. Max. 2, 9, 1; Macr. S. 7, 1.)
 obliviosus (rare) 166, 17. (Cic. Sen. 11, 76; Hor. C. 2, 7, 21; Tert. Anim. 24; Vulg. Jacob. 1, 25.)
 pestilentiosus (p. c.) 102, 19. (Dig. 43, 8, 2.)
 ruinosus (rare and poet.) 60, 1; 118, 5; 122, 2. (Cic. Off. 3, 13, 54; Sen. Ira. 3, 35; Ov. H. 1, 56; Vulg. Ezech. 33, 24.)
 tenebrosus (poet.) 140, 58; 167, 14. (Verg. A. 5, 839; Ov. M. 1, 113; Luc. 2, 79; Vulg. Gen. 15, 12; Exod. 14, 20; Isai. 45, 19.)
 ulcerosus (very rare) 157, 23. (Tac. A. 4, 57; Plin. 17, 14, 24.)
 venenosus (eccl.) 130, 16. (Hier. adv. Jovin. 1, 3; Ps.-Cyp. Sing. Cler. 26; Cassiod. in Psal. 13, 7.)

15. *Adjectives in -us.*

Of this common and usual termination, adjectives occur in great numbers, most of them conforming to classical diction. The following show peculiarity:

congruus (a. and p. c.) 55, 8; 102, 27; 147, 32; 190, 16; 250, 1. (Plaut. Mil. 4, 3, 23; Dig. 39, 5, 31; Pall. Oct. 14, 6; Vulg. Gen. 40, 5; Exod. 15, 23; 2 Macc. 14, 22.) Cf. classical congruens in 130, 12.

- consonus* (rare, poet.) 98, 10; 185, 5. (Ov. M. 13, 610; Sil. 17, 448; App. M. 2, p. 114; Claud. Rapt. Pros. 2, 42.)
- decrepitus* (mostly a. and p. c.) 118, 9; 137, 3. (Plaut. Merc. 2, 2, 43; Ter. Ad. 5, 8, 16; Prud. Ham. 561; Vulg. 2 Par. 36, 17.)
- grossus* (late and rare) 118, 25. (Cassiod. H. E. 10, 33; Sulp. Sev. Dial. 1, 21; Vulg. 3 Reg. 12, 10; 2 Par. 10, 10; Ezech. 41, 25.)
- incongruus* (p. c.) 149, 27; 159, 3. (Val. Max. 4, 1, 12; App. Dogm. Plat. 3; Veg. Mil. 2, 19; Symm. Ep. 4, 8.)
- indiguus* (p. c.) 155, 12; 177, 15. (Paulin. Nol. Carm. 27, 4; App. M. 9, p. 222.)
- marcidus* (poet.) 48, 3. (Ov. M. 10, 92; Stat. Th. 4, 652; Claud. Rapt. Pros. 1, 280.)
- morbidus* (rare) 102, 18; 104, 4; 147, 2. (Lucr. 6, 1225; Varro R. R. 3, 16, 22; Plin. 8, 26, 40.)
- pendulus* (poet.) 132. (Hor. C. 3, 27, 59; Ov. F. 4, 386.)
- praecelsus* (poet. and late) 134, 3. (Verg. A. 3, 245; Sulp. Sev. Chron. 2, 15, 9.)
- prolixus* (— extended, *prolix*: p. c.) 36, 2; 40, 1; 82, 1, 20; 110, 5, 6; 120, 20; 137, 9; 138, 8; 140, 85; 155, 5; 157, 40; 162, 9; 171; 184A, 1; 185, 6, 57; 194, 47; 200, 3; 204, 9; 259, 1; 261, 1; 269. (Dig. 50, 6, 5; Jul. Val. Rer. Gest. Alex. M. 1, 5, 7; Vulg. Marc. 12, 40.)
- reprobis* (late) 177, 16. (Dig. 13, 7, 24; Vulg. 1 Reg. 15, 9; Eccli. 9, 11; 2 Cor. 13, 5.)

The use of *prolixus* is especially significant, as Augustine always makes it indicate length, either of time, or of his subject. After writing an unpardonably long epistle, he will apologize to his correspondent, hoping he has not been *prolix*, and he uses the word in both degrees of comparison, as well as in the adverbial form. Altogether it is one of his most notable affectations.

In conclusion of this section, it may be noted that Augustine uses adjectives very liberally indeed in the Letters. He has a way of qualifying his nouns by several adjectives, joining them or balancing them in various ways, so as to secure a pleasing variety. Sometimes he makes puns with them, as when he plays on *otiosus* and *negotiosus*; sometimes he makes them rhyme alternately or consecutively, or he builds climaxes with them, or uses them to weave some of the intricate and delicate tracery of rhetorical fig-

ures, with which he adorns the texture of his style. He has an odd way of making them precede the noun, even when there are several of them and they are longer than the word they modify; and he frequently adds emphasis to them by prefixing an adverb in *-ter* as, e. g.

incomparabiliter gloriosus (150); *utiliter vera* (137, 120);
incommutabiliter immortalis (137, 12).

iii. VERBS.

More than almost any other part of speech, the verb in late Latin showed remarkable activity of formation. This is especially noteworthy in the case of denominative verbs, of certain classes of derivatives and of compounds. Denominatives were formed freely, with or without suffixes, from nouns, adjectives, adverbs, diminutives, comparatives or superlatives. Derivatives appear to favor certain classes of suffixes: *-escere*, *-tare*, (frequentative or causative), *-ficare*, *-urire*, *-izare*, *-inare*, which had been avoided, restricted or relegated to colloquial Latin by writers of the classical period. As for compounds and double compounds, even hybrid compounds, there seems to have been no let or hindrance in the fashioning of them.

The African writers took the lead in contributing many of these new forms, especially frequentatives, verbs in *-escere*, denominatives from superlative adjectives and from nouns in *-do*, *-go*, compounds in *-con*, *-ex*, *-in*, *-ob*, *-sub*, and bi-prepositional compounds. Augustine does not prove to be unreservedly African in this respect, for while he uses some categories with great freedom, he avoids others or makes but an occasional use of them.

In presenting the material on verbs, the following classification will be used:

- 1) denominative verbs from nouns, adjectives, adverbs, diminutives, and superlatives.
- 2) verbs in *-ascere*, *-escere*.
- 3) verbs in *-ficare*.
- 4) frequentatives.

To these will be added a list of participles in *-atus*. Compounds will be treated in a later section on compound words in general; verbs in *-izare* will find a place in the section on Hybrids.

It is evident that a verb may often find a place in more than one class, e. g. a verb formed from an adjective or noun may also be

an instance of a certain termination, like *clarificare*. In this case in order to avoid repetition, an effort has been made to classify the verb by its significant part. In this as in other sections, only non-classical, rare or poetical words will be listed.

1. *Denominative verbs from nouns.*

It will be noted that Augustine favors the simple denominative formed directly from the noun without intervening suffix. Verbs from nouns in *-do*, *-go* are conspicuous by their absence, although this class is one to which African writers have generously contributed.

cibare—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.

coningare (late) 127, 9; 130, 29; 194, 32; 220, 5; 245, 1; 262, 7.
(App. M. 5, p. 170; Treb. Gall. 11.)

coronare—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.

deargentare (late) 98, 5. (Hier. in Is. 9, 30, 24; Vulg. Psal. 67, 14.)

decolorare—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.

degradare (eccl.) 43, 17; 64, 4. (Hilar. Fragm. Hist. 2, 15;
Cod. Th. 1, 31, 3; Aug. Serm. 71, 3.)

diffamare—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.

enodare (a. and p. c.) 28, 3; 184A, 5; 190, 19; 202A, 1, 2.
(Att. ap. Non. 15, 7; Auct. Her. 2, 10; Gell. 13, 10, 1.)

eradicare (a. c.) 43, 22. (Varro R. R. 1, 27, 2; Plaut. Pers. 5, 2, 38; Ter. And. 4, 21; Vulg. 1 Reg. 20, 15; Job 31, 8;
Prov. 15, 5; Luc. 17, 6.)

exemplare (*ἄπαξ λεγόμενον*) 149, 26.

exterminare (destroy: eccl.) 43, 22; 105, 1. (Vulg. Num. 9, 13; Judith 3, 19.)

glutinare (rare) 108, 6. (Plin. 22, 25, 60; Cels. 7, 4.)

illaqueare (very rare, poet.) 79, 9. (Pacuv. ap. Non. 470, 7;
Hor. C. 3, 16, 6; Prud. Cath. 3, 41; Vulg. Prov. 6, 2;
Isai. 28, 13.)

incorporare (late) 93, 5; 187, 36. (Prud. Cath. 12, 80; Ulp.
Fragm. de Jure Fisc. 14; Sol. 22, 20.)

innodare (late) 151, 8. (Amm. 28, 6, 7; Ambros. in Psal. 118, 8, 44; Sid. Ep. 9, 9; Cod. Just. 5, 31, 14.)

innubilare (late, rare) 69, 1. (Sol. 53, 24.)

insonare (poet.) 126, 4; 169, 10; 243, 8. (Verg. A. 12, 366;
Ov. M. 13, 608; Vulg. Josue 6, 5; Judic. 3, 27; 2 Reg. 2, 28.)

- inumbrare (poet.) 167, 14. (Lucr. 5, 289; Verg. A. 11, 66.)
 inviscerare (late) 187, 41; 266, 1. (Nemes. Cyn. 214; Aug. Serm. 24.)
 itinerare (in pres. part. only: late) 130, 5. (Ambros. in Psal. 1, 25; Salv. de Gub. Dei 1, p. 33.)
 limitare (rare) 187, 31. (Varro R. R. 2, 2, 1; Plin. 17, 22, 35.)
 murmurare (a. and p. c.) 166, 28. (Varro L. L. 6, 67; Plaut. Aul. 1, 1, 13; App. Mag. p. 304; Vulg. Exod. 15, 24; Deut. 1, 27; Nahum 2, 7; Luc. 5, 30.)
 naufragare (late, rare) 93, 39. (Sid. Ep. 4, 21; Salv. Gub. Dei 3, p. 77; Vulg. 1 Tim. 1, 19.)
 obnubilare (late) 36, 2; 93, 30. (Gell. 1, 2, 5; Amm. 28, 42; App. M. 9, p. 228.)
 obumbrare (poet.) 138, 18; 140, 9; 187, 31. (Verg. G. 4, 20; Ov. Am. 2, 16, 10; Vulg. Psal. 90, 4; Sap. 19, 7; Marc. 9, 6; Luc. 1, 35.)
 oculare (eccl.) 148, 17. (Tert. Poen. 12; Cyp. Idol. Van. 7, 6; Hier. in Eccl. 7.)
 praefigurare (eccl.) 55, 23, 25; 102, 34, 35, 37; 108, 7; 140, 47. (Lact. 6, 20; Cyp. Ep. 2, 3.)
 praeiudicare—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.
 radicare—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.
 regenerare—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.
 roborare²² (rare) 138, 14; 157, 15. (Cic. Off. 1, 31, 112; Hor. C. 4, 4, 34; Vulg. Exod. 1, 7; Deut. 1, 38; 2 Par. 11, 17.)
 stillare (poet.) 110, 5. (Lucr. 4, 1060; Prop. 2, 8, 26; Tib. 1, 7, 51; Vulg. Exod. 9, 33, 2; 2 Reg. 21, 10; Job 16, 21.)
 subiugare (late) 26, 2; 54, 4; 166, 22. (Arn. 4, p. 129; Lact. Mort. Persec. 34; Dig. 4, 8, 43; Eutr. 4, 17; Vulg. Gen. 27, 37, 2; 2 Par. 8, 8; Esth. 13, 2.)
 tenebrare (late) 140, 68. (App. M. 8, p. 208; Amm. 19, 8, 5; Lact. 4, 19.)
 tribulare—Cf. ch. v. Semantics.
 triturare (late) 108, 7. (Isid. 15, 13, 16; Sid. Ep. 7, 6; Hier. in Amos 1 ad 1, 3; Vulg. Isai. 25, 10; Amos 1, 3; 1 Cor. 9, 9.)

2. *Denominative Verbs from Adjectives.*

In this group as in the foregoing. Augustine seems to avoid

²² *Roboratus* as adjective is eccl. but does not occur in the *Lettera*. (Tert. Anim. 25; Hier. con. Pel. 3, 8).

certain characteristically African formations, as e. g. those of adjectives in *-osus*, and to choose verbs formed from rather short adjectives of second and third declensions.

breviare (p. c. except Quint.) 199, 19, 20. (Quint. 1, 9, 2; Lact. Epit. 8, 6; Sulp. Sev. H. S. 1, 1; Paul. Nol. Carm. Nat. S. Fel. 24, 9; Vulg. Job 19, 11; Prov. 10, 27; 2 Macc. 2, 24; Matth. 24, 22.)

candidare (rare) 34, 2. (Tert. adv. Gnost. 12; Isid. Orig. 14, 8, 21.)

captivare (eccl.) 188, 3, (Aug. Civ. Dei 1, 1; Vulg. 1 Macc. 15, 10; Rom. 7, 23.)

concordare (rare) 57; 73, 8; 76, 1; 108, 14; 186, 15; 210, 1. (Sen. Ep. 75, 4; Dig. 24, 1; Quint. 11, 3, 69; Just. 27, 37; Vulg. Act. 15, 15.)

dealbare—Cf. ch. v. Semantica.

deviare (late for *via declinare*) 36, 11, 22; 82, 22; 126, 1; 202A, 7; 217, 15. (Aug. Doctr. Chr. 3, 36; Hier. Ep. 112, 12; Macr. Somn. Sc. 1, 22; Symm. Ep. 9, 121; Vulg. Exod. 23, 2; Num. 22, 26.)

discordare (rare) 138, 10. (Ter. And. 3, 3, 43; Cic. Fin. 1, 13, 44; Quint. 5, 11, 19.)

evacuare—Cf. ch. v. Semantica.

excaecare (rare) 139, 1; 149, 19; 173, 3; 209, 2. (Cic. Ac. 23, 74; Plin. 20, 18, 76; Flor. 2, 20, 5.)

exhilarare (rare) 146, 1; 149, 1. (Cic. Fam. 9, 26, 1; Mart. 8, 50, 6; Col. 6, 24, 2; Vulg. Psal. 103, 15; Prov. 15, 13; Eccli. 36, 24.)

exinanire (eccl.) 164, 5, 11, 12; 170, 9. (Vulg. Rom. 4, 14; Phil. 2, 7.)

falsare (late) 82, 6. (Ambros. de Fide 2, 15, 135; Hier. in Ruf. 3, 5.)

fecundare (poet.) 69, 2. (Verg. G. 4, 293; Claud. 1 Cons. Stil. 239; Pall. 3, 9.)

humiliare (eccl.) 211, 6; 266, 3. (Hier. Ep. 130, 12; Tert. adv. Marc. 5, 20; Sid. Ep. 5, 14; Amm. 30, 4, 2; Vulg. freq. Gen. 16, 9 to 1 Petr. 5, 6.)

ieiunare (late) 36, *passim et saepe*. (Hier. Ep. 41, 3; Tert. Pud. 16; Vulg. Judic. 20, 26; 1 Reg. 7, 6; Eccli. 34, 31; Matth. 4, 2; Marc. 2, 18.)

impinguare (late) 33, 3. (Tert. Jej. 6; Apic. 8, 7, 375;

- Vulg. Deut. 32, 15; 2 Esdr. 9, 25; Prov. 11, 25; Eccli. 20, 16, etc.)
- inebriare (rare) 29, 4, 5; 36, 3, 15; 130, 29; 145, 7. (Juv. 9, 113; Plin. 9, 41, 65; Vulg. freq. Gen. 9, 21 to Apoc. 17, 2.)
- mediare (late) 140, 12. (Apic. 3, 9; Pall. Mart. 10, 32.)
- opacare (—to obscure: Aug. only) 137, 13. (Mor. Cath. 1, 2.)
- perpetuare (rare) 36, 27. (Enn. ap. Non. 150, 30; Plaut. Pa. 1, 3, 72; Cic. Sull. 22, 64; Lampr. Alex. Sev. 6.)
- praesentare (p. c.) 43, 11; 129, 3; 140, 6; 263, 4. (Aur. Vict. V. I. 77; Hier. Ep. 82, 1.)
- sequestrare (late for sequestro dare) 44, 5; 143, 5. (Tert. Res. Carn. 27; Macr. Somn. Sc. 2, 14.)
- serenare (poet.) 147, 43; 263, 1. (Verg. A. 1, 255; Stat. Achill. 1, 120; Min. Fel. 32, 4; Claud. de Apono. 36.)
- sordidare (eccl.) 55, 18; 126, 9. (Sid. Ep. Carm. 23, 347; Lact. de Ira Dei 23, 28.)
- sublimare (a. and p. c.) 97, 1; 101, 2; 137, 9, 15; 151, 10; 157, 36; 199, 39. (Enn. ap. Non. 170, 11; Macr. S. 5, 124; Aur. Vict. Epit. 4; Vulg. 1 Reg. 2, 10; 1 Esdr. 9, 9; Job 22, 12; Ezech. 31, 10.)
- unire (p. c.) 140, 18; 137, 12. (Hier. Ep. 100, 12; Tert. Anim. 17; Dig. 39, 2, 15; Fulg. de Act. 13, 21; Sulp. Sev. Chron. 2, 43, 1.)
- verecundari (rare) 102, 1; 104, 14; 120, 1; 166, 9; 185, 29; 266, 4. (Cic. de Or. 2, 61, 249; Quint. 11, 3, 87.)

3. *Denominative Verbs from Adverbs.*

- propalare (from palam: late) 78, 2, 3. (Sid. Ep. 9, 11; Oros. 6, 5; Vulg. Hebr. 9, 8.)

4. *Denominative Verbs from Diminutives.*

These are at all times rare and not always easy to distinguish as coming from diminutives; but the following show unmistakable connection with diminutive nouns:

- flagellare (poet. from flagellum, dimin. of flagrum) 93, 8. (Ov. M. 3, 94; Mart. 4, 42, 7; Stat. Th. 10, 169; Vulg. Gen. 12, 17; Exod. 5, 14; Eccli. 30, 14; Matth. 10, 7, etc.)
- novellare (from novella, a vine-shoot) 199, 39. (Suet. Tiber. 21. 659.)

5. *Denominative Verbs from Superlatives.*²⁹

These first appear in Latin in African writers and are used principally by them.³⁰ Augustine has only one but he makes frequent use of it:

intimare (announce: late) 55, 21; 57, 1; 65, 1; 82, 1, 31; 126, 6; 128, 1; 137, 18; 139, 3; 141, 10; 147, 19; 164, 1; 166, 18; 175, 2; 184A, 7. (Amm. 21, 11, 1; Treb. Gall. 16; Mart. Cap. 3, 274; Cod. 14, 3, 1.)

Except *unire*, all the verbs in the foregoing lists belong to the first conjugation, a phenomenon which has been remarked in Tertullian, Cyprian,³¹ Arnobius,³² and Jerome.³³

6. *Verbs in -escere.*

The inchoative or inceptive force which at one period was attached to these verbs seems neither to have been original with the suffix, except as applied to verbs of the second conjugation uncompounded with a preposition,³⁴ nor to have maintained itself when this mode of formation spread to derivatives from nouns and adjectives. In the latter case, its principal effect was the formation of intransitives with the idea of "becoming." "In the later *sermo plebeius* the distinction is still less marked, even the uncompounded derivatives of the second conjugation being used indiscriminately in place of simple intransitives. . . . The later popular speech is remarkably fertile in new formations . . . their prevalence is especially noticeable in the later African writers."³⁵ At a still later period, the suffix acquired a causative force. In addition to a number of classical forms, the following occur in the Letters:

arescere (= to pine away: eccl.) 102, 35; 185, 44; 199, 37.

(Vulg. Judith 6, 13; Luc. 21, 26; Marc. 9, 17.)

comgemescere (for *congемiscere*: eccl.) 87, 4; 264, 2. (Tert.

Spect. 30; Prud. *σρεφ.* 2, 41; Hier. in Is. 14, 51, 6.)

²⁹ Augustine uses no verbs from comparatives in the Letters but in Ep. 170, 9 *minorare* appears in a quotation.

³⁰ Goelzer (1), 175 and note. Bayard, 37.

³¹ Bayard, 35.

³² Gabarrou, 62.

³³ Goelzer (1), 173.

³⁴ Lindsay, 480.

³⁵ Cooper, 217, 218.

- contabescere (very rare) 73, 6; 140, 36. (Plaut. Merc. 1, 2, 62; Cic. Tusc. 3, 31, 75; Vulg. 2 Reg. 13, 20; Isai. 13, 7; Ezech. 4, 17; Zach. 14, 2.)
- contremescere (rare, poet.) 33, 6. (Lucr. 3, 835; Verg. A. 7, 515; Ov. M. 8, 761; Cic. de Or. 1, 26, 121; Vulg. Deut. 2, 25; 4 Reg. 19, 26; Psal. 17, 8; Jacob 2, 19.)
- detumescere (very rare) 112, 2; 118, 15. (Stat. Th. 3, 259; Petr. 109, 5.)
- dilucescere (rare, mostly poet.) 194, 20. (Luc. 5, 176; Cic. Cat. 3, 3; Hor. Ep. 1, 4; Vulg. 1 Reg. 29, 10, 4; 4 Reg. 10, 9.)
- exarescere (rare) 102, 35. (Plaut. Rud. 2, 7, 20; Varr. R. R. 1, 32; Caes. B. G. 3, 49, 5; Amm. 15, 8, 7.)
- grandescere (poet.) 104, 15; 137, 4. (Lucr. 1, 191; Pall. Jun. 2; Coll. 2, 20, 2.)
- horrescere (poet.) 199, 39. (Ov. F. 2, 502; Verg. G. 3, 199; Sen. Agam. 711.)
- inanescere (late) 164, 4. (Aug. de Mus. 6, 13; Amm. 23, 6, 86.)
- inardescere (poet.) 78, 12; 139, 3; 231, 4. (Verg. A. 8, 623; Hor. Ep. 3, 18; Sen. Herc. Oet. 251.)
- indormiscere (ἀπαξ λεγόμενον) 1, 2.
- intumescere (poet.) 185, 45. (Ov. F. 6, 700; Hor. Ep. 16, 52; Vulg. Gen. 38, 24; Deut. 17, 13; Josue 3, 16, etc.)
- inveterescere (form preferred by Aug. to inveterascere: mostly p. c.) 38, 2. (Tac. A. 11, 2, 4; Vulg. Psal. 6, 18; 2 Esdr. 9, 21.)
- lucescere (poet.) 36, 28. (Ter. Heaut. 3, 1, 1; Verg. E. 6, 37; Ov. F. 5, 417; Vulg. Matth. 28, 1.)
- patescere (poet.) 26, 1, 6; 82, 6. (Lucr. 5, 614; Verg. A. 2, 309; Tac. H. 4, 78.)
- pigrescere (late, except Pliny) 58, 3; 89, 6; 167, 2. (Plin. 18, 18, 47; Ambros. Virg. 17, 110; Mart. Cap. 1, 38.)
- praevalescere (rare) 137, 15. (Col. 5, 6, 17; Hier. Ep. 77, 2.)
- rarescere (poet.) 137, 4. (Lucr. 6, 214; Ov. M. 15, 246; Stat. S. 1, 2, 186.)
- silvescere (rare) 159, 2. (Cic. Sen. 15, 52; Col. 4, 11, 2; Arn. 3, p. 109.)
- sordescere (very rare) 118, 18. (Hor. Ep. 1, 20, 11; Gell. 4, 12, 1; Amm. 15, 13, 2; Vulg. Job 18, 2; Apoc. 22, 11.)
- surdescere (late) 157, 25. (Hier. in Eccle. 12, p. 400.)
- tenebrescere (eccl.) 140, 56, 57; 244, 1. (Hier. in Is. 5, 12, 10; Vulg. Eccli. 12, 2; Amos. 8, 9; Zach. 11, 17.)

- tepscere (= to grow careless: late) 130, 18. (Amm. 28, 1, 9;
Vulg. Luc. 4, 29; Nemes. Ecl. 1, 13.)
vanescere (poet.) 69, 2; 137, 1. (Cat. 64, 199; Ov. Tr. 1, 2,
107; Pers. 3, 13.)
vilescere (late) 22, 7; 120, 5. (Hier. Ep. 77, 2; Sid. Ep. 7, 9;
Paulin. Nol. Car. 22, 5.)

The African preference for forms in *-escere* over those in *-ascere*, *-iscere* is noticeable. Augustine uniformly chooses *-escere*, even at the risk of producing such singular forms as *inveterescere* and *congemescere*. His sole deviation from this usage is *indormiscere*, which coming from an *i*-verb seemed to require the ending *-iscere*.

7. Verbs in *-ficare*.

These verbs might be considered as compounds, inasmuch as the suffix *-ficare* is simply a disguised form of *facere*. The African writers, however, who used it so freely, seem to have treated it as a suffix, and to have added it to nouns and adjectives forming verbs of which the factitive value is diminished if not obscured. e. g. *damnificare* signified "injure," when *damnare* came to mean "condemned to everlasting punishment," *modificare* was used to mean "regulate" etc. Augustine shows a marked fondness for these verbs as he does for the parallel formations: adjectives in *-ficus* and nouns in *-fictio*.

- beatificare* (eccl.) 85, sal.; 140, 56; 164, 8; 184A, 6; 187, 35,
36. (Aug. Trin. 14, 14; Vulg. Eccli. 25, 32; Job 29, 11;
Isai. 9, 16; Jacob 5, 11.)
clarificare (eccl.) 55, 25; 130, 22. (Lact. 3, 18; Sedul. 4, 173;
Paulin. Nol. Carm. 26, 304.)
deificare (eccl.) 10, 2. (Cassiod. H. E. 7, 2; Civ. Dei 19, 23, 4.)
fructificare (late) 36, 4; 108, 2; 128, 2; 149, 9; 199, 45, 47, 50,
51. (Tert. Res. Car. 52; Calp. Ecl. 4, 91; Vulg. Eccli.
11, 24; Ezech. 17, 6; Marc. 4, 20; Rom. 7, 4.)
glorificare (eccl.) 55, 23; 93, 33; 130, 2; 140, 5; 177, 7; 187,
29; 194, 24; 217, 27. (Tert. Idol. 22; Prud. Hamart.
fin.; Vulg. Exod. 14, 4; Levit. 10, 3; Psal. 14, 4; Prov.
4, 8, etc.)
honorificare (eccl.) 54, 4. (Lact. 7, 24; Vulg. Judith 12, 21;
Psal. 36, 20; Eccli. 3, 5; Matth. 6, 2; Marc. 2, 12, etc.)
iustificare (eccl.) 36, 7; 78, 3; 82, passim; 93, passim; 140, 52,
71; 157, 6, 12; 177, 2, 14; 179, 3; 185, 37, 40; 186, 8, 20;

- 187, 29; 190, 11; 193, 6; 194, 6, 7, 8; 196, 3, 8; 214, 3.
 (Prud. Apoth. 881; Tert. adv. Marc. 19; Coripp. Laud. Justin. 2.)
- ludificare (a. c.) 102, 20. (Plaut. Mil. 2, 6, 15; Ter. Eun. 4, 3.)
- maestificare (late) 99, 1; 130, 4. (Sid. Ep. 13, 3; Mart. Cap. 9, 888.)
- magnificare (= adore: eccl.) 93, 52; 217, 24. (Vulg. Gen. 12, 2; Psal. 34, 3; Ezech. 38, 23.)
- mirificare (eccl.) 149, 6, 19. (Vulg. Psal. 17, 7.)
- modificare (class. in perfect, otherwise late) 118, 31; 187, 31.
 (App. Dogm. Plat. p. 18, 37; Front. Ep. ad M. Caes. 43.)
- mortificare (eccl.) 55, 24; 164, 2, 3, 18, 19, 20; 205, 8. (Tert. Res. Car. 37; Hier. in Gal. 3, 5, 16; Vulg. 1 Reg. 2, 6; Psal. 36, 32; Prov. 19, 16; 2 Cor. 6, 9, etc.)
- sanctificare (eccl.) 35, 3, 5; 36, 5; 89, 5; 105, 12; 149, 16; 187, 21; 188, 9. (Hier. Ep. 120, 12; Prud. Cath. 3, 15; Tert. Or. 3; Vulg. very freq. Gen. 2, 3 to Apoc. 22, 11.)
- turificare (rare and late) 87, 2. (Cyp. Ep. 55.)
- vivificare (eccl.) 140, 17, 21, 24; 145, 3; 157, 15, 20; 164, passim; 166, 21, 24; 177, 7, 8, 14; 169, 10; 185, 46; 186, 9; 193, 10; 205, 11; 217, 11; 263, 4. (Prud. Apoth. 234; Tert. adv. Val. 14; Paulin. Nol. Carm. 26, 207; Vulg. freq. 1 Reg. 2 to 1 Petr. 3, 18.)

The large proportion of ecclesiastical words in *-ficare* shows the convenience this termination was to the founders of the new religious vocabulary. St. Jerome however by his supercilious reference to such words as "portenta verborum" (Ep. 106) proves himself an exception to this rule.

8. *Frequentative Verbs.*

Unlike the verbs in *-escere* and *-ficare*, the frequentatives, including so-called iteratives and intensives, are more numerous in early than in late Latin. Where they appear in post-classical writers they are frequently evidence of that deliberate archaism which marks the *elocutio novella*. The African writers especially affected them, and besides reviving many obsolete forms, invented some new ones. They tend to lose their frequentative force and to sink to the level of the simple verb. Augustine is rather conservative in his choice of them, as the following list shows:

- acceptare (rare) 76, 4; 173, 8. (Plaut. Ps. 2, 2, 32; Quint. 12, 7, 9; Curt. 4, 6, 5; Dig. 34, 1, 9; Vulg. Psal. 55, 21.)

- actitare (rare, juristic) 7, 3, 7. (Suet. Galb. 3; Cic. Brut. 70; Tac. H. 3, 62.)
- crepitare (mostly poet.) 132. (Plaut. Rud. 2, 6, 52; Lucr. 5, 746; Ov. M. 11, 652.)
- defensitare (Cic. only) 118, 17; 157, 4. (Cic. Ac. 2, 22; Brut. 26, 100; Off. 1, 33.)
- fiatare (late) 55, 21. (Arnob. 2, p. 69.)
- iactitare (very rare) 73, 10; 93, 17; 102, 32. (Liv. 7, 2, 11; Phaedr. 2, 5, 16; Hier. in Ezech. 9, 29, 3.)
- vegetare (late) 31, 2; 55, 21, 23; 130, 7; 144, 1; 145, 7; 159, 5. (Apul. de Mundo, p. 61, 36; Prud. Ham. 448; Vulg. Gen. 9, 15.)

9. *Peculiar Forms.*

The following verbs belong to no special group, but deserve attention for different reasons:

- beare (very rare except in perf. part.) 150. (Plaut. Am. 2, 2, 12; Ter. Eun. 2, 2, 47; Hor. C. 4, 8, 29.)
- fraglare (collateral form of fragrare) 27, 2. (Diacont. Carm. 10, 287.) Fragrare occurs in 186, 39.
- praevaricare (active form: late) 157, 15 (6 times). (Aug. Tract. in Joan. 99; Prisc. 8, 6, 29.)
- passive form in 157, 15. (Vulg. freq. Levit. 5, 15 to Act. 1, 25.)
- propinquare (poet. for appropinquare) 122, 2; 140, 57; 187, 17, 19; 193, 2; 197, 4; 199, passim; 208. (Verg. A. 5, 185; Stat. Th. 10, 385; Sil. 2, 281; Vulg. Judic. 19, 9; Eccli. 35, 20; Isai. 41.)

10. *Participial Adjectives.*

These are adjectives, mostly negative, of participial form and meaning, for which no verb exists. As they have a verbal force, their proper place seems to be here, at the end of the section on verbs.

- cordatus (a. and p. c.) 87, 5; 93, 20; 143, 3. (Enn. ap. Cic. Tusc. 1, 9, 18; Claud. 12, 2, 7; Vulg. Job 34, 10.)
- hilaratus (rare) 128, 1. (Cic. N. D. 2, 40, 102; Plin. 36, 54.)
- immaculatus (poet.) 36, 24; 187, 29. (Amm. 19, 2, 9; Lact. 6, 2, 13; Vulg. freq. Exod. 29, 1 to Judae 24.)
- impacatus (poet.) 105, 1; 173, 10. (Verg. G. 3, 408; Stat. S. 5, 1, 137.)

- imperturbatus* (very rare) 220, 2. (Ov. Ib. 562; Sen. Ep. 73.)
incompositus (= simple: eccl.) 26, 4. (Ambros. Hexaem. 1, 7, 25; Boeth. Inst. Arith. 1, 17; Vulg. Rom. 1, 37.)
inculpatus (p. c.) 166, 19, 27; 209, 6. (Gell. 14, 2, 4.)
indebitus (poet. and late) 190, 9; 194, 5. (Verg. A. 6, 66; Ov. H. 16, 9; Dig. 12, 6, 65.)
indisciplinatus (eccl.) 35, 2; 185, 7, 21. (Cyp. Ep. 62.)
indispositus (very rare) 59, 1. (Tac. H. 2, 68.)
inemendatus (late) 153, 3. (Hier. in Ezech. 40, 5; Hilar. in Matth. 22, 6; Serv. Verg. A. 1, 565.)
inexpitatus (ἀπαξ λεγόμενον) 118, 2.
infalsatus (Aug. only) 141, 2. (Cont. Faust. 3, 4.)
ingenitus (= unbegotten: eccl.) 238, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. (Arn. 1, 31; Ambros. de Incarn. Dom. 7, 7, 9; Paulin. Nol. Carm. 1, 227.)
insensatus (eccl.) 93, 20, 51; 102, 18. (Tert. adv. Marc. 4, 43; Vulg. Sap. 54; Eccli. 16, 20; 2 Macc. 11, 13; Galat. 3, 1.)
liciatus (Aug. only) 102, 5. (Civ. Dei 22, 14.)

Augustine has also contributed two other words of this form to the language, neither of which occur in the Letters. They are *situatus* (ad Fr. Erem. Serm. 37) and *uxoratus* (Serm. 116, 4 Mai).

iv. ADVERBS.

The use of adverbs is one of the most distinctive marks of an author's style. A bombastic and pleonastic diction will be found to abound in them, a serious style makes but a chastened use of them. This is especially true of Latin, where a good choice of terminations exists, and where a word needs little manipulation to turn it into an almost indispensable adverb. We find the most extended use of them in colloquial and late Latin, where the desire for emphasis is particularly strong. Adjectives which have lost their original force are given a fresh impetus by being attached to an adverb; participles are treated in the same way; the adverb is usually one in *-ter*. This peculiarity, together with an exaggerated use of superlatives and of intensive pronouns, is one of the features of late Latin which most attracts the attention of a reader fresh from the more restrained diction of the classical period.

Augustine shows this tendency in a marked degree in the Letters, using adverbs with extraordinary freedom, inventing new ones where none existed to express his meaning, joining them in

pairs and groups, as he does his adjectives, and achieving thereby an impetuosity and vivacity of style quite in keeping with the Punic exuberance of the school to which he belonged.

In the following lists only adverbs of manner of rare or non-classical or poetic form will be noted, but it must be born in mind that Augustine uses classical adverbs as well as non-classical ones with great profusion and often in unusual combinations. Adverbs of time, place and degree appear in numbers but present no signal peculiarities.

1. *Adverbs in -fariam.*

This is an extremely rare termination, showing sometimes a parallel formation *-farie*. Only one example of it occurs in the Letters:

omnifariam ²⁶ (p. c.) 147, 43. (App. de Deo Socr. prol.; Gell. 12, 13, 20; Tert. Pud. 19; Macr. S. 7, 13; Capitol. M. Aur. 11.)

2. *Adverbs in -im.*

This termination, an original accusative singular form, was more common in early Latin than in the classical or even post-classical periods. Its comparative frequency in the popular speech is an instance of the retention of archaisms in the sermo plebeius. Augustine has in the Letters 15 classical forms in *-im* and the following non-classical:

adfati^m ²⁷ (mostly a. c. and rare) 130, 7. (Sall. J. 43; Plaut. Poen. 3, 1, 31; App. M. 9, p. 221.)

alternati^m (a. and p. c.) 29, 11; 137, 16. (Claud. Quad. ap. Non. p. 76, 10; Amm. 29, 2, 8; Boeth. Inst. Arith. 1, 20; Mart. Cap. 1, 18.)

contexti^m (p. c. except Plin.) 147, 37. (Plin. 10, 43, 74; Aug. Consens. Evang. 3, 1.)

continuatim (late) 147, 48. (Oros. 4, 5, 10; Boeth. Inst. Arith. 2, 43; Ven. Fort. Vit. Germ. 38.)

3. *Adverbs in -o.*

This is an ablative ending, which formed a number of adverbs

²⁶ Ex analogia adverbii multifariam Afri finxerunt omnifariam." Hoppe, 70.

²⁷ Cf. Priscian, 15, 4, 19, "a fatu adfatim vel magis a Graeco ἀφάτης, id est abunde, unde et corripitur fa."



in the ante-classical and classical periods. Later Latin often produced parallel forms of the same words in *-e* and *-um* or *-im*, e. g. *perpetuo* (class.), *perpetuum* (p. a.), *perpetue* (p. c.); *occulto* (a. c.), *occulte* (class.), *occultim* (p. c.). Augustine seems to prefer the classical form of such adverbs, which however he uses sparingly.

clanculo (p. c. accessory form of *clanculum*, an exception to Augustine's preference for classical forms) 153, 25.

(App. M. 3, p. 133; Macr. S. 5, 18; Amm. 21, 12, 13.)

diluculo (rare) 102, 36. (Cic. Ep. Att. 16, 13, 1; Afran. ap. Charis. 2, 13, p. 192; Vulg. freq. Exod. 8, 20 to Joan. 8, 2.)

serio (a. c.) 73, 8; 82, 2. (Plaut. Am. 3, 2, 25; Ter. Heaut. 3, 2, 30; Naev. ap. Charis. p. 195.)

superfluo (late) 89, 8; 93, 16; 166, 4, 8. (Mart. Cap. 6, 576; Hier. Ep. 130, 19; Serv. ad Verg. A. 1, 2; Salv. de Gub. Dei 6, 1, 3; Boeth. Art. Geom. p. 403.)

4. *Adverbs in -ter.*

This category includes by far the largest number of adverbs occurring in the Letters, whether in the form *-iter* added to adjective stems or *-ter* appended to participial stems. The adjective stems usually chosen for this formation are consonant or *-i*-stems. Where *o*-stems occur, they are regarded as irregular.²⁸ Augustine has two *o*-stem derivatives, *inhumaniter* and *sinceriter*. The suffix *-ter* is especially frequent in colloquial and late Latin, but a large number of classical adverbs of this termination (108) are found in the Letters.

admirabiliter (rare) 147, 19. (Cic. N. D. 2, 53, 132; Att. 5, 14, 2.)

aequanimiter (late) 63, 3. (Tert. Patient. 89; Ambros. Off. 1, 48, 23; Amm. 19, 10, 3; Hier. in Psal. 33; Rufin. Apol. 1, 7; Sid. Ep. 3, 9, 2; Sym. Ep. 4, 10; Sulp. Sev. Dial. 1, 21, 5; Ven. Fort. 10, 4, 4; Oros. Hist. 4, 5, 4; Macr. S. 2, 4.)

aspernanter (late) 100, 2; 217, 1. (Amm. 31, 4, 3; Sid. Ep. 7, 2, 4; Cass. Conl. 14, 13, 3.)

carnaliter (eccl.) 34, 3; 104, 10; 120, 14; 130, 22; 157, 11, 12; 188, 6; 196, 7, 10, 16; 217, 16; 237, 4. (Tert. Bapt. 7; Hier. Ep. 54, 9; Prud. Apoth. 436.)

²⁸ Goelzer (1), 200.

- competenter (late) 140, 18. (App. Asclep. 11, p. 296; Amm. 31, 2, 2; Sid. Ep. 2, 9, 6; Cyp. de Sing. Cler. 13; Prud. Perist. 16, 118; Ennod. Dict. 12, 2.)
- coniugaliter (eccl.) 157, 39. (Jul. Val. 1, 10.)
- consequenter (late) 29, 2; 36, 13; 43, 22; 54, 6; 55, 33; 96, 2; 108, 11; 140, passim; 142, 2; 147, 22, 29, 35; 157, 7; 162, 7; 185, 49; 187, 39; 190, 7; 194, 20; 202A, 12; 238, 4, 11. (App. M. 9, 21, p. 633; Ulp. Dig. 10, 2, 18; Hier. Ep. 22, 1, 3.)
- continenter (= continently: eccl.) 130, 11; 140, 83; 220, 12; 262, 4. (Cyp. Ep. 4, 1.)
- convertibiliter (Aug. only) 169, 7. (Music. 5, 3.)
- corporaliter (late except Petronius) 31, 5; 55, 18; 60, 1; 73, 7; 84, 1; 92, 5; 118, 24; 147, 7, 8, 9; 185, 11, 12; 188, 3; 238, 15. (Dig. 41, 2, 1; Arn. 5, p. 168; Hier. Ep. 120, 2; Hilar. Trin. 8, 17.)
- criminaliter (late) 185, 6. (Dig. 47, 2.)
- damnabiliter (Aug. only) 82, 20; 98, 5.
- decenter (poet.) 82, 13; 102, 33; 130, 12. (Hor. A. P. 92; Tibull. 3, 8, 14; Ov. A. A. 3, 291; Capitol. Ver. 2, 9; Ennod. Ep. 3, 18, 2.)
- delectabiliter (late) 155, 4. (Gell. 13, 24, 17; Claud. Mamert. 1, 23.)
- desiderabiliter (Aug. only) 149, 1; 188, 8.
- desideranter (late) 194, 52. (Cassiod. Var. 1, 4; Ven. Fort. Vit. Hil. 1, 13.)
- desperanter (once only, in Cicero) 140, 75. (Ep. Att. 14, 18, 3.)
- detestabiliter (eccl.) 202A, 18. (Lact. 5, 10, 7.)
- dignanter (eccl.) 137, 8. (Ambros. Ep. 2, 1, 20; Hier. Ep. 26, 6; Rufin. Orig. in Rom. 4, 5; Sid. Ep. 4, 7, 2; Cass. Conl. 11, 5; Ennod. Ep. 7, 2, 3.)
- execrabiliter (*ἄπαις λεγόμενον* in positive) 35, 2 (comp. Conf. 8, 7.)
- exitibiliter (Aug. only) 138, 3. (Civ. Dei 1, 17.)
- ferventer (mostly eccl.) 151, 9. (Cael. ap. Cic. Fam. 8, 8, 2; Ven. Fort. 10, 3, 4.)
- fiducialiter (eccl.) 147, 47. (Vulg. Psal. 11, 6; Prov. 3, 23; Eccli. 6, 11; Act. 9, 27.)
- fragiliter (*ἄπαις λεγόμενον*) 150.
- gratanter (late) 171; 219, 3. (Aurel. Vict. Ep. 12, 3; Cassiod.

- Inst. Div. 23; Treb. Poll. 12, 1; Amm. 16, 10, 21; Symm. Ep. 7, 76.)
- hilariter (eccl.) 73, 9; 142, 4; 268, 3. (Civ. Dei 5, 26; Vulg. Sap. 6, 17.)
- honorabiliter (late) 96, 1; 100, 2; 130, 29. (Capitol. Macr. 4, 3; Amm. 29, 2, 11.)
- imaginaliter (Aug. only) 102, 7. (Genes. ad Lit. 12, 5, 6.)
- imbecilliter ** (ἄπαι λεγόμενον) 120, 6.
- immaniter (late) 27, 1; 78, 6; 153, 19; 185, 27; 250, 2. (Gell. 1, 26, 8; Amm. 18, 7, 4.)
- immobiliter (eccl.) 118, 32. (Cass. in Psal. 99; Prosper in Psal. 118; Chalcid. Tim. 1913, 77; Claud. Mam. de Sit. Anim. 1, 18; Cass. Conl. 6, 9, 1.)
- immortaliter (Cic. and Aug. only) 120, 19; 148, 3. (Cic. Ep. ad Q. Fr. 3, 1, 3; Aug. Conf. 4, 2; de Cat. Rud. 23, 42.)
- immutabiliter (late) 187, 19. (App. de Mund. 36.)
- improbabiliter (eccl.) 153, 14; 199, 46. (Sid. Ep. 1, 11, 13; Rufin. H. E. 7, 1, 3.)
- imputribiliter (ἄπαι λεγόμενον) 27, 2.
- incommutabiliter (eccl.) 102, 1; 120, 19; 137, 12; 140, 6; 147, 22, 47; 148, 15; 169, 7; 242, 1; 257. (Claud. Mam. de Stat. Anim. 3, 8; Cass. in Psal. 23, 6.)
- incomparabiliter (eccl.) 38, 2; 40, 7, 26; 120, 20; 130, 30; 147, 45; 150; 172, 45; 228, 5; 257. (Hier. Ep. 67, 7; Alcim. Avit. con. Arr. 30.)
- incongruenter (eccl.) 93, 38; 118, 8; 147, 8. (Tert. Bapt. 19; Cass. Conl. 8, 21.)
- inconvenienter (eccl.) 55, 22; 102, 1; 140, 66; 166, 6; 175, 3; 187, 37. (Rufin. Orig. in Rom. 3, 8; Chalc. Tim. 138; Hilar. Ep. ad Galat. 29.)
- incorporaliter (eccl.) 118, 27; 147, 37, 38; 148, 3. (Tert. ad Nat. 2, 12; Ambros. Ep. 9; Claud. Mam. 1, 11; Eugipp. Exc. 101; Hilar. in Psal. 132, 4.)
- incunctanter (late) 26, 5; 44, 2; 147, 40. (Dig. 40, 2, 20; Cyp. de Laps. 35; Lact. 1, 15; Hier. in Is. 12, 43, 1; Ennod. Ep. 5, 5, 2; Aurel. Vict. Orig. 13, 1; Oros. 3, 2, 6; Mart. Cap. 2, 105.)
- indesinenter (eccl.) 248, 1. (Cyp. Ep. 66, 9; Hier. Ep. 117;

** Forcellini notes of this word: "Usu tantum in gradu comparativo notum."

- Rufin. Orig. Prin. 2, 6, 6; Sid. Ep. 1, 8, 2; Cass. Inst. 1, 1, 5; Ennod. 6, 23, 3; Vulg. Hebr. 10, 1.)
- indignanter (late) 238, 8. (Amm. 15, 1, 3; Arn. 3, 7; Rufin. Apol. 2, 29.)
- ineffabiliter (eccl.) 27, 2; 31, 4; 64, 1; 120, 10, 13, 14; 139, 3; 147, 42; 148, 5; 238, 13. (Hier. in Joel 2, 12; Cass. Conl. 9, 25; Alcim. Avit. con. Arr. 15.)
- inexplicabiliter (eccl.) 118, 16. (Rustic. con. Aceph. Migne, p. 1243.)
- infatigabiliter (eccl.) 27, 2; 89, 1. (Ven. Fort. 8, 12, 9; Cass. Inst. 5, 7, 2; Conl. 1, 2.)
- inhianter (eccl.) 147, 20. (Conf. 9, 8; Greg. in 1 Reg. 5, 4, 37.)
- inhumaniter (Cicero and Aug. only) 153, 19. (Cic. Verr. 1, 52, 138; Q. Fr. 3, 1, 6.)
- innocenter (Quint. and Aug. only) 220, 12. (Quint. 7, 4, 18.)
- innumerabiliter (Lucr., Cic. and Aug. only) 55, 35; 118, 12, 30. (Lucr. 5, 274; Cic. de Or. 3, 52, 201; de Div. 1, 14, 25.)
- inrationabiliter (late) 120, 2, 5. (Lact. Ep. 52, 5; Tert. de Poen. 1; Hier. adv. Lucif. 4; Amm. 19, 10, 1; Prisc. 1, 7, 42; Sulp. Sev. Dial. 2, 4, 9; Cael. Aur. Acut. 2, 37, 199; Hilar. de Synod. 71.)
- inreparabiliter (Aug. only) 82, 20. (con. Faust. 15, 13.)
- inrevocabilitate (late except Sen.) 140, 61. (Sen. Q. N. 2, 35, 2; Cass. Conl. 5, 12, 2.)
- inridenter (late) 138, 13; 148, 4; 232, 2. (Civ. Dei 20, 30; Laber. Comin. 3 ap. Char. 2, p. 181; Januar. Nepot. 9, 22.)
- inseparabiliter (late) 11, 4; 84, 1; 120, 17; 169, 5, 6; 205, 9; 238, 12, 13; 241, 2. (Lact. 3, 11, 14; Macrob. Somn. Sc. 1, 22; Hier. Did. S. S. 4; Chalc. Tim. 292; Hilar. Trin. 8, 17.)
- insonabiliter (*ἀπαξ λεγόμενον*) 147, 37.
- intelligibiliter (eccl.) 13, 2, 3; 118, 27; 120, 10. (Chalc. Tim. 137; Mar. Vict. adv. Arium 1, 26.)
- intolerabiliter (rare) 43, 24; 93, 48. (Col. 1, 4, 9; Mythog. Vatic. 1, 198.)
- invisibiliter (eccl.) 147, 37; 148, 6; 220, 10. (App. de Mund. p. 71; Cod. Th. 6, 7, 3; Sulp. Sev. Dial. 3, 10; Tert. adv. Val. 14.)
- iugiter (late) 93, 43. (Auson. Par. 19, 4; Vulg. Exod. 29, 38; Levit. 24, 2; Num. 9, 16; 1 Reg. 1, 22, etc.)

- latrocinanter (*ἄπαι λεγόμενον*) 35, 3.
 localiter (late) 149, 11, 11. (Tert. Pall. 2; Amm. 19, 12, 3; Hier. in Ephes. 2, 4, 9; Cass. Var. 1, 35.)
 longanimiter (eccl.) 147, 34. (Cass. H. E. 10, 33; Fulg. Ep. ad Venant.; Vulg. Hebr. 6, 15.)
 mendaciter (eccl.) 40, 5; 82, 7; 108, 13, 16; 130, 25; 139, 7; 194, 46; 217, 8; 259, 5. (Hier. in Jerem. ad 15, 17; Sol. 1, 87; Vulg. Jerem. 7, 9; Ezech. 13, 22; Zach. 5, 4.)
 misericorditer (a. c. and late) 31, 5; 40, 6; 82, 26, 28, 29; 91, 9; 137, 9, 20; 138, 14; 139, 2; 140, 74; 153, 8; 157, 36, 37; 173, 2; 210, 1; 211, 11; 264, 2; 268, 2. (Claud. Quad. Frag. 88; Lact. 6, 18, 9; Cass. con. Nestor. 1, 5, 6; Ennod. Ep. 6, 1, 3.)
 mortaliter (eccl.) 102, 17. (Rufin. Interp. Joseph. Antiq. 8, 15.)
 obediēter (rare out of Livy) 166, 2, 27; 169, 12; 217, 6; 262, 8. (Liv. 3, 39, 1; Curt. 4, 1, 5; Civ. Dei 14, 23.)
 originaliter (Aug. only) 166, 12; 190, 5; 194, 20, 39; 202A, 12, 18. (Trin. 39; Retract. 1, 15.)
 parricidaliter (late) 34, 3. (Lampr. Alex. Sev. 1, 7.)
 partiliter (eccl.) 140, 6. (Arn. 1, 12; Iren. 2, 17, 2; Firm. Math. 1, 5; Cael. Aur. Acut. 2, 10, 65.)
 pervicaciter (eccl.) 93, 14. (Sid. Ep. 7, 14, 2; Claud. Mam. 3, 10; Ulp. Dig. 26, 10, 3.)
 praetereunter (Aug. only) 9, 4. (Tract. in Joan. 118.)
 proficienter (eccl.) 215, 8. (Prosp. Ac. in Psal. 120, 5; Cass. in Psal. 133, 2; Hilar. Trin. 1, 22.)
 rationabiliter (late) 17, 2; 120, 33; 147, 25; 170, 6, 9; 187, 24. (Hier. Ep. 39, 3; App. Dogm. Plat. 1; Macr. Somn. Sc. 2, 11, 17; Amm. 20, 4, 8; Lact. Ep. 61, 17.)
 reverenter (late except Plin.) 262, 8. (Plin. Ep. 3, 21, 5; Amm. 16, 12, 41; Auson. Epigr. 2, 7.)
 saeculariter (eccl.) 27, 5. (Cyp. Fest. 3, 36.)
 seminaliter (late) 190, 15. (Claud. Mam. Stat. Anim. 1, 21; Interpr. Iren. Haeres. 1, 8, 5; 14, 2.)
 sinceriter (late) 104, 10; 140, 45; 142, 4; 189, 1; 224, 3; 231, 4; 236, sal.; 256. (Gell. 13, 16, 1; Cyp. Rebapt. 6; Ennod. Ep. 8, 12, 1; Hilar. de Syn. 38; Vulg. Tobiae 3, 5.)
 solemniter (very rare) 29, 4; 175, 1. (App. 3, 11, p. 193; Just. 12, 13, 6; Dig. 12, 2, 3.)
 spiritaliter (eccl.) 26, 6; 34, 3; 98, 3; 147, 46; 148, 13; 157, 11, 12; 188, 6; 190, 23; 196, 5, 10, 16; 199, 32, 34; 220, 10;

- 228, 14; 237, 4. (Tert. Bapt. 4; Cyp. Ep. 63, 15; Sid. Ep. 8, 14, 4; Hier. in Is. 1, 2, 4; Cass. Inst. 1, 8; Hilar. in Matth. 9, 3.)
- sufficienter (late except Plin.) 36, 25, 28; 148, 8; 166, 20; 169, 12; 202A, 48; 265, 8. (Hier. Ep. 123, 6; Cass. Inst. 5, 1; Sid. Ep. 2, 1, 2; Dig. 7, 1, 15; Vulg. Nahum 2, 12; Aur. Vict. Epit. 20, 7.)
- temperanter (late except Tac.) 93, 8; 102, 35; 137, 20; 140, 66; 155, 12; 244, 2. (Tac. A. 4, 33; 15, 29; Amm. 14, 10, 15.)
- temporaliter (eccl.) 55, 28; 58, 1; 120, 7; 140, 13; 147, 25; 157, 13, 20; 166, 13; 169, 11; 243, 3. (Tert. adv. Jud. 2; Claud. Mam. 1, 3; Paulin. Nol. Ep. 23, 15.)
- terribiliter (eccl.) 78, 3; 134, 2; 185, 12; 214, 7. (Arn. 2, 20; Hilar. in Ps. 138, 27; Vulg. Psal. 138, 14.)
- transeunter (eccl.) 12. (Amm. 28, 1, 14.)
- umbraliter (eccl.) 149, 25; 177, 39. (Gaudent. Brix. Serm. 4, 6.)
- unanimititer (late) 211, 6. (Tert. Patient. 1; Oros. Hist. 4, 6, 25; Arn. 1, 54; Vulg. Judith 4, 10; Psal. 82, 6; Act. 1, 14.)
- universaliter (late) 190, 22. (Boeth. Inst. Arith. 2, 46; Cass. Conl. 13, 7, 2; Vincent. Lerin. Commonit. 3.)
- venerabiliter (late) 37, 1; 62, 2; 65, 2; 101, sal.; 115, sal.; 190, sal.; 211, 4; 236, sal. (Val. Max. 5, 1, 5; Macr. S. 7, 11, 10; Auson. Parent. Praef.)
- veraciter (eccl.) 28, 4; 47, 2; 73, 4; 82, 15, 19; 85, 1; et passim to 257, 5. (Ambros. Ep. 17, 1; Cass. Conl. 1, 14.)
- verisimiliter (p. c.) 13, 2. (App. Apol.)
- visibiliter (eccl.) 78, 3; 140, 7; 147, 48. (Ambros. in Luc. 6, 86; Claud. Mam. 2, 5; Cass. Conl. 2, 11, 5; Paulin. Nol. Ep. 20, 3; Mar. Vict. Hymn. de Trin. 3.)
- vivaciter (late) 215, 2. (Fulg. Myth. 1, praef. 22.)
- vulgariter (rare and late except Plin.) 19. (Plin. N. H. 8, 4, 5; Oros. 7, 43, 5; Aurel. Vict. Epit. 9, 10.)

From the number (97) of late and rare words comprised in the foregoing list, it may be seen that in his use of adverbs more than of any other part of speech Augustine shows evidence of the influence of his age and country on his vocabulary. In spite of his prolonged and serious classical training, in spite of the

years spent in teaching rhetoric, in spite even of his fastidious taste in the choice of words, he cannot resist the impulse to indulge in new adverbs, or unusual or even bizarre adverbs. Some of these he finds it necessary to qualify, either to apologize for his neologism or to explain it, as when he prefixes quasi to transeunter (12) and "translato verbo usus" to umbraliter (187, 39). Fifteen of the above words represent Augustine's own activity in the fashioning of adverbs, of which the five ἀπαξ λεγόμενα need cause no surprise, considering their highly particularized meaning.

5. *Adverbs in -e.*

This termination presents nothing especially noteworthy, being a usual and frequent one. Augustine has, however, a number of non-classical forms, some of them his own contributions to the language.

- acutule (Aug. only) 205, 4. (Conf. 3, 71.)
- adulatorie (ἀπαξ λεγόμενον) 21, 1.
- anniversarie (ἀπαξ λεγόμενον) 54, 10.
- calumniose (late) 141, 11; 138, 9. (Dig. 46, 5, 7.)
- christiane (eccl.) 157, 39. (Hier. Ep. 105, 4.)
- circumspecte (late) 147, 24. (Gell. 1, 5, 2; Amm. 27, 3, 14; Dig. 4, 4, 7.)
- confuse (rare out of Cic.) 170, 5. (Cic. Inv. 1, 30, 49; Gell. 14, 2, 17; Auct. Her. 4, 47, 60.)
- congrue (late) 236, 3. (Paul. Sent. 2, 3; Mart. Cap. 6, 601; Ven. Fort. 11, 15, 2.)
- contentiose (eccl.) 53, 5. (Tert. adv. Jovin. 2, 10; Vulg. Deut. 31, 27; Hier. Ep. 106, 55.)
- conviciose (rare and late) 126, 9. (Schol. Hor. Sat. 1, 5, 65; Aug. Sermon. 125, 81.)
- debite (eccl.) 194, 40. (Ps.-Prosp. Nat. Gent. 2, 1; Gaudent. Sermon. Praef. p. 837; Nicet. Spir. 18; Ennod. Ep. 3, 72, 76.)
- definitive (eccl.) 47. (Tert. Carn. Chr. 18; Cael. Aur. Acut. 1, praef.)
- desperate (Aug. only) 53, 1; 56, 2.
- disiuncte (rare and late) 170, 5. (Fest. p. 292, 5.)
- dispensative (eccl.) 82, 21, 19. (Hier. Ep. 112, 14.)
- erudite (rare in positive) 149, 16. (Gell. 18, 5.)
- expresse (rare in positive) 88, 11; 226, 1. (Plin. Ep. 2, 14; Auct. ad Her. 4, 7.)

- fastidiose** (very rare out of Cic.) 226, 1. (Cic. Planc. 27, 65; Petr. 13; Auson. Par. praef. 1.)
- inconcusse** (late) 66, 1; 147, 35; 148, 15; 169, 13; 190, 39. (Hier. Interpr. Orig. in Is. Hom. 7, 2; Cod. Th. 11, 61, 6.)
- incongrue** (late) 40, 5; 118, 24. (Macr. S. 5, 13, 31; Hier. Ep. 67, 5.)
- indubie** (late) 167, 6. (Mar. Vict. Com. in Gen. 3, 568; Hilar. Ep. ad Gal. 2; Claud. Mam. Stat. Anim. 1, 16.)
- infime** (*ἄπαξ λεγόμενον*) 18, 2.
- infructuose** (eccl.) 40, 6; 78, 7; 164, 13. (Hier. Ep. 12, 16.)
- inlicite** (late) 54, 5; 87, 9; 130, 22; 209, 7. (Dig. 32, 1, 11; 48, 5, 38; 49, 16, 9.)
- innoxie** (= innocently: p. c.) 10, 1. (Min. Fel. Oct. 33.)
- licite** (late) 125, 3; 153, 26; 187, 31; 237, 31. (Dig. 30, 114, 5; Hier. Ep. 48, 15.)
- manifeste** (late for manifestus) 55, 22. (Sulp. Sev. Chron. 2, 7, 5; Dig. 50, 16, 243; Paul. Sent. 3, 6, 60; Vulg. 1 Esdr. 4, 18; Tobiae 2, 22; Esth. 16, 10; Psal. 49, 3.)
- medie** (once in Tac. otherwise late) 18, 2. (Tac. H. 1, 19; App. Dogm. Plat. 2, p. 22; Eutr. 7, 13; Lact. 6, 15.)
- mystice** (eccl.) 55, 12; 199, 10. (Ambros. in Luc. 7, 9; Sol. 32; Hier. in Is. 4, 11, 10.)
- pacifice** (late) 33, 6; 88, 7, 10; 108, 13. (Cypr. Ep. 41; Vulg. Gen. 26, 31; 1 Par. 12, 17; 1 Reg. 25, 5; 2 Macc. 10, 12, etc.)
- paterne** (*ἄπαξ λεγόμενον*) 37, 3.
- perfunctorie** (late) 21, 1; 217, 6. (Cod. Th. 12, 3, 2.)
- praepropere** (rare) 43, 8; 127, 9. (Plaut. Mil. 2, 4, 10; Liv. 27, 23, 10; Quint. 12, 6, 2.)
- propheticæ** (eccl.) 82, 25; 140, 5, 34. (Tert. Mon. 4; Hier. Ep. 34, 3.)
- sacrate** (eccl.) 55, 13; 235, 2. (Hier. in Sophon. 3, 8; Aug. Doctr. Chr. 2, 16.)
- sempiternæ** (a. and p. c. for sempiterno) 238, 13. (Pac. ap. Non. 170, 20; Claud. Mam. Stat. An. 1, 3.)
- serie** (p. c. for serio) 17, 1. (Aur. Vict. Epit. 15.)
- tropice** (late) 140, 38. (Claud. Mam. Stat. An. 1, 3, 4; Aug. Genes. ad Lit. 4, 9.)
- vane** (p. c.) 102, 32. (Tert. Apol. 49; App. Mag. p. 300, 41; Vulg. 4 Reg. 17, 15; Psal. 38, 12; Isai 30, 7; Zach. 10, 2.)

ventose (late) 112, 3. (App. M. 10, p. 248, 22.)
 veridice (late) 17, 1. (Amm. 31, 1, 2.)
 volupe⁴⁰ (Ms. form of volup: a. c.) 3, 5. (Plaut. Am. 3, 3, 3;
 Rud. 4, 4, 132, etc.)

6. *Miscellaneous Adverbs.*

germanitus (a. and p. c.) 140, 79; 186, sal. (Non. 118, 14;
 Pompon. ap. Non. 1, 1; Aug. Conf. 3, 2, 3.)
 nullatenus (late for minime) 138, 4. (Mart. Cap. 2, 135; Claud.
 Mam. 1, 14; Cass. Var. 3, 4; Fulgent. Myth. 2; Sid. Ep.
 6, 14, 2.)
 quantocius (late) 124, 2. (Claud. Mam. Act. ad Jul. 2; Lact.
 Mort. Pers. 48, 10; Vulg. Gen. 45, 19.)
 quotlibet (very rare) 199, 16. (Hyg. Astron. 1, 6.)
 quaquaversum (p. c.) 140, 62; 175, 3. (App. M. 4, 6, p. 247;
 Sid. Ep. 9, 3.)
 perparum (late) 102, 37. (Veg. Vet. 3, 3.)
 frequentatum (Aug. only) 104, 2, 3.

Augustine seems to use this word instead of *saepe*. In both instances it occurs in the same setting:

"addis me frequentatum in litteris nosse quod mors . . . auferat
 sensum." 104, 2.

"in qua tu arbitraris et frequentatum in litteris iam mones
 aeternam posse esse calamitatem." 102, 3.

To the above may be added two prepositional phrases used adverbially by Augustine with considerable frequency:

in aeternum—104, 9; 140, 16; 146; 153, 18; 155, 12; 157, 13,
 20; 173, 4; 175, 6; 185, 7, 32. (Vulg. Gen. 3; Exod.
 3, 15; 1 Reg. 3, 13; 1 Par. 15, 2, etc.)

pro magno—140, 22; 130, 7; 138, 19.

V. DIMINUTIVES.

Perhaps no class of derivatives shows more distinctly the separation between literary and colloquial Latin than does that of diminutives. Their usefulness in intensifying or reducing the meaning of a word—they could be used for both purposes—ensured them

⁴⁰ "Volup et volupe saepissime in antiquis Mss. et editis libris fuerunt inter se confusa." Forcellini, 6, 412.

an unassailable place in the speech of everyday; hence we find them used lavishly by Plautus and Terence, by Cicero in his Letters, by Catullus in his lighter lyrics, by Petronius and Apuleius. On the other hand, their undignified character made them inappropriate for the more elevated diction of classical literature, and they are found but rarely in the serious works of that period. In the post-classical period, however, when the colloquial influence was brought to bear so strongly on the literary language, they are found with increasing frequency. The African writers, except Cyprian,⁴¹ used them generously.⁴²

As might be expected, constant use wore out the meaning of some diminutives, and they were then reinforced by a second suffix, giving rise to such reduplicated forms as *-ellus*, *-illus*, *-ellulus*, *-illulus*. Some lost their diminutive force entirely and ceased to be felt as such.⁴³ This was especially the case with implements of daily use, parts of the body, etc.

The principal diminutive suffixes used in Latin were:

- 1) the various forms of the Indo-European suffix *-lo-*, appearing as *-lus*, *-la*, *-lum* when added to *a-* and *ō-*stems, or as the reduplicated endings, *-ellus*, *-illus*, *-ellulus*, *-illulus*.
- 2) the I.-E. suffix *-co-*, seen in *homuncio* and in the compound endings, *cu-lus*, *-a*, *-um*, *-cellus*, *-cillus*, *-a*, *-um*. Of these latter *-culus* seems to have been felt as a simple suffix and was used to form simple diminutives of consonant-, *i-*, *u-*, and *ē-*stems. It was also substituted sometimes for *-lus*, with *a-* and *ō-*stems.
- 3) The Latin suffix *-aster*, composed of the I.-E. *-tero* with a prefixed *-as-*, carrying an implication of contempt and denoting usually something which is a poor copy of the original. This is also sometimes combined with *-lus* and appears as *-astellus*: e. g. Plaut. Mil. 1, 1, 54; "at peditastelli quia erant, sivi viverent."

In the use of diminutives, Augustine occupies a sort of middle ground between classical and post-classical usage. He makes a fairly frequent use of them, but is by no means as prodigal of them as are most of his successors and some of his contemporaries. When compared with Jerome,⁴⁴ who strews them copiously over his discourse, Augustine seems to have exercised remarkable restraint.

⁴¹ Bayard, 25.

⁴² Gabarron, 33.

⁴³ Goelzer (1), 129.

⁴⁴ Goelzer (1), 125.

He uses *-aster* only once, *-ellulus* only once and coins very few new forms—not more than two. The proportion of classical forms (57%) is noteworthy. The following is a complete list:

1. *Nouns.*

- agellus (class.) 96, 2. (Ter. Ad. 5, 8, 26; Varro R. R. 3, 16; Cic. N. D. 3, 35.)
- agellulus (late) 126, 7. (Sym. Ep. 2, 30.)
- animula (rare) 137, 1. (Gell. 19, 11, 4; Cic. Att. 9, 7; Hadr. Imp. ap. Spart. Hadr. 2 Inscr. Orelli 2579, 4761.)
- apicula (a. and p. c.) 15, 2; 137, 8. (Plaut. Curc. 1, 1, 10; Fronto Ep. ad Ver. 8 Mai.)
- articulus (class. and freq.) 139, 3; 147, 31. (Plaut. Men. 1, 2, 31; Cic. Quint. 5, 19; Plin. 2, 97, 99; Vulg. Gen. 7, 13; Dan. 5, 5.)
- cancelli (class.) 43, 2. (Varro R. R. 3, 5, 4; Col. 8, 17, 6; Cic. Verr. 2, 3, 59, etc.; Vulg. 4 Reg. 1, 2; Prov. 7, 6; Cant. 2, 9.)
- capitulum (= chapter, summary: late) 29, 2. (Tert. adv. Jud. 9, 19; Hier. in Ezech. 47; Vulg. Hebr. 8, 1.)
- castellum (class.) 209, 2. (Caes. B. G. 2, 30; Verg. A. 5, 440; Liv. 3, 57, 2, etc.; Vulg. Hebr. 25, 16 to Joan. 11, 30.)
- cervicula (rare) 227. (Cic. Verr. 2, 3, 19; App. Flor. p. 348; Quint. 11, 3, 180.)
- chartula (class. rare) 84, 1; 205, 1; 256. (Cic. Fam. 7, 18, 2; Gai. Inst. 2, 77.) In 205, 1 this word is still further diminished by the addition of *parva*.
- conventiculum (rare) 17, 4; 43, 21; 44, 8; 118, 12. (Cic. Sest. 42, 91; Tac. A. 14, 15; Amm. 15, 5, 31; Arn. 4, 152; Lact. 5, 11, 10; Vulg. Ps. 15, 4.)
- corpusculum (class.) 118, 28; 137, 2; 162, 9; 269. (Lucr. 2, 152; Cic. N. D. 1, 24, 66.)
- diluculum (rare) 36, 28. (Cic. Rosc. Am. 7, 19; Plaut. Am. 2, 2, 105; Vulg. Exod. 14, 7; Job 4, 19; Dan. 6, 19; Jonae 4, 7; Osee 6, 3.)
- facultatula (late) 127, 7. (Hier. Ep. 108, 10.)
- facula (mostly a. c.) 55, 21. (Cato R. R. 37, 3; Varro L. L. 5, 137; Prop. 2, 29, 5; Vulg. Eccli. 48, 1; 2 Macc. 4, 22; Apoc. 8, 10.)
- flagellum (class.) 43, 21; 91, 6. (Hor. S. 1, 3, 119; Cat. 25, 11; Juv. 6, 479; Vulg. Exod. 5, 16; Job 5, 21; Prov. 26, 3; Marc. 15, 5.)

- formicula* (p. c.) 137, 8. (Fronto Ep. ad Ver. 8; App. M. 6, p. 177; Arn. 4, 145.)
- gregiculum* (ἄπαξ λεγόμενον) 95, 49.
- igniculus* (class.) 125, 2. (Cic. Fam. 15, 20, 2; Quint. 6, praef. 7, etc.; Vulg. Isai. 30, 14.)
- infantulus* (p. c.) 98, 4; 149, 3; 177, 24. (App. M. 8, p. 209; Hier. in Isai. 3, 7, 16; Vulg. Exod. 2, 3; Levit. 12, 3; Num. 11, 12; 1 Reg. 1, 24, etc.) In 149, 22 *infantulis parvulis* occurs.
- libellus* (class.) 93, 13. (Cic. de Or. 1, 21, 94; Quint. 8, 6, 73; Cat. 1, 1, etc.; Vulg. Num. 5, 23; Deut. 24, 1; Matth. 5, 31, etc.)
- loculus* (class.) 263, 2. (Plaut. Mil. 3, 2, 38; Hor. Ep. 2, 1, 175, etc.; Vulg. Joan. 12, 6; Luc. 7, 14, etc.)
- modulus* (class.) 47, 4; 82, 22; 91, 1; 127, 8; 257, 9. (Varro R. R. 2, 2, 20; Hor. S. 2, 3, 309.)
- morula* (p. c.) 93, 18; 101, 3. (App. Fragg. M. 10, p. 71; Aug. Conf. 11, 15.)
- muliercula* (class.) 137, 12. (Lucr. 4, 1279; Cic. Tusc. 5, 36, 103; Vulg. 2 Tim. 3, 6.)
- munusculum* (class.) 211, 11. (Cic. Fam. 12, 2; Verg. E. 4, 18; Juv. 6, 36; Vulg. Gen. 13, 10; Esth. 9, 22; Jerem. 40, 5.)
- navicula* (class. rare) 31, 5. (Cic. Ac. 2, 248, 148; Caes. B. C. 2, 3; Vulg. Matth. 8, 23; Marc. 3, 9; Luc. 5, 3; Joan. 6, 22, etc.)
- operula* (p. c.) 47, 1; 261, 3. (Dig. 50, 14, 3; App. M. 1, p. 105.)
- opusculum* (class.) 40, 2; 82, 23; 101, 3; 102, 17; 120, 1; 162, 2; 26, 3. (Cic. Ac. 2, 38, 120; Hor. Ep. 1, 4, 3.)
- particula* (class.) 10, 2; 28, 3; 55, 35; 70, 3; 138, 5. (Cic. de Or. 2, 39, 162; Hor. C. 1, 28, 23; Quint. 3, 11, 21; Vulg. Tobiae 6, 8; Eccli. 14, 14.)
- pellicula* (class.) 15, 1; 93, 21. (Cic. Mur. 36, 76; Juv. 1, 11; Plin. 30, 11, 30; Vulg. Gen. 27, 16.)
- portiuncula* (very rare) 91, 1. (Inscr. Orelli 4821.)
- possessiuncula* (very rare) 96, 2; 185, 36. (Cic. Att. 13, 23, 3; Vulg. Levit. 25, 25.)
- quaestiuncula* (class.) 13, 2; 37, 3; 80, 2; 118, 2. (Cic. de Or. 1, 22, 102; Sen. Ep. 117, 1; Quint. 1, 3, 11.)
- ramusculus* (late) 185, 32. (Hier. Ep. 133, 3; Vulg. Isai. 18, 5.)
- retiolum* (late) 211, 10. (App. M. 8, p. 202; Serv. Verg. A. 4, 138.)

- scrupulus (class.) 36, 32; 95, 8; 96, 2; 112, 2; 147, 40; 177, 3.
(Cic. Rosc. Am. 2, 6; Suet. Claud. 37; Vulg. 1 Reg. 25, 31.)
- sacculus (class. rare) 66, 1. (Plin. 2, 51, 52; Juv. 14, 138;
Cat. 13, 8; Vulg. Gen. 42, 25; Job. 14, 17; Luc. 10, 4,
etc.)
- specillum (once only) 3, 3. (Not. Tir. p. 36).
- vermiculus (rare) 102, 36; 162, 7. (Lucr. 2, 899; Plin. 10, 65,
85; Vulg. 2 Reg. 23, 8.)
- versiculus (class.) 118, 3. (Cic. Ep. ad Brut. 1, 14, 1; Quint.
9, 4, 52; Cat. 16, 3, etc.)

2. *Adjectives.*

- anniculus (a. c. and late) 250, 2. (Varro R. R. 2, 5, 12; Cato
R. R. 17, 2; Vulg. freq. Exod. 12, 5 to Mich. 6, 6.)
- capitulatus (very rare) 53, 4. (Cels. 8, 1; Plin. 17, 21, 35.)
- corniculatus⁴⁵ (very rare) 55, 6. (App. de Deo Socr. p. 41, 1;
Fulg. Myth. 14, 10.)
- Graeculus (class.) 118, 11. (Cic. Tusc. 1, 35, 86; Juv. 3, 78.)
- nigellus (a. c.) 162, 9. (Varro ap. Non. 456, 8; Pall. 3, 25, 12.)
- novellus (class.) 173, 10; 186, 3; 202 A 7, 14. (Varro R. R.
2, 3; Col. 6, 1, 3; Cic. Fin. 5, 14, 39; Verg. E. 3, 11;
Vulg. Josue 24, 32; Psal. 68, 32, etc.)
- parvulus (class.) 27, 2; 43, 1; 104, 7; 98, 1; 102, 5; 143, 6;
186, 11. (Cic. Inv. 2, 3, 10; Hor. S. 1, 1, 33; Caes. B.
G. 2, 30; Vulg. freq. Gen. 25, 22 to Hebr. 5, 13.)
- pauculus (a. and p. c.) 261, 1. (Cato ap. Front. ad Anton. 1, 2;
Plaut. Merc. 2, 3; Ter. Heaut. 4, 6, 24; Vulg. 1 Reg.
17, 28.)
- quantuluscumque (class.) 78, 6; 110, 1; 139, 2; 145, 2; 162, 9;
194, 32. (Cic. de Or. 1, 30, 135; Juv. 13, 183; Col. 2,
11, 17.)
- surdaster (once only, in Cic.) 187, 19. (Cic. Tusc. 5, 40, 116.)

3. *Adjectives in comparative.*

- grandiusculus (a. c., very rare) 27, 2; 104, 2. (Ter. And. 4,
5, 19.)
- tardiusculus (a. and p. c.) 137, 18. (Plaut. Fragm. ap. Non.
198; Ter. Heaut. 3, 2, 4.)

⁴⁵ This word, like the preceding, is in reality an adjective formed from a diminutive rather than a diminutive adjective.

4. *Adverbs.*

acutule (Aug. only) 205, 14. (Conf. 3, 71.)

aliquantulum (class.) 26, 2; 73, 4; 82, 2; 95, 4; 139, 3. (Plaut. Merc. 3, 4, 55; Ter. Heaut. 1, 1, 111; Cic. Par. 3, 1; Vulg. Gen. 40, 4; Judic. 15, 1; 1 Cor. 16, 7; Hebr. 40, 4.)

clanculo (p. c. accessory form of *clanculum*) 153, 25. (App. M. 3, p. 133, 5; Macr. 5, 18; Amm. 21, 12, 13.)

diluculo (rare) 102, 36. (Cic. Ep. Att. 16, 13; Vulg. freq. Exod. 8, 20 to Joan. 8, 2.)

paululum (class.) 93, 41; 137, 1. (Cic. Quinct. 16, 5, 3; Sall. J. 65, 1; Quint. 1, 68; Vulg. freq. Gen. 24, 45 to 2 Petr. 2, 18.)

pauxillum (a. and p. c.) 261, 3. (Plaut. Capt. 1, 2, 73; Vulg. Prov. 24, 33.)

tantillum (a. c.) 137, 1. (Plaut. Truc. 2, 6, 56; Most. 2, 1, 47.)

CHAPTER II.

COMPOUNDS.

One of the most striking points of difference between ante-classical and classical Latin is the great freedom of forming compounds shown in the earlier period. This was, no doubt, one of the effects of the Greek influence, as the writers whose works most abound in compound words were those who applied themselves to the study and imitation of Greek originals with the greatest ardor. But Latin does not lend itself to composition as successfully as Greek does, and the results were not uniformly happy. Thus Pacuvius was held up to scorn by later critics for such monstrous combinations as *incurvicervicum* and *repandirostrum*. Plautus, writing in the *sermo plebeius*, for the amusement of the common people of Rome, gave himself unlimited liberty in that direction and produced some of his most comic effects by the use of ludicrous combinations. Thus in the *Persae* (702-704), he has the amusing string: "*Vaniloquidorus virginesvendonides, nugiphiloloquides argentumexterebronides, quodsemellarripides numquampostreddonides.*" But by such intentional excesses as these, the doom of unrestricted compounds in Latin was sealed, and the writers of the Golden Age rather avoided than invented them. Some, especially prepositional compounds, did succeed in proving their utility and their right to exist, but many more were labeled as poor diction and the practice of making them was greatly restricted in the literary language.

In the *sermo plebeius*, however, composition went on with unabated vigor, and was much resorted to by African writers. One of the contributing causes of this activity in the making of compounds was the desire for emphasis, that same tendency toward exaggeration which also eventuated in the unnecessary use of superlatives. The result was inevitable—compound words lost their force and quickly sank to the level of the uncompounded forms. Hence arose the singular practice of prefixing a second preposition and thereby creating a double compound.

Augustine shows all these tendencies in a marked degree, and indicates, by frequent use, his fondness for certain prefixes. He has an enormous number of compound words of all sorts, prefer-

ring the compound to the simple word, where the sense allows, with a pronounced attraction for words in *prae-* and *con-*. It is scarcely possible to find a sentence without one or more compounds; sometimes indeed the array of them is bewildering, as in 102, 4 where *praedicatum*, *praedictione*, *praesciebat*, *praesentia* and *praeconia* occur in one sentence and are not the only compounds therein used.

In the following section prepositional compounds will be treated separately; other forms of composition, whether real or apparent, will be classified according to their component parts.

1. *Prepositional Compounds.*

These occur in classical Latin in greater numbers than any other forms of compounds, and are extremely frequent in Augustine's Letters. The following list represents only the non-classical, rare or poetic forms which occur in the Letters.

a) Compounds with *ad*.

adnuntiare (mostly eccl.) 140, 34. (App. M. 8; Vulg. freq. Gen. 26, 30 to 1 Joan. 1, 2.)

adtaminare (p. c.) 149, 23. (Capitol. Gord. 27; Just. 21, 3; Cod. Th. 3, 1, 5; Aur. Vict. Caes. 16.)

b) with *circum*.

circumlatrare (mostly p. c.) 65, 1; 118, 33. (Sen. Cons. ad Marc. 22, 3; Amm. 22, 10, 16; Avien. Perieg. 48; Lact. 2, 8, 50; Fulg. de Aet. 135, 7.)

circumspargere (late and rare) 55, 28. (Col. 11, 2; Apic. 8, 8; Cyp. Vulg. Interp. Num. 8, 7.)

circumstipare (poet. and rare) 194, 43. (Sil. 10, 453; Claud. Laud. Stil. 2, 356.)

circumstrepere (rare) 118, 2. (Tac. H. 2, 44; App. Mag. 75; Sid. Ep. 7, 9; Sen. Vit. Beat. 11, 1.)

c) with *con* (*com*, *co-*).

i. Nouns and Adjectives.

coaeternus (eccl.) 102, 11, 12; 120, 6; 137, 12; 140, 83; 153, 13; 169, 7, 5; 170, 4. (Tert. adv. Herm. 11; Hier. Ep. 16, 4.)

conconvivis (late: translation of *συμπολίτης*) 84, 1. (Tert. adv. Marc. 5, 17; Res Carn. 41.)

concolona (*ἀπαξ λεγόμενον*) 35, 2.

- condignus (very rare) 93, 15. (Plaut. Am. 1, 3, 39; Gell. 3, 7, 1.)
 condiscipulatus (very rare) 31, 9. (Nep. Att. 5, 31; Just. 12, 6, 17.)
 commembrum (ἀπαξ λεγόμενον) 126, 9.
 conpauperes (Aug. only) 185, 35. (Serm. 25 ex Hom. 50, 3.)
 conpossessor (eccl. very rare) 185, 35. (Tert. Idol. 14.)
 conregionalis (Aug. only) 60, 2. (Civ. Dei 2, 17.)
 consacerdos (eccl.) 34, 5; 175, 1; 178, sal.; 202A, 13, 245, sal.; 250, sal.; 254, sal. (Hier. in Ezech. Hom. 5, 4; Sym. Ep. 10, 74.)
 consonus (rare and poet.) 98, 10. (Ov. M. 13, 610; Claud. Rapt. Pros. 2, 42; App. M. 2.)

ii. Verbs and Participles.

- coaequare (= compare: late) 82, 34; 147, 39. (Lact. de Ira Dei 7; Hier. in Is. 5, 17, 14.)
 coaptare (eccl.) 130, 23; 137, 12; 140, 32; 143, 9; 147, 34; 144, 15; 149, 6. (Prud. Psych. 5, 57; Hier. adv. Jovin. 1, 11.)
 cohabitare (late, rare) 67, 1; 83, 6. (Hier. Ep. 101.)
 coinquinare (rare) 108, 13. (Col. 8, 5, 19; Val. Max. 6, 1, 6; Prud. Cath. 6, 53.)
 concertare (rare) 177, 15; 187, 36; 189, 2. (Suet. Aug. 21; Col. 8, 15; Manil. 5, 507.)
 conduplicare (a. and p. c.) 147, 51. (Varro R. R. 2, 4, 15; Lucr. 3, 71; Ter. Phor. 3, 2.)
 conlaetari (very rare) 124, 2. (Tert. Idol. 14.)
 conlaborare (very rare) 139, 4. (Tert. Poen. 10; Hier. adv. Joan. 38.)
 commanere (late) 228, 6. (Macr. S. 6, 8; Cod. Th. 7, 8, 1; Jul. Val. Rer. Gest. Alex. M. 1, 20.)
 connumerare (p. c. and rare) 108, 11. (Dig. 1, 5, 14; Amm. 25, 4, 1; Hier. Ep. 36, 15; Arn. 2, 187; Gai. Inst. 1, 2, 4.)
 complanare (rare) 232, 5. (Cato R. R. 151, 3; Suet. Cal. 37; Auct. B. Alex. 63.)
 compericlitari (ἀπαξ λεγόμενον) 139, 4.
 compungere (= feel remorse: eccl.) 93, 49; 153, 15. (Lact. 4, 18, 14; Sulp. Sev. Dial. 3, 13.)
 coniugari (= marry: rare and mostly late) 127, 9; 130, 29; 194, 32; 220, 5; 245, 1; 262, 7. (App. M. 5, p. 170; Treb. Gall. 11.)

constipare (very rare) 118, 1. (Cic. Agr. 2, 29, 79; Caes. B. G. 5, 42; Prud. *σρεφ.* 11.)
 contemperari (very rare) 140, 80. (App. M. 10, p. 246; Veg. Art. Vet. 6, 9, 7; Marc. Emp. 16; Apic. 4, 2.)
 convivari and convivare (rare) 29, 5; 84, 1; 199, 52. (Sen. Ep. 104, 20; Lampr. Comm. 2; Quint. 1, 6, 44.)

d) with *contra*.

contrasistere (*ἀπαξ λεγόμενον*) 147, 6.

e) with *de*.

deambulare (rare) 36, 16; 102, 32; 140, 20. (Cato R. R. 127; Ter. Heaut. 3, 3, 26; Suet. Aug. 96; Vulg. Gen. 3, 8; Dan. 13, 7; Est. 2, 11; 4 Reg. 4, 35.)
 deargentatus (late) 98, 5. (Hier. Ep. 120, 1; Hilar. in Ps. 67, 13; Oros. 3, 22; Vulg. Ps. 67, 14.)
 debacchari (rare) 104, 6. (Ter. Ad. 2, 1, 30; Hier. in Is. 11, 37, 26; Hor. Od. 3, 3, 55.)
 definire (= finish: very rare) 166, 21. (Cic. Verr. 2, 4, 52; Apul. M. 8, p. 203.)
 degradatus (late) 43, 17; 64, 4. (Cod. Th. 1, 31, 3; Hilar. frag. Hist. 2, 15; Venant. Vit. S. Radeg. 3.)
 depraedari (p. c. for praedari) 35, 4; 88, 8; 108, 18; 111, 1. (App. M. 8, p. 215; Hier. in Is. 1, 1, 8; Just. 24, 6, 2; Vulg. Job 24, 9; Isai. 10, 13; Thren. 3, 51; Ezech. 29, 19; 1 Macc. 6, 3.)
 devitare (rare) 39, 10; 83, 5; 95, 1; 188, 2. (Plaut. Rud. 1, 2, 79; Ter. And. 3, 5, 5; Lucr. 3, 1092; Cic. Tusc. 2, 26; Suet. Tib. 11; Vulg. Judic. 11, 3; Eccle. 2, 3; Eccli. 4, 23; 2 Cor. 8, 20; 1 Tim. 2, 16.)

f) with *di* (*dis*).

dilaniare (rare) 22, 8; 23, 5. (Cic. Tusc. 2, 10, 24; Ov. M. 6, 645; Tac. A. 11, 22; Vulg. Luc. 9, 39.)
 directus (= written, of a letter: late) 141, 10. (Capit. Clod. Alb. 2.)

g) with *ex* (*e*).

effari (poet.) 58, 2. (Verg. A. 10, 523; Lucr. 5, 104; App. M. 7, 25; Cic. de Or. 3, 38; Vulg. Ps. 93, 2; Prov. 18, 23.)
 eliquare (= examine thoroughly: late) 83, 1. (Prud. Hamart. 260.)

- emendicare (rare) 118, 11. (Suet. Aug. 91; Caes. 54; Cod. Th. 9, 2, 14.)
- excaecare (rare) 102, 25; 138, 8. (Plin. 20, 18, 76; Flor. 2, 20, 5. (Col. 11, 3, 45; Ov. M. 15, 272; Vulg. Exod. 23, 8; Deut. 16, 19; Sap. 2, 21; Eccli. 20, 31; Isai. 6, 10; Joan. 12, 40; 2 Cor. 4, 4.)
- excantare (rare) 231, 4. (Tab. XII ap. Sen. Q. N. 4, 7, 2; Prop. 3, 3, 49; Hor. Epod. 5, 45; Aug. Civ. Dei 8, 19.)
- excommunicare (eccl.) 87, 4; 108, 19. (Hier. adv. Ruf. 2, 18; Hilar. frag Hist. 11, 4.)
- exhilarare (rare) 248, 1. (Mart. 8, 50, 6; Col. 6, 24, 2; Plin. 16, 35, 40; Vulg. Psal. 103, 15; Prov. 15, 13; Eccli. 36, 24.)
- exhonoratus (late) 54, 4; 120, 1. (Aug. Tract. in Joan. 36, 4; Vulg. Eccli. 10, 16; Jacob. 2, 6.)

h) with *in*.¹

i. Nouns and Adjectives.

infrenis or

infrenus (poet. and p. c.) 43, 9; 243, 8. (Verg. A. 10, 750; Col. Poet. 10, 215; Gell. 1, 15, 17; Ser. Samm. 43, 804.)

inhospitus (poet.) 197, 4. (Ov. M. 15, 51; Verg. A. 4, 41; Hor. Ep. 1, 14, 19.)

innumerus (poet.) 102, 8. (Lucr. 2, 1054; Tac. A. 15, 53; Verg. A. 6, 706; Ov. H. 16, 366; Aus. Idyll. 4, 47.)

inoboedientia (eccl.) 35, 2. (Civ. Dei 14, 7; Hier. Quaest. Heb. ad Reg. 2, 1; Tert. adv. Marc. 4, 17; Vulg. Esth. 16, 24; Rom. 5, 19; 2 Cor. 10, 6; Hebr. 2, 2.)

impaenitens (eccl.) 196, 7. (Hier. in Is. 12, 40, 27; Vulg. Rom. 2, 5.)

interminus (p. c.) 91, 6. (Avien. Perieg. 74; Aus. Ep. 16, 38; App. Mund. p. 57, 18.)

ii. Verbs and Participles.

incertare (a. and p. c.) 78, 8. (Plaut. Ep. 4, 1, 18; Pac. ap. Non. 123, 30; App. M. 11, p. 265.)

inculpatus—See sec. iii, 10, Verbs.

indebitus—See sec. iii, 10, Verbs.

indisciplinatus—See sec. iii, 10, Verbs.

¹ "Non est dubitandum quin Afri adamaverint substantiva cum in privativo formata." Hoppe, p. 55.

inemendatus—See sec. iii, 10, Verbs.

infalsatus—See sec. iii, 10, Verbs.

ingenitus—See sec. iii, 10, Verbs.

inhiare (rare) 27, 3. (Verg. G. 4, 483; Sen. Herc. Fur. 166; Val. Fl. 2, 531.)

immaculatus—See sec. iii, 10, Verbs.

impacatus—See sec. iii, 10, Verbs.

imperturbatus—See sec. iii, 10, Verbs.

innodare (late) 151, 8. (Amm. 28, 6, 27; Ambros. in Psa. 118, Serm. 8, 44; Sid. Ep. 9, 9; Cod. Just. 5, 31, 14.)

insonare (poet.) 243, 8. (Verg. A. 12, 366; Ov. M. 13, 608.)

inumere (= use up: p. c.) 235, 2. (Cael. Aur. Tard. 2, 2, 60; Acut. 2, 37.)

inviscerare (p. c.) 187, 41; 266, 1. (Nemes. Cyn. 214; Aug. Serm. 24.)

i) with *inter*.

interquiescere (rare) 44, 2. (Cato R. R. 159; Sen. Ep. 78; Plin. Ep. 8, 21.)

j) with *ob*.

obumbrare (poet.) 138, 18; 140, 9. (Ov. M. 13, 845; Verg. G. 4, 20; Curt. 5, 4, 8; Vulg. Psa. 90, 4; Sap. 19, 7; Matth. 17, 5; Marc. 9, 6; Luc. 1, 35; Act. 5, 51.)

k) with *per*.

perdurus (p. c.) 70, 4; 71, 4. (Dig. 48, 3, 2.)

percupere (a. c.) 28, 1. (Plaut. As. 1, 1, 61; Ter. Eun. 5, 2, 57.)

perdurare (= persist: poet.) 80, 3; 130, 20; 141, 2. (Ter. Hec. 2, 2, 27; Ov. Med. Fac. 49; Stat. Th. 1, 142; Sen. Ben. 7, 28; Vulg. Act. 2, 46.)

personare (= speak: rare) 140, 44; 145, 10. (Val. Fl. 2, 163; Tac. A. 14, 15; Vulg. Job 6, 30.)

perstreperere (poet.) 44, 2. (Ter. Eun. 3, 5, 52; Sil. 8, 430; Stat. Achill. 2, 76; Vulg. Exod. 19, 16; Judith 14, 9.)

l) with *prae*.

i. Nouns and Adjectives.

praecelsus (poet. and late) 134, 3. (Verg. A. 3, 245; Sulp. Sev. Chron. 2, 15, 9; Stat. S. 3, 3; Ambros. Fid. 4, 1, 7.)

praevidens (rare) 26, 5; 43, 18; 140, 50. (Cic. Off. 1, 26; 90.)

praeiudicium (= disadvantage: p. c.) 59, 2; 78, 4; 242. (Gell. 2, 2, 7; Dig. 1, 6, 10; Vulg. 1 Tim. 5, 21.)

praescientia (eccl.) 102, 14. (Tert. adv. Marc. 2, 5; Mart. Cap. 2, 159; Vulg. Eccli. 31, 2; Act. 2, 23; Petr. 1, 2.)

ii. Verbs and Participles.

praecognitus (very rare) 146, 73. (Suet. Aug. 97; Boeth. Con. Phil. 5, 4; Vulg. 1 Petr. 1, 20.)

praefigurare (eccl.) 102, 11; 140, 46; 187, 39. (Lact. 6, 20; Cyp. Ep. 2, 3; Hier. Ep. 18, 14; Hilar. in Ps. 52, 5.)

prae focare (poet.) 23, 4; 167, 12. (Ov. Ib. 560; Macr. Somm. Sc. 1, 12; Arn. 7, 29; Dig. 25, 3, 4; Calp. Ecl. 4, 115.)

prae fulgere (rare) 108, 12. (Phaedr. 3, 18, 7; Verg. A. 8, 553; Gell. 5, 5, 3.)

praenotare (p. c.) 184A, 5. (Ap. M. 11, p. 268; Hilar. in Ps. 15, 1; Hier. Ep. 112, 19; Tert. adv. Jud. 14.)

praepedire (poet.) 151, 8. (Plaut. Poen. 4, 2, 5; Ov. Tr. 1, 3, 42; Lucr. 3, 478; Tac. A. 3, 3.)

praepollere (rare) 91, 3; 140, 27. (Tac. A. 2, 45, 51; App. M. 6, p. 182.)

praescire (of God's foreknowledge: eccl.) 140, 48; 186, 23; 190, 12. (Ambros. in Luc. 7, 167; Vulg. 4 Reg. 19, 27; Sap. 19, 1; Act. 26, 5; Rom. 8, 20; 2 Petr. 3, 17.)

praeseminare (late) 9, 2; 118, 20; 242, 3. (Lact. 6, 10; Amm. 30, 2, 1; Ambros. Ep. 5, 3; Cassiod. H. E. 6, 24.)

praesumere (= rely on: late) 82, 20. (Sulp. Sev. Hist. Sacr. 1, 47; Vulg. Jud. 6, 16; Sap. 7, 15; Eccli. 32, 13; 1 Cor. 11, 21.)

m) with *re*.

reluctare (active form: p. c.) 82, 2; 44, 2. (App. M. 4, p. 151; Claud. Rapt. Pros. 1, 42.)

reprobus (late) 137, 16. (Dig. 13, 7, 24; Vulg. 1 Reg. 15, 9; Eccli. 9, 11; 1 Cor. 9, 27.)

repullulare (rare) 211, 3. (Plin. 16, 10, 19; Isid. 17, 6, 10.)

revivere (mostly p. c.) 137, 13. (Paulin. Nol. Carm. 35, 563; Sen. Med. 477.)

n) with *se*.

seducere (= seduce: eccl.) 204, 4. (Tert. adv. Marc. 2, 8; Aug. Conf. 2, 3; Civ. Dei. 14, 11; Vulg. Exod. 22, 16; Eccli. 13, 10.)

selegere (rare) 207. (Ov. Am. 3, 11, 49; App. M. 10, p. 245.)
semovere (rare) 137, 6. (Cic. Har. Resp. 12, 26; Lucr. 1, 51.)

o) with *sub*.

subaudire (p. c.) 140, 19; 186, 25; 238, 22. (Dig. 28, 51;
 Hier. in Is. 12, 43, 14; Greg. M. in Job 33, 17.)
subridere (rare) 151, 9. (Cic. Rosc. Com. 8, 22; Ov. Am. 3, 1,
 33; Verg. A. 10, 742; Mart. 6, 827; Pers. 3, 110.)
subtexere (poet.) 140, 40. (Juv. 7, 192; Ov. M. 14, 368; Val.
 Fl. 5, 414; Lucr. 5, 446.)
suffocare (rare) 167, 2; 194, 32. (Sen. Q. N. 6, 2, 4; Lucr. 3,
 891; Quint. 11, 3, 51.)

p) with *super*.

supervolare (poet.) 15, 2. (Ov. M. 4, 624; Verg. A. 10, 522.)

q) with *trans*.

transigere (poet.) 126, 10. (Sil. 13, 376; Sen. Oed. 857;
 Phaedr. 3, 10, 27.)
transvorare (p. c.) 102, 30. (Cael. Aur. Acut. 1, 3, 36; Arn.
 1, 40; App. M., p. 333, 6.)

Of the above prefixes, *ad*, *con*, *de*, *dis*, *ex*, *per* and *sub* belong especially to the *sermo plebeius*; *con*, *ex*, *per* and *sub* are most frequent in African Latin; *per* and *sub* were more popular in the earlier period, and where they appear in later Latin are probably instances of deliberate archaism.

II. *Bi-prepositional Compounds.*

The use of bi-prepositional compounds is one of the signs of the weakening of certain prepositional prefixes in popular Latin under the influence of the tendency to over-emphasis. This tendency was pronounced in late Latin, but was scarcely ever found in classical Latin except where the word had ceased to be regarded as a compound, or where the original meaning had changed: e. g. *adsurgere* = *ad* + *sur* + *regere*. In the Silver Age, compounds in *super-* came into use but few other double prepositions occur. In late Latin, however, there was great activity in forming double compounds, and combinations unheard of in earlier times were freely allowed. African and ecclesiastical Latin showed the greatest freedom in this respect and produced such groups as *ab-re*, *in-ex*, *circum-con*, *super-ex* and others.

In addition to the classical forms *derelinquere*, *inconcussum* and *imperfectus*, Augustine has the following in the Letters:

- abrenuntiare* (eccl.) 186, 32. (Jul. Ep. Nov. C. 34, 121; Cass. 4, 36; Ambros. Sacr. 2.)
adimplere (= fulfill: mostly p. c.) 194, 35. (Dig. 26, 7, 43; Vulg. Matth. 1, 22; Joan. 13, 18; Gal. 6, 2; 1 Petr. 1, 2.)
exsufflare (eccl.) 23, 4; 34, 3; 43, 22; 51, 5; 52, 2; 105, 7; 108, 3; 173, 8; 185, 8; 194, 46. (Cael. Aur. Tard. 4, 3, 57; Vulg. Eccli. 43, 4; Agagei. 1, 9; Malac. 1, 13; Hier. in Malac. 2, 10.)
inexpiatus (*ἀπαξ λεγόμενον*) 118, 2.
inoboedire (eccl.) 187, 31. (Tert. adv. Marc. 4, 16; Ambros. Serm. Epiph. 1; Vulg. Deut. 8, 20; 3 Reg. 13, 26; 2 Esdr. 13, 27; Tit. 1, 10.)
subintelligere (eccl.) 82, 19. (Tert. adv. Marc. 5, 3; Hier. Ep. 145; Greg. M. in Job 33, 7.)
subintrare (eccl.) 177, 13. (Tert. adv. Marc. 5, 3; Vulg. Rom. 5, 20; Galat. 2, 4.)
subintroducere (eccl.) 78, 3; 219, 1. (Vulg. Galat. 2, 4.)
supereminere (poet.) 147, 34, 45. (Verg. A. 6, 857; Ov. Tr. 1, 2, 49; Amm. 22, 15, 27; Vulg. Ephes. 1, 19; 3, 19.)
superinduere (= clothe with: eccl.) 193, 11. (Tert. Apol. 48; Res Carn. 42; Vulg. 2 Cor. 5, 2.)

III. *Non-prepositional Compounds.*

Compounds of this class are far less numerous in Latin than prepositional compounds, and are found almost exclusively in early and late Latin. The dramatic writers who first brought the Hellenizing influence to bear on Latin literature abound in them, attempting evidently to reproduce, in the rather stiff medium they employed, the flexibility and freedom of their Greek models. With few exceptions however the compounds they formed were harsh and awkward, and it became more and more apparent that the Latin language was better fitted for derivation than for composition. Of the few classes of compounds which survived, those of adjectives in *-fer* and *-ger*, and of present participles, especially *-potens* and *-tenens*, were soon appropriated by the poets.

In the post-classical period, the influence of the *sermo plebeius*, where freedom of composition seems to have persisted, is manifested by a new activity in the forming of compounds. In this,

as in other plebeian tendencies, African Latin took the lead, and writers like Apuleius, Fronto, Martianus Capella, Caelius Aurelianus, Tertullian, Cyprian and Augustine show an unusual number of such formations.

In the following list of non-prepositional compounds found in the Letters, the classification is by component parts.

A. *Nouns and Adjectives.* Words compounded of:

1) *Two Nouns.*

ventricola (Augustine only) 36, 3, 4, 8, 10, 11.

ventricultor (ἀπαξ λεγόμενον) 36, 11.

2) *Noun and Adjective.*

longanimis (eccl.) 55, 25. (Vulg. 2 Esdr. 9, 17; Psa. 102, 8.)

pusillanimis (late) 211, 15; 219, 1. (Claud. Mam. Stat. Anim.

1, 20; Sid. Ep. 7, 17; Tert. Fug. in Pers. 9; Vulg. Eccli.

7, 9; Is. 35, 4; 1 Thess. 5, 14.)

tardicordes (Aug. only) 93, 31. (Enchir. 103.)

3) *Noun and Participle.*

manufactus (in one word: rare) 187, 39. (Ovid Ib. 147; Cels. 3, 27; Quint. 5, 14.)

versipellis (a. and p. c.) 194, 46. (Plaut. Bacch. 4, 4, 12; App. M. 2, p. 124; Prud. Cath. 9, 91; Vulg. Prov. 14, 25.)

4) *Adjective and Adverb.*

paenultimus (p. c.) 3, 5. (Aus. Ecl. Quotae Cal. sint Mens. 12; Gell. 4, 7, 2.)

5) *Adjective and Participle.*

omnipotens (poet.) 29, 2; 52, 4; 98, 4; 133, 3; 134, 4; 137, 9; 140, 13; 141, 11; 147, 47; 149, 17; 157; 171A, 1; 187, 4; 190, 1; 237, 9; 239, 1. (Cat. 64, 171; Ov. M. 1, 154; Verg. A. 8, 334; Val. Max. 1, 6, 12; Ambros. Fide 4, 8, 85; Vulg. freq. Gen. 17, 1 to Apoc. 21, 22.)

6) *Numeral and Noun, Adjective or Participle.*

biformis (poet.) 241, 2. (Verg. A. 6, 25; Ov. M. 8, 156; Claud. in Ruf. 1, 329.)

triformis (poet.) 241, 1, 2. (Hor. C. 1, 27, 23; Sen. Herc. Oet. 1202; Ov. M. 7, 94.)

unanimis (p. c.) 80, 1; 211, 2, 5. (Claud. Cons. Prob. et Olybr.

231; Epigr. 37, 3; Schol. Juv. 5, 134; Vulg. Jud. 6, 14; Psal. 54, 14; Eccli. 6, 12; Act. 12, 30.)
 unigenitus (eccl.) 147, 22, 29; 187, 7, 20, 40, 41; 190, 25; 205, 19; 219, 3; 237, 9; 238, 10, 25. (Hier. adv. Helv. 9; Tert. adv. Gnost. 7; Vulg. Gen. 22, 2; Prov. 4, 3; Joan. 1, 14; Hebr. 11, 17.)
 semicirculus (rare) 55, 7. (Cels. 7, 26; Col. 5, 2, 8.)
 quinquepertitus (very rare) 137, 5; 187, 40. (Cic. Inv. 1, 34, 59.)

7) *Verb and Adjective.*

blandiloquium (Aug. only) 3, 1; 82, 33.
 mendaciloquus (a. and p. c.) 185, 13. (Plaut. Trin. 1, 2, 163; Tert. adv. Psych. 2.)
 multiloquium (a. and p. c.) 130, 15, 19. (Plaut. Merc. Prol. 31; Ambros. de Job 1, 6, 20; Hilar. in Psal. 139, 15; Vulg. Prov. 10, 19; Matth. 6, 71.)
 soliloquium (Aug. only) 3, 1, 4.
 vaniloquium (eccl.) 87, 1; 134, 4; 157, 41; 166, 6; 167, 2; 204, 4. (Hilar. Trin. 8; Vulg. 1 Tim. 1, 6; 2 Tim. 2, 16.)
 vaniloquus (a. and p. c.) 237, 9. (Plaut. Amph. 1, 1, 223; Ambros. Ep. 63; Aus. Epigr. 42, 4; Vulg. Tit. 1, 10.)
 veridicus (rare) 51, 2; 73, 3; 108, 6, 14; 157, 2; 232, 2. (Lucr. 6, 6; Mart. 5, 1, 3; Liv. 1, 7.)

B. *Verbs.* Compounded of:

1) *Verb and Adjective.*

parvipendere (in one word: a. and p. c.) 56, 2. (Plaut. Rud. 5, 2, 36; Hier. Ep. 51, 3; Rufin. Interpr. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. 8, 8; Vulg. Gen. 25, 34; Levit. 20, 4; 2 Par. 36, 16; Esth. 1, 18.)

2) *Verb and Adverb.*

benedicere (tr. = to bless: eccl.) 27, 2; 40, 1; 93, 3, 15; 108, 6; 149, 16; 175, 5. (Lact. 7, 14, 11; Hier. Vita Hilar. med.; Tert. Mart. 1; Vulg. very freq. Gen. 1, 22 to 1 Petr. 3, 9.)
 satagere (in one word = to bustle about: very rare) 10, 1; 124, 2; 125, 1; 188, 12. (Quint. 6, 3, 54; Petron. 58, 9; 137, 10; Vulg. Mich. 4, 10; Luc. 10, 40; 2 Petr. 1, 10; 3, 14.)

3) *Verb and Noun.*

tabefacere (eccl.) 23, 5. (Vulg. Judith 14, 14; Eccli. 31, 1; 1 Macc. 4, 32.)

tergiversari (rare out of Cic.) 79. (Cic. Tusc. 5, 28, 81; Att. 7, 12, 3; Dig. 48, 16.)

Cf. also verbs in *-ficare*, Sec. iii, p. 73.

IV. *Hybrids.*

The foreign element in Latin came in early and continued steadily, notwithstanding the disapprobation of the purists. This was inevitable for several reasons; first the poverty of the Roman speech in abstract terms, second, the geographical proximity of Greek colonies to Roman territory and the ultimate subjection of both colonies and mother-country to the Roman conqueror. Perhaps one might add to these elements the respect felt, if not always acknowledged, by the Romans for the superior culture and intellectual development of the Greeks. In view of these facts, it seems not unnatural, that when the Romans needed a new word, especially an abstract term, they should have borrowed without hesitation from the Greek.

There were various ways of handling these foreign words—sometimes they were simply quoted in the original Greek, as we might quote a French word today, and then they can hardly be said to form part of the Latin vocabulary; sometimes they were transliterated, with certain changes of spelling, and were then used as freely as Latin words. The third and final change, which naturalized them, so to speak, in the Latin tongue, occurred when they were inflected wholly or in part like Latin words, or when they were joined to Latin suffixes or compounded with Latin words. When the last-named phenomena occur, we have hybrids.

The Letters of Augustine show all three varieties of Greek loan-words. Of these, the purely Greek words will be treated in the next chapter; the interesting collection of hybrids follows.

1. *Verbs in -are from Greek Substantives.*

Verbs do not form a large part of Greek loan-words in Latin, and those which occur belong almost entirely to late Latin. Ecclesiastical writers are responsible for many of them, and Augustine uses them liberally. The following occur in the Letters:

anathemare (from *ἀνάθεμα*: form used by Augustine only) 55,

- 6; 141, 6; 157, 4; 175, 1, 14; 177, 7, 15; 186, 22, 32, 38; 238, 4; 250, 1, 2. (Cf. *anathemizare*, *infra*.)
angariare (from *ἀγγαρία*: eccl.) 138, 9, 11; 139, 3. (Hier. in Matth. 4 ad 27, 32; Vulg. Matth. 5, 41; Marc. 15, 21.)
bacchari (from *βάγχος*: class. and freq.) 17, 4.
machinari (from *μηχανή*: class.) 194, 47.
moechari (from *μοιχεία*: poet. and late) 55, 22; 262, 1. (Cat. 94, 1; Hor. S. 1, 2, 49; Mart. 6, 91, 2; Vulg. Exod. 20, 14; Jerem. 3, 8; Matth. 5, 27, etc.)
subsannare (from *σάννας*: eccl.) 217, 2. (Tert. adv. Jud. 11; Hier. Ep. 40, 2; Vulg. 4 Reg. 19, 21; 2 Esdr. 2, 19; Psal. 2, 4; Prov. 1, 26.)

2. *Verbs in -izare.*

These verbs are most numerous in early and late Latin. Plautus has a number of them and African Latin abounds in them, while the ecclesiastical vocabulary seems to find them indispensable. The following is a complete list of those found in the Letters :

- anathemizare* (from *ἀναθεματίζειν*: eccl.) 178, 3; 185, 4; 194, 7, 8. (Hier. Ep. 75; Hilar. Cont. Constant. 25; Vulg. 1 Macc. 5, 5; Marc. 14, 71. Cf. *anathemare*, *supra*.)
baptizare (from *βαπτίζειν*: eccl.) 23, 4; 35, 4; 43, 21; 93, 10; 106, 1; 140, 48; 193, 3 et *passim*. (Hier. Ep. 38, 3; Vulg. freq. Judith 12, 7 to Gal. 3, 27.)
colaphizare (from *κολαφίζειν*: eccl.) 95, 2; 130, 25; 140, 74; 194, 21. (Tert. adv. Marc. 5, 12; Hier. Ep. 108, 8; Hilar. in Ps. 118, 3; Vulg. 2 Cor. 12, 7; 1 Petr. 2, 20.)
dogmatizare (from *δογματίζειν*: Aug. only) 36, 29; 175, 6; 187, 29.
evangelizare (from *εὐαγγελίζειν*: eccl.) 53, 1; 93, 23, 47, 52; 164, 11; 243, 12. (Hier. in Is. 11, 40, 12; Interpr. Iren. 2, 32, 1; Vulg. freq. Psal. 67, 12 to Apoc. 14, 6.)
exorcizare (from *ἐξορκίζειν*: eccl.) 194, 43, 46. (Civ. Dei 10, 22.)
iudaizare (from *ιουδαῖος*: eccl.) 82, 4, 8, 10, 15, 22, 24; 93, 38; 196, 2, 7, 16. (Vulg. Gal. 2, 14.)
rebaptizare (from *βαπτίζειν*: late) 23, 2, 5, 6, 8; 34, 2; 35, 2, 4; 89, 4; 139, 2 et *passim*. (Cod. Just. 1, 6, 2.)
scandalizare (from *σκανδαλίζειν*: eccl.) 36, 17; 82, 16; 124, 2; 194, 12; 217, 12; 262, 4, 7. (Tert. Virg. Vel. 3; adv. Marc. 15, 18; Hilar. in Ps. 118, 20; Vulg. Eccli. 1, 37; Malac. 2, 8; Matth. 5, 29; Marc. 4, 17 etc.)

thesaurizare (from *θησαυρίζειν*: late) 157, 34, 35, 39; 185, 49; 262, 8; 264, 1. (Hilar. in Matth. 5, 7; Salv. adv. Avar. 1, 2; Vulg. Tobiae 4, 10; Psa. 38, 7; Isai. 39, 6; Matth. 6, 19; Rom. 2, 5 etc.)

3. *Hybrids from Greek Verbs.*

blasphemare (from *βλασφημῆναι*: eccl.) 43, 21, 22; 77, 1; 79; 85, 2; 93, 9, 25, 26; 111, 2; 138, 14; 185, 19; 217, 6; 236, 2; 262, 5. (Tert. adv. Jud. 13; Prud. Apoth. 415; Hilar. in Matth. 12, 15; Vulg. freq. Levit. 24, 11 to Apoc. 16, 21.)

prophetare (from *φάναι*: eccl.) 49, 2; 102, 12, 15, 36, 37; 105, 14; 137, 13; 140, 9; 187, 34; 199, 5, 20, 47. (Tert. Anim. 47; Res. Carn. 28; Hilar. in Ps. 6; Vulg. freq. Num. 11, 25 to Apoc. 11, 3.)

propinare (from *προπίνειν*: mostly p. c.) 26, 6; 108, 6; 264, 3. (Capitol. M. Aurel. 15; Vulg. Isai. 27, 3; Jerem. 25, 15, 27; Amos 2, 12.)

psallere (from *ψάλλειν* — sing psalms: eccl.) 29, 11. (Hier. Ep. 107, 10; Vulg. freq. Judic. 5, 3 to Jacob 3, 15.)

4. *Hybrid Compounds.*

These are usually nouns or adjectives formed of a Greek noun and a Latin prefix or suffix. The majority of them are ecclesiastical terms.

apothecarius (*ἀποθήκη* + *arius*: late) 185, 15. (Dig. 12, 58, 12.)
clericatus (*κληρικός* + *atus*: eccl.) 35, 2. (Hier. Ep. 60, 10; 125, 8.)

coapostolus (from *con* + *ἀπόστολος*: eccl.) 82, 7. (Cass. Complex. ad 2 Petr. 10; Auctor Hist. Datian. 3.)

coepiscopatus (from *con* + *ἐπίσκοπος* + *atus*: *ἁπαξ λεγόμενον*) 31, 4.

coepiscopus (from *con* + *ἐπίσκοπος*: eccl.) 137, 21; 139, 1; 141, 1; 143, 1, 4; 170, 10; 200, 1; 202A, 13; 206; 224, 1 et passim. (Hier. adv. Lucif. 9; Sid. Ep. 4, 25.)

conclericus (from *con* + *κληρικός*: eccl.) 88, 6; 122, sal. (Jul. Epit. Nov. c. 115, 475.)

condiaconus (from *con* + *διάκονος*: eccl.) 101, 4; 110, 1; 149, 1; 173, sal.; 192, sal.; 222, sal.; 243, sal.; 249, sal. . (Fulg. Ep. 14.)

conpresbyter (from *con* + *πρεσβύτερος*: eccl.) 35, 2; 36, sal.; 48,

- sal.; 74, sal.; 114; 134, 2; 149, 1, 34; 170; 176, 4; 194, sal.; 200. (Cyp. Ep. 18, 1; Hier. in Ep. ad Tit.)
- daemonicola (from δαίμων + cola: Aug. only) 69, 1; 231, 4.
- episcopalī (from ἐπίσκοπος + alis: eccl.) Cf. adjectives in -alis, p. 51.
- leprosus (from λέπρα + osus: late). (Cf. adjectives in -osus, p. 64.)
- praeputium (from prae + πόσθιον: class. but rare) 82, 15, 26, 27; 149, 22, 26; 196, 3. (Juv. 6, 238; Sen. Apoc. 8, 1; Vulg. freq. Gen. 17, 11 to Colos. 3, 11.)
- subdiaconus (from sub + διάκονος: eccl.) 35, 2; 53, 4; 63, 1; 105, 3; 106; 108, 1; 222, 3; 236, 1, 3. (Isid. 7, 12, 23; Cod. Just. 1, 3, 6.)
- thelodives (from θέλω + dives: ἅπαξ λεγόμενον) 149, 27.
- thelohumilis (from θέλω + humilis: ἅπαξ λεγόμενον) 149, 27.
- thelosapiens (from θέλω + sapiens: ἅπαξ λεγόμενον) 149, 27.
5. *Hybrids from Hebrew Words.*
- Davidicus (late) 101, 4. (Sedul. Car. 4, 42; Cass. Var. 2, 20.)
- Hebraicus (eccl.) 102, 15. (Alcim. Avit. 5, 544; Lact. 4, 7.)
- Israeliticus (eccl.) 102, 11. (Civ. Dei, 15, 20.)
- paschalis (eccl.) 36, 30; 51, 4, etc. Cf. adjectives in -alis, p. 52.

CHAPTER III.

FOREIGN LOAN-WORDS.

At all periods of the Latin language, we may discover non-Latin words forming part of the ordinary vocabulary. These may be really necessary additions, such as technical terms, or proper names, or they may be the affectation of an author desirous of showing his reverence for and acquaintance with another literary medium beside his own, or finally they may be an intentional humorous exaggeration of a popular tendency, designed to produce a burlesque effect.

By far the greatest number of foreign loan-words were Greek. Early writers showed great activity in this direction—Plautus, Terence and Varro borrowed freely and unscrupulously, as did also Lucilius and other writers whose works survive only in fragments. The age of classicism, on the other hand, regarded this admission of an alien element into Latin as a defect to be avoided by every possible means, preferring to invent new Latin words or to use inconvenient phrases of description. During this period, borrowing was therefore conducted with caution and the words adopted were usually spelled¹ in accordance with Roman phonetics. Whether this was done as an unconscious expression of that Roman arrogance which tried to Romanize everything it touched, or whether it was necessary thus to disarm a real prejudice against Greek words by presenting them in Latin dress, or whether finally it was merely a concession to Roman vocal chords, it would be difficult to say. Cicero² and Horace³ inveighed vigorously against this practice of borrowing, but it is hardly possible to take Cicero seriously, when we consider the astonishing number of Greek words which appear in his Letters. Other writers, especially those on philosophical and technical subjects, seem to have had no misgivings in appropriating Greek words and we know that their readers must have understood them as Greek was included in the course of studies of the young Roman.⁴

In the *sermo plebeius* there were no scruples, literary or otherwise, to prevent the liveliest traffic in Greek loan-words, and when,

¹ Goelzer (1), p. 221.

² Off. 1, 3; Tusc. 1, 15.

³ Sat. 1, 10, 20.

⁴ Inst. Or. 1, 1, 12.

after the Second Punic war, the Roman armies returned from their long campaigning in Magna Graecia, and Greek prisoners of war became the slaves and schoolmasters of their Roman conquerors, the use of Greek words in everyday Latin was inevitable. As we might expect from the predominance of the plebeian element in it, the African Latin is rich in Greek words.

With the extension of the Roman empire the literary attitude of the classical age underwent a change—it had probably not been a very sincere one in any case—and just as throngs of foreigners were admitted to Roman citizenship, so numbers of foreign words, especially Greek words were freely incorporated into the Roman literary tongue and bade fair eventually to displace native terms. Petronius, for instance, has such an abundance of them, that his language at times appears hardly to be Latin at all; Pliny and Celsus^{*} found Greek words most convenient for scientific purposes, and the ecclesiastical writers would have been seriously handicapped by the concrete propensity of Latin, if the resources of Greek had not been open to them.

In the Letters of Augustine there are three foreign elements: Greek, Hebrew and Punic. The Greek words are largely ecclesiastical with a few rhetorical terms; the Hebrew and Punic loan-words are largely proper names. Each of these groups will be treated separately. A complete list of the Greek words in the Letters (excepting those quoted in the original tongue) follows:

1. Greek Words.

a) Nouns.

absida (*ἀψίς*: late) 23, 3. (Paulin. Ep. 12; Isid. Orig. 15, 8.)

absis (*ἀψίς*: mostly late) 125, 2; 126, 1. (Plin. Ep. 2, 17; Isid. Orig. 15, 18.)

acolithus (*ἀκόλουθος*: eccl.) 191, 1; 193, 1; 194, 1. (Isid. Orig. 12, 2, 3; Cyp. Ep. 28, 55; Hier. Ep. 52, 5.)

adytum (*ἄδυτον*: class.) 10, 3. (Caes. B. G. 3, 105; Verg. A. 2, 297; Hor. C. 1, 16, 8.)

aenigma (*αἰνίγμα*: class.) 27, 3, 4; 55, 5; 92, 4, 7; 140, 66. (Cic. de Or. 3, 42; Quint. 8, 6, 52; Juv. 8, 50; Arn. 3, p. 109; Vulg. 3 Reg. 10, 1; Num. 12, 8; 1 Cor. 13, 12; Hier. Ep. 70, 2.)

^{*} Goelzer (1), p. 223.

- agon** (ἀγών: class.) 140, 33; 147, 19. (Plin. Ep. 4, 22; Suet. Ner. 22; Vulg. 2 Macc. 3, 21; 1 Cor. 9, 25; 2 Tim. 2, 5.)
- alapa** (κόλαφος: poet) 29, 6. (Phaedr. 5, 3; Juv. 8, 193; Mart. 5, 61, 11; Vulg. Marc. 14, 65; Joan. 18, 22.)
- allegoria** (ἀλληγορία: p. a.) 93, 24; 140, 47. (Quint. 8, 6, 14; Arn. 5, p. 186; Vulg. Gal. 4, 24.)
- alogia** (ἀλογία: rare) 36, 9, 11, 12, 19. (Sen. Mort. Claud. 7.)
- amurca** (ἀμόργη: class.) 78, 9. (Cato R. R. 91; Varro R. R. 1, 64; Col. 12, 50, 5; Verg. G. 3, 448; Plin. 15, 8, 8.)
- amomum** (ἄμωμον: class.) 137, 12. (Verg. E. 4, 25; 3, 89; Ov. P. 1, 9, 52; Mart. 5, 65; Pers. 3, 104; Plin. 12, 13, 28.)
- anathema** (ἀνάθημα < ἀνάθημα: eccl.) 53, 1; 93, 23; 175, 6; 186, 32; 194, 1; 250, 1, 3. (Tert. adv. Haer. 6; Hier. Ep. 82, 3; Vulg. Num. 21, 3; Deut. 7, 26; Josue 6, 17; Judic. 1, 17; Rom. 9, 3, etc.)
- angelus** (ἄγγελος = angel: eccl.) 23, 4 to 257, 9, passim. (Tert. Hier. etc. freq.; Vulg. freq. Gen. 16, 7 to Apoc. 22, 16.)
- anthropomorphus** (ἀνθρωπόμορφος: eccl.) 148, 13. (Cass. Col. lat. 2.)
- antichristus** (ἀντίχριστος: eccl.) 199, 11, 30. (Very frequent in Fathers; Vulg. 1 Joan. 2, 18; 4, 3; 2 Joan. 7.)
- apocalypsis** (ἀποκάλυψις: eccl.) 43, 22; 55, 10; 78, 9; 93, 30; 95, 8; 187, 38; 193, 5. (Tert. adv. Marc. 4, 5; Vulg. 1 Cor. 14, 26; Apoc. 1, 1.)
- apophoretum** (ἀποφόρητος: in sing. twice only) 150. (Paulin. Ep. 5. In plu. Suet. Vesp. 19; Cal. 55; Ambros. Exh. Virg. 1.)
- apostasia** (ἀποστασία: eccl.) 194, 42. (Salv. Gub. Dei 6, p. 128.)
- apostata** (ἀποστάτης: eccl.) 93, 12; 105, 9, 10; 149, 22; 217, 10; 238, 6. (Tert. adv. Marc. 5, 11; Sedul. 5, 138; Cod. Th. 16, 7, 1; Vulg. Job 34, 18; Prov. 6, 12.)
- apostolus** (ἀπόστολος: mostly eccl.) 22, 2, 3 to 238, 15 passim. (Tert. Praescr. adv. Haer. 20; Prud. Ham. 508; Vulg. freq. in N. T. Matth. 10, 2 to Apoc. 21, 14.)
- apotheca** (ἀποθήκη: class.) 78, 9. (Cic. Phil. 2, 27; Hor. S. 2, 5, 7; Plin. 14, 14, 16; Arn. 7, p. 236; Vulg. 1 Par. 27, 28; 2 Par. 32, 28; Isai. 39, 2.)
- archangelus** (ἀρχάγγελος: eccl.) 140, 78. (Hier. Ruf. 1, 6; Tert. adv. Val. 19; Vulg. 1 Thess. 4, 15; Judae 9.)
- archiatus** (ἀρχίατρος: late) 41, 2; 227. (Cod. Th. 12, 13.)
- archivum** (ἀρχεῖον: p. c.) 43, 25; 129, 4. (Dig. 4, 19, 9; Tert. Apol. 19; adv. Marc. 4, 7.)

- Asiarcha (Ἀσιάρχος: late) 29, 12. (Cod. Th. 15, 9, 2.)
- asteriscus (ἀστερίσκος: late) 70, 3. (Isid. Orig. 1, 20, 2; Hier. in Ruf. 2, 8.)
- astrologus (ἀστρολόγος: class.) 199, 34. (Varro R. R. 2, 1, 7; Cic. Div. 2, 42, 87; Juv. 6, 554; Suet. Ner. 36.)
- athleta (ἀθλητής: class.) 137, 12. (Plin. 7, 20, 19; Cic. Sen. 9, 27; Nep. Epam. 2, 4.)
- atomus (ἄτομος: class.) 3, 2; 118, 18, 28, 30; 190, 15; 205, 14. (Cic. Fin. 1, 6, 17; Tusc. 1, 18, 42; Vitruv. 2, 2; Lact. de Ira Dei 10; Tert. Res Car. 42, 51.)
- azyma (ἄζυμος: eccl.) 196, 3. (Vulg. freq. Gen. 19, 3 to 1 Cor. 5, 8.)
- baptisma (βάπτισμα: eccl.) 43, 22; 51, 4; 87, 9; 105, 12; 190, 23, 24; 194, 32, 44, 45; 250, 2; 250A. (Prud. Psych. 103; Tert. Bapt. 8; Vulg. Marc. 7, 4; Act. 1, 22; Ephes. 4, 5; Hebr. 6, 3; 1 Petr. 3, 21.)
- baptismus (a parallel form more frequent than baptisma)
or
- baptismum (eccl.) 23, 4; 44, 10; 51, 4; 55, 5; 88, 9; 166, 10 et passim. (Cod. Th. 16, 6, 1; Tert. Bapt. 15; Hilar. Trin. 11, 1; Vulg. 2 Esdr. 4, 23; Matth. 3, 7; Marc. 11, 30; Luc. 3, 3; Act. 10, 17, etc.)
- barathrum (βάραθρον: poet.) 82, 18. (Plaut. Rud. 2, 7; Lucr. 3, 966; Cat. 68, 108; Verg. A. 3, 421; Val. Fl. 2, 86; Vulg. Judic. 5, 15.)
- basis (βάσις: class.) 3, 2. (Cic. Verr. 2, 2; Vitruv. 10, 6; Ov. P. 3, 2, 52; Phaedr. 2; Plin. 17, 25, 38; Suet. Vesp. 23; Vulg. freq. Exod. 26, 19 to Act. 3, 7.)
- basilica (βασιλική = church: eccl.) 29, 6; 93, 50; 232, 2. (Sulp. Sev. Hist. Sacr. 2, 33.)
- bibliotheca (βιβλιοθήκη: class.) 231, 7. (Cic. Fam. 7, 28, 2; Isid. Orig. 15, 5, 5; Ov. Tr. 3, 1, 60; Suet. Aug. 29; Dio. 53; Vulg. 1 Esdr. 5, 17, 6; 2 Macc. 2, 13.)
- blasphemia (βλασφημία: eccl.) 36, 18; 55, 6; 166, 7; 185, 8. (Hier. Ep. 62, 2; Vulg. freq. 4 Reg. 19, 3 to Apoc. 17, 3.)
- byssus (βύσσος: late) 157, 28; 259, 5. (App. M. 11, p. 258; Mart. Cap. 2, 114; Vulg. freq. Exod. 25, 4 to Apoc. 18, 16.)
- camelus (κάμηλος: class.) 137, 8. (Varro L. L. 5; Cic. N. D. 2, 47, 122; Liv. 37, 40, 12; Hor. Ep. 2, 1, 195; Vulg. freq. Gen. 12, 16 to Luc. 33, 4.)

- caminus** (κάμνος: class.) 102, 32. (Ov. Met. 7, 106; Pers. 5, 10; Plin. 33, 4, 21; Verg. A. 3, 580; Hor. S. 2, 3, 321; Vulg. Exod. 9, 8; Prov. 17, 3; Dan. 3, 17; Matth. 13, 42, etc.)
- canon** (κανών = canon of Scripture: eccl.) 64, 3; 93, 35; 237, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. (Hier. Ep. 82, 3; Isid. Orig. 6, 15.)
- catechumenus** (κατηχούμενος: eccl.) 35, 4; 36, 26; 126, 5; 151, 5; 217, 3; 250, 3; 259, 3. (Tert. Praescr. 41; Hier. Ep. 69, 2; Ambros. Ep. 34.)
- cathedra** (καθέδρα = bishop's office: eccl.) 23, 3; 43, 7, 8; 55, 3; 105, 16; 118, 9; 128, 3; 129, 5; 208, 2; 209, 7, 8. (Sid. Ep. 7, 4; Hier. Ep. 117, 1; Vulg. — chair: 1 Reg. 20, 25; Psa. 1, 1; Matth. 21, 12.)
- character** (χαρακτήρ: mostly p. a. in literal sense) 88, 9; 98, 5; 105, 1, 2; 108, 3; 173, 3; 185, 23. (Col. 11, 2, 14; Pal. Jan. 16; Vulg. Apoc. 13, 16; 14, 19.)
- charta** (χάρτης: class.) 15, 1; 31, 2; 43, 25, 27, 29; 51, 3. (Cic. Att. 5, 4, 4; Lucr. 6, 112; Plin. 13, 12, 23; Vulg. Tobiae 7, 16; 2 Joan. 12.)
- chirographum** (χειρόγραφον: class.) 185, 15; 190, 23, 24. (Cic. Fam. 2, 13, 3; Quint. 9, 2, 73; Suet. Caes. 17; Vulg. Tobiae 1, 17; Colos. 2, 14.)
- choraula** (χοράυλης: form in late glossaries only) 60, 1. (Mart. 5, 56, 9; Juv. 6, 77; Petr. 69, 5; Sid. Ep. 9, 13.)
- cimeterium** (al. coemeterium—κοιμητήριον: eccl.) 122, 6. (Hier. Vir. Ill. 16; Tert. An. 51.)
- cithara** (κιθάρα: class.) 55, 12; 199, 17. (Lucr. 2, 28; Tib. 2, 3, 12; Verg. A. 6, 120; Hor. C. 1, 15, 15; Vulg. freq. Gen. 4, 21 to Apoc. 15, 2.)
- clericus** (κληρικός: eccl.) 34, 3; 35, 5; 36, 9; 43, 7; 44, 9; 60, 1; 61, 1; 63, 4; 64, 3; 65, 1; 78, 4; 83, 6; 91, 8; 105, 3; 129, 6; 133, 1; 134, 2; 139, 2; 153, 10; 185 passim; 202A, 7; 213, 1; 228 passim; 236, 1, 3. (Hier. Ep. 60, 10.)
- clerus** (κλήρος: eccl.) 60, 1; 78, sal.; 213, 1. (Tert. Monog. 12; Prud. στεφ. 4, 78; Hier. Ep. 69, 2; Vulg. Psal. 67, 14; 1 Petr. 5, 3.)
- colaphus** (κόλαφος: class.) 118, 3. (Plaut. Pers. 5, 2, 65; Quint. 6, 3, 83; Ter. Ad. 2, 1; Vulg. Matth. 26, 27; Marc. 14, 65; 1 Cor. 4, 11.)
- cothurnus** (κόθορνος = majesty: late) 187, 21. (Amm. 21, 16, 1.)
- daemon** (δαίμων = evil spirit: eccl.) 78, 3; 98, 2, 4; 108, 18, 20, 32; 105, 15; 125, 3; 137, 12, 16; 138, 18; 164, 2; 166,

- 16; 169, 11; 144A, 5; 185, 12; 245, 2. (Lact. 2, 14; Tert. Apcl. 22; Hier. Ep. 130, 16; Vulg. Levit. 17, 7; Matth. 2, 19; Jacob 2, 19.)
- daemonium (δαιμόνιον — evil spirit: p. c.) 17, 1; 47, 2, 3, 4; 55, 34; 82, 17; 91, 5; 98, 1; 187, 36; 194, 11. (App. Mag. p. 315, 10; Tert. Apol. 21; Hier. in Matth. 1, ad 10, 28; Hilar. in Ps. 68, 11; Vulg. freq. Deut. 32, 17 to Apoc. 18, 2.)
- decalogus (δεκάλογος: eccl.) 55, 20, 22. (Tert. An. 37.)
- decas (δεκάς: eccl.) 194, 16; 199, 16. (Tert. de Praescr. 49; Mart. Cap. 7, 734; Hier. in Is. 7 ad 23, 14.)
- diabolus (διάβολος: eccl.) 23, 5; 26, 6; 36, 18; 43, 22, etc. passim to 262, 6. (Tert. An. 35; adv. Marc. 2, 10; Paulin. 26, 528; Vulg. freq. 3 Reg. 21, 13 to Apoc. 20, 91.)
- diaconus (διάκονος: eccl.) 21, 1; 22, 4; 23, 6; 43, 7; 53, 4; 71, 1; 73, 8; 84, 1; 95, 9; 108, 19; 120, 9; 126, 4; 139, 2; 151, 11; 164, 22; 177, 15; 185, 17. (Tert. Praescr. 3; Cod. Just. 1, 3, 6; Hier. Ep. 146, 2; Vulg. Philip. 1, 1; 1 Tim. 3, 8.)
- diadema (διάδημα: class.) 232, 3. (Cic. Phil. 2, 34; Quint. 9, 3, 61; Hor. C. 2, 2, 21; Juv. 8, 259; Vulg. freq. 2 Reg. 1, 10 to Apoc. 19, 12.)
- dialogus (διάλογος: class.) 17, 3; 118, 2, 3; 137, 1; 220A, 3. (Cic. Or. 44; Quint. 5, 14, 27.)
- didrachma (διδράχμων: eccl.) 83, 5. (Tert. Praescr. 11; Vulg. 2 Macc. 4, 19; Matth. 17, 23.)
- dioecesis (διοίκησις — bishop's jurisdiction: eccl.) 133, 3; 139, 1; 222, 3. (Sid. Ep. 7, 6.)
- dogma (δόγμα: class.) 40, 8; 102, 14; 118, 10, 27; 157, 29; 188, 2; 191, 2; 194, 2; 237, 3. (Cic. Ac. 2, 43, 133; Mart. 1, 9; Juv. 13, 121; Hier. adv. Jovin. 1, 42; Vulg. Esth. 4, 3; Job 13, 4; Act. 16, 4.)
- ecclesia (ἐκκλησία — church: eccl.) 10, 2; 17, 5; 21, 3, 5, 6, etc. passim. (Amm. 21, 2; Hier. Ep. 123, 6; Vulg. freq. Num. 19, 20 to Apoc. 22, 16.)
- ecclesiastes (ἐκκλησιαστής: eccl.) 143, 8; 166, 26; 190, 17. (Tert. Monog. 3; Isid. Orig. 6, 2, 19; Vulg. Eccle. 1, 1; 2, 12.)
- eleemosyna (ἐλεημοσύνη: eccl.) 36, 9; 39, 9; 48, 3; 157, 3; 159, 3; 180, 24; 187, 36; 220, 11; 262, 5, 6, 7, 8. (Tert. Pat. 7; Hier. Ep. 52, 9; Vulg. 1 Tim. 3, 15; Dan. 4, 24; Matth. 23, 23.)

- episcopus (ἐπίσκοπος = bishop: eccl.) 21, 1; 22, 4; 23, 1, 8; 27, 5; 28, 1, et passim. (Amm. 15, 7, 7; Vulg. 2 Esdr. 11, 22; Act. 20, 28; Philip. 1, 1; 1 Tim. 3, 2.)
- epitaphium (ἐπιτάφιον: rare) 40, 2. (Inscr. Orelli 1022, 4518; Cic. Tusc. 5, 12.)
- eremus (ἐρημος: late) 55, 30; 205, 2. (Cod. Just. 11, 57, 4; Tert. Idol. 5; Hier. Ep. 17, 3; Sulp. Sev. Dial. 1, 15; Vulg. Deut. 1, 19; 1 Par. 59; Psal. 77, 15; Sap. 18, 20; Eccli. 6, 3; Jerem. 52, 7.)
- eucharistia (εὐχαριστία: eccl.) 44, 10; 54, 47; 98, 7. (Tert. adv. Haer. 47; Hier. Ep. 71, 6; Cyp. Ep. 10.)
- eulogia (ἐὐλογία: eccl.) 36, 19. (Ambros. Distich. 6; Gennad. 42; Alcim. Avit. Ep. 65.)
- evangelista (εὐαγγελιστής: eccl.) 36, 30; 55, 2; 138, 12; 149, 11; 199, 17, 28; 242, 2; 265, 5. (Prud. Cath. 677; Hier. Ep. 57, 7; Vulg. Isai. 41, 27; Act. 21, 8; Ephes. 4, 11; 2 Tim. 4, 5.)
- exochas (ἐξοχάς: ἀπαξ λεγόμενον) 38.
- evangelium (εὐαγγέλιον = gospel: eccl.) very freq. 29, 2 to 268, 1. (Vulg. freq. Matth. 4, 23 to Apoc. 14, 6.)
- exhedra (ἐξέδρα: class.) 29, 8. (Cic. de Or. 3, 5; Vitruv. 5, 11, 12; Quint. 10, 1, 89; Dig. 9, 3, 5; Vulg. 4 Reg. 23, 11; 1 Par. 9, 26; Jerem. 35, 2.)
- exodus (ἐξοδος: eccl.) 55, 30. (Tert. adv. Jud. 11.)
- extasis (ἐκστασις: eccl.) 80, 3; 147, 31, 47. (Serv. ad Verg. A. 1, 343; Hier. in Is. pr.; Tert. Anim. 45; Vulg. Psal. 30, 1; Act. 3, 10.)
- genesis (γένεσις: class.) 55, 17, 18; 143, 4; 166, 11; 190, 18; 205, 9. (Plin. 36, 5, 4; Juv. 6, 579; Suet. Vesp. 14.)
- gymnasium (γυμνάσιον: class.) 118, 9, 21. (Plaut. Am. 4, 1, 3; Cic. Tusc. 2, 15, 151; Ov. H. 16, 15, 1; Cels. 5, 11; Plin. Ep. 10, 40, 12; Vulg. 1 Macc. 1, 15; 2 Macc. 4, 9.)
- gyrus (γῦρος: poet.) 185, 15. (Verg. G. 3, 115; Tib. 4, 1, 93; Manil. 5, 74; Ov. A. A. 3, 384; Vulg. freq. Exod. 28, 32 to 1 Macc. 13, 10.)
- haeresis (αἵρεσις: eccl. = heresy) 23, 4; 29, 21; 44, 6; 82, 16; 93, 18, 48; 137, 16; 176, 2; 178, 1; 190, 22; 202A, 14; 220, 4; 222, 2; 232, 3; 236, 2; 237, 3. (Tert. adv. Haer. 1; Sid. Ep. 7, 6; Lact. 4, 30, 2; Prud. Psych. 710; Hier. in Titum ad 3, 10; Vulg. Act. 5, 17; 1 Cor. 11, 19.)
- haeresiarcha (αἱρεσιάρχης: eccl.) 237, 2. (Sid. Ep. 7, 6.)

- haeresiota (αἵρεσιώτης: ἀπαξ λεγόμενον) 40, 9.
 haereticus (αἵρετικός: eccl.) freq. from 7, 4 to 251. (Tert. adv. Haer. 41; Vulg. Tit. 3, 10.)
 hebdomas (ἑβδομάς: rare) 36, 9, 20, 27; 54, 6; 55, 9; 195, 5; 199, 16, 20, 21, 33. (Hier. Ep. 53, 2; Isid. de Nat. R. 3; Gell. 3, 10, 1; Vulg. Gen. 29, 27; Exod. 34, 22; Dan. 10, 3, etc.)
 hemisphaerium (ἡμισφαίριον: class.) 55, 7. (Varro R. R. 3, 5, 17; Hyg. Astr. 4, 13; Mela 1, 1, 2; Mart. Cap. 6, 602; Vit. 5, 10, 5; Hier. Ep. 64, 19; Serv. ad Verg. G. 1, 100.)
 heros (ἥρως: class.) 40, 7. (Cic. de Or. 2, 47, 194; Verg. E. 4, 16, etc.)
 historia (ἱστορία: class.) 22, 1, 3. (Cic. de Or. 2, 9, 36; Gell. 5, 18; Plin. Ep. 5, 8; Vulg. 1 Esdr. 4, 15; Esth. 2, 23; 2 Macc. 2, 25.)
 holocaustum (δλόκανστων: eccl.) 47, 3. (Prud. Apoth. 537; Psych. 784; Hier. Ep. 64; Vulg. very freq. Gen. 8, 20 to 2 Macc. 2.)
 homilia (ὁμιλία: eccl.) 224, 2. (Isid. Orig. 6, 8; Hier. Ep. 71, 2.)
 hymnus (ὕμνος: eccl.) 29, 11; 36, 6; 55, 34; 159, 3, 4; 211, 7; 227; 237, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7. (Prud. Cath. 37; Lact. 4, 8; Ambros. Expos. in Psal. 118, prol. 3; Vulg. 3 Reg. 8, 28; 1 Par. 16, 36; 1 Esdr. 3, 11; Judith 16, 15, etc.)
 hyperbole (ὑπερβολή: class.) 149, 10. (Quint. 8, 6, 67; Sen. Ben. 7, 23.)
 hypocrisis (ὑπόκρισις: eccl.) 2, 7; 22, 7; 138, 13. (Hier. adv. Rufin. 3, 35; Vulg. Matth. 23, 28; Luc. 12, 1; 1 Tim. 4, 2.)
 idiota (ιδιώτης: class.) 137, 12. (Cic. Verr. 2, 4, 2; Quint. 8, 3, 22; Vulg. Act. 4, 13; 1 Cor. 14, 16.)
 idolatres* (εἰδωλολάτρης: eccl.) 167, 3. (Hier. Ep. 21, 13; Tert. Idol. 1; Apol. 24; Vulg. 1 Cor. 10, 7; Apoc. 21, 8.)
 idolatria* (εἰδωλολατρεία: eccl.) 51, 1; 82, 8, 12, 15; 120, 7; 173A. (Tert. Idol. 1; Apol. 24; Vulg. 1 Reg. 15, 23; Act. 17, 16.)
 idolium (εἰδωλεῖον: eccl.) 47, 6. (Tert. Cor. Mil. 10; Hier. Ep. 21, 13; Prud. Apoth. 186; Symm. 1, 612; Vulg. 1 Cor. 8, 10.)
 idolum (εἰδωλον = idol: eccl.) 29, 4, 9; 36, 15; 43, 23, 24; 47,

*In these two words the syncopated form for idololatria and idolatres is preferred by Goldbacher.

- 3, 4; 51, 1; 87, 2; 97, 2; 98, 3; 102, 18; 105, 11; 120, 7; 173, 5; 173A; 185, 8, 12, 17, 19, 41; 232, 1, 7. (Tert. Idol. 1; Lact. Mort. Per. 2, 6; Sedul. 5, 146; Hier. adv. Vigil. 7; Vulg. freq. Gen. 31, 19 to Apoc. 22, 15.)
- idolothytus (*ειδωλόθυτος*: eccl.) 47, 4, 6. (Tert. Idol. 13; Spect. 13; Vulg. 1 Cor. 8, 7; Apoc. 2, 20.)
- lampas (*λαμπάς*: mostly poet.) 140, 77, 78, 84. (Plaut. Men. 5, 2, 80; Lucr. 2, 25; Att. ap. Cic. N. D. 3, 16, 41; Juv. 3, 288; Vulg. Gen. 15, 17; Exod. 20, 18; Cant. 8, 6; Matth. 25, 1, etc.)
- latría (*λατρεία*: eccl.) 170, 2, 3; 173A. (Cass. de Amic. 36.)
- lyra (*λύρα*: class.) 199, 37. (Hor. C. 1, 10, 6; Ov. H. 3, 118; Stat. Th. 445; Vulg. 2 Reg. 6, 5; 3 Reg. 10, 12; 1 Par. 15, 16; Isai. 5, 12; Amos 5, 23.)
- machina (*μηχανή*: class.) 194, 47. (Lucr. 5, 96; Cic. Verr. 2, 1, 55; Hor. Ep. 2, 2, 73; Quint. 11, 1, 44; Vulg. Deut. 20, 20; 2 Par. 26, 15; Esth. 16, 13.)
- magus (*μάγος*: class.) 36, 21; 55, 29; 102, 32; 137, 13; 143, 1. (Cic. Div. 1, 23, 46; Juv. 3, 77; App. Dog. 1, 3, p. 186; Vulg. Levit. 19, 31; Dan. 1, 20; Act. 8, 9, etc.)
- martyr (*μάρτυρ*: eccl.) 22, 3, 6; 29, 9; 76, 3, 43; 78, 3; 89, 1; 93, 9; 105, 5; 138, 12; 139, 2; 140, 27; 166, 18; 185, 12; 212; 215, 3; 217, 22; 237, 3, 15. (Prud. Cath. 12, 125; Tert. Anim. 55; Hier. Ep. 46, 8; Vulg. Apoc. 17, 6.)
- martyrium (*μαρτύριον*: eccl.) 108, 9; 157, 36; 228, 4. (Tert. Spect. 29; Greg. M. Dial. 3, 28; Hier. adv. Jovin. 1; Ambros. Off. 2, 28.)
- massa (*μάζα*: poet.) 186, 4, 12, 16, 18; 187, 33; 188, 7; 190, 9, 10, 12, 24; 194, 4, 5, 14. (Verg. G. 1, 275; Plin. 31, 7, 39; Ov. M. 8, 666; Juv. 6, 421; Vulg. 4 Reg. 20, 7; 1 Cor. 5, 6; Galat. 5, 9.)
- melos (*μέλος*: class.) 101, 3. (Cato ap. Non. 213, 17; Cic. N. D. 2, 35, 89; Hor. C. 3, 4, 2.)
- metaphora (*μεταφορά*: p. a.) 180, 3. (Quint. 8, 6, 18; Schol. Juv. 1, 169.)
- metrum (*μέτρον*: p. a.) 101, 4; Quint. 9, 4, 46; Gell. 4, 17, 9; Mart. 4, 6, 4.)
- moechus (*μοιχός*: poet.) 93, 41. (Plaut. Mil. 3, 1, 180; Ter. And. 2, 1, 16; Hor. C. 1, 25, 9; Juv. 9, 25; Vulg. Levit. 20, 10.)
- monachus (*μοναχός*: eccl.) 36, 9; 60, 1, 2; 78, 6; 126, 11; 220,

- 3; 262, 5, 6. (Rut. Nam. 1, 441; Sid. Ep. 5, 17; Hier. 22, 34.)
- monacha (μοναχή: eccl.) 262, 9. (Hier. Ep. 39, 4.)
- monas (μονάς: p. c.) 3, 2. (Macr. Som. Scip. 1, 6, 7; Tert. adv. Val. 37.)
- monasterium (μοναστήριον: eccl.) 36, 8; 60, 1, 2; 64, 3; 65, 2; 78, 9; 83, 4, 6; 111, 1; 125, 4, 5; 126, 8; 209, 3; 211, 4, 5, 6. (Hier. Ep. 108, 28; Sid. Ep. 4, 25.)
- musica (μουσική: class.) 120, 5; 101, 4. (Cic. de Or. 3, 33, 132; Quint. 1, 10, 9; Vulg. Eccli. 22, 6; 32, 5.)
- mysterium (μυστήριον: class.) 137, 18; 140, 5, 21, 64, 70; 147, 32. (Cic. N. D. 2, 24, 62; Tert. Apol. 39; Just. 5, 1, 1; Vulg. freq. Judith 2, 2 to Apoc. 17, 5.)
- neomenia (νεομηνία: eccl.) 196, 3. (Tert. Idol. 14; adv. Marc. 1, 20; Hier. Ep. 106, 86; Vulg. 2 Par. 2, 4; Judith 8, 6; Psa. 80, 4; Isai. 1, 13.)
- neophytus (νεόφυτος: eccl.) 55, 32. (Tert. Praescr. Haeret. 4; Hier. Ep. 69, 9; Inscr. Orelli 2527; Vulg. 1 Tim. 3, 6.)
- obeliscus (ὀβελίσκος = a mark in books: ἄπαξ λεγόμενον) 70, 3.
- obolus (ὀβολός: p. a.) 40, 3. (Vitr. 3, 1; Cels. 5, 17; Plin. 21, 34, 109; Vulg. Exod. 30, 13; Levit. 27, 25; Num. 3, 47; Ezech. 45, 12.)
- organum (ὄργανον: p. a.) 9, 3; 137, 5; 148, 16. (Col. 3, 13, 12; Vitr. 10, 1; Quint. 1, 2, 30; Vulg. Gen. 4, 21; 2 Par. 5, 13; Sap. 19, 17.)
- paradisus⁷ (παράδεισος = paradise: eccl.) 36, 11, 12; 38, 12; 147, 26; 157, 15; 164, 8; 187, 3, 5, 6, 9. (Tert. Apol. 47; Vulg. Gen. 2, 8; Cant. 4, 13; Apoc. 2, 7, etc.)
- paradoxum (παράδοξον: late) 104, 15. (Rufin. Fig. Sent. 34; Isid. 2, 21, 29.)
- paralysis (παράλυσις: p. a.) 227. (Plin. 20, 3, 8; Petron. 120; Vulg. 1 Macc. 9, 55.)
- parochia⁸ (παροιμία: eccl.) 209, 2. (Hier. Ep. 51, 2; Sid. Ep. 7; Ep. Leon. 52, 5.)
- patriarcha (πατριάρχης: eccl.) 93, 4; 164, 2, 6, 7; 189, 3; 194, 41; 236, 1, 2. (Tert. Idol. 17; Prud. Psych. 534; Paul. Nol. Car. 24, 209; Hier. adv. Rufin. 1, 13; Vulg. 1 Par. 8, 28; Tobiae 6, 20; Act 2, 29; Hebr. 7, 4.)

⁷ This word is of Persian origin. Cf. Forcellini, paradisus.

⁸ Correct form: paroecia. Cf. Goelzer (1), p. 214, note.

- Pentecostes** (πεντηκοστή: eccl.) 55, 28, 32; 36, 18; 199, 23; 262, 2; 266, 2. (Tert. Idol. 14; Hier. Ep. 41, 3; Vulg. 2 Macc. 12, 32; Act. 2, 1; 1 Cor. 16, 8.)
- petra** (πέτρα: class.) 127, 7; 194, 3; 204, 8. (Sen. Herc. Oet. 804; Plin. 10, 32, 48; Curt. 7, 11, 1; Vulg. freq. Exod. 4, 25 to Apoc. 6, 16.)
- phantasma** (φάντασμα: p. a.) 92A; 102, 6; 120, 7; 140, 57; 147, 47. (Plin. Ep. 7, 27, 1; Tert. adv. Marc. 5, 7; Hier. Ep. 48, 21; Vulg. Matth. 14, 26; Marc. 6, 49.)
- phantasia** (φαντασία: p. a.) 7, 1, 4; 140, 54, 56; 166, 4; 169, 7. (Sen. Suas. 2, 15; Petron. 38; Amm. 14, 11, 18; Vulg. Eccli. 34, 6.)
- phiala** (φιάλη: poet.) 232, 4. (Juv. 5, 37; Mart. 8, 33, 2; Vulg. freq. Exod. 25, 29 to Apoc. 21, 9.)
- philosophia** (φιλοσοφία: class.) 1, 3; 2, 1; 102, 13, 14; 149, 30; 155, 9. (Cic. Off. 2, 2, 5; Sen. Ep. 89, 2; Vulg. Colos. 2, 8.)
- philosophus** (φιλόσοφος: class.) 1, 1, 2; 3, 2; 82, 13; 101, 2; 102, 14, 23; 104, 3 et passim. (Cic. Or. 1, 49, 212; Macr. S. 7, 1, etc.; Vulg. Act. 17, 18.)
- platea** (πλατεία: class.) 17, 3, 50; 155, 10. (Plaut. Trin. 4, 1, 21; Ter. And. 4, 5, 1; Caes. B. C. 1, 27; Hor. Ep. 2, 2, 71; Vulg. freq. Gen. 10, 11 to Apoc. 22, 2.)
- pompa** (πομπή: class.) 22, 8; 88, 6; 130, 12; 262, 9. (Cic. Tusc. 5, 32, 91; Verg. A. 5, 53; Vulg. Jerem. 47, 3.)
- presbyter** (πρεσβύτερος: eccl.) 23, 1; 29, 12; 31, 4; 34, 5; 43, 7; 44, 9; 56, 1 et passim to 268, 3. (Hier. Ep. 146; Tert. Bapt. 17; Vulg. 1 Esdr. 6, 8; Judith 6, 20; Dan. 13, 28; 1 Tim. 4, 14.)
- presbyterium** (πρεσβυτέριον: eccl.) 126, 3, 12; 175, 4. (Vulg. 1 Tim. 4, 14.)
- prooemium** (προοίμιον: class.) 11, 1; 153, 1; 174. (Cic. de Or. 2, 80, 325; Quint. 4, 1, 1; Juv. 3, 288.)
- propheta** (προφήτης: p. c.) 29, 6, 7; 33, 3; 36, 5; 44, 11; 55, 28; 71, 3; 78, 5 et passim to 238, 24. (App. de M. p. 56, 29; Macr. S. 7, 13, 9; Lact. 1, 41; Vulg. very freq. Gen. 20, 7 to Apoc. 22, 19.)
- prophetia** (προφητεία: eccl.) 49, 2, 3; 55, 20; 82, 15; 88, 11; 93, 9; 130, 5; 132; 137, 16; 140, 14, 15, 21, 41; 149, 10, 67, 69; 164, 3, 8, 9; 169, 2 et passim. (Tert. Anim. 35; Hier. Ep. 18, 15.)

- protoplastus (πρωτοπλαστός: eccl.) 202A, 8, 11, 12. (Tert. Ex. ad Cast. 2; Alcim. 2, 35.)
- psalmus (ψαλμός: eccl.) very freq. 29, 10 to 266, 23. (Lact. 4, 8, 14; Tert. adv. Prax. 11; Vulg. freq. Judith 16, 2 to Colos. 3, 16.)
- psalterium (ψαλτήριον: class.) 49, 2; 261, 5. (Cic. Har. Resp. 21, 44; Verg. Cir. 178; Quint. 1, 10, 31; Arn. 6, 209; Tert. Cor. Mil. 9; Hier. Ep. 58, 3; Vulg. 1 Reg. 10, 5; 2 Par. 5, 12; Eccli. 40, 21; Amos 6, 5, etc.)
- pseudoapostolus (ψευδαπόστολος: eccl.) 43, 22. (Tert. Praescr. 4; Res Car. 24; Vulg. 2 Cor. 11, 13.)
- pseudopropheta (ψευδοπροφήτης: eccl.) 29, 6; 44, 9; 93, 6. (Tert. adv. Haer. 4; Vulg. Zach. 13, 2; Matth. 24, 11; Marc. 13, 22; Luc. 6, 26; Act. 13, 6, etc.)
- rhagades (ῥαγάδες: p. a.) 38. (Plín. 23, 4, 44; Cels. 6, 18, 7.)
- rhetor (ῥήτωρ: class.) 118, 9, 21; 259, 4. (Cic. de Or. 1, 18, 84; Quint. 2, 2, 1; Tac. Dial. 30, 35.)
- rhythmus (ῥυθμός: mostly p. a.) 101, 3. (Quint. 9, 4, 45; Mart. Cap. 9, 967.)
- satanas (σατανᾶς: eccl.) 26, 6, 11; 53, 7; 82, 12; 93, 7, 8; 194, 21. (Tert. Apol. 22; Vulg. in N. T. freq. Matth. 4, 10 to Apoc. 20, 7.)
- scandalum (σκάνδαλον: eccl.) 23, 5; 29, 12; 54, 3; 55, 35; 62, 2; 63, 2; 64, 3; 69, 1; 73, 10; 77, 1; 78, 1, 2, 3; 82, 35; 93, 30; 95, 4; 120, 6; 176, 15; 185, 2; 207, 2; 208, 2; 209, 4; 211, 2; 249; 262, 9. (Prud. Apoth. 47; Tert. Virg. Vel. 3; Hier. passim; Vulg. Exod. 10, 7; Matth. 13, 41, etc.)
- schisma (σχίσμα: eccl.) freq. 203 to 232, 2. (Tert. Praescr. 5; Hier. Ep. 17, 2; Prud. στεφ. 11, 19; Vulg. Joan. 9, 16; 1 Cor. 1, 10; 12, 25.)
- schola (σχολή: class.) 138, 10; 259, 4. (Cic. Tusc. 1, 4, 7; Plín. 36, 5, 4; Cod. Th. 12, 20, 20; Amm. 14, 7, 12; Vulg. Act. 19, 9.)
- sphaera (σφαῖρα: class.) 3, 2. (Cato R. R. 82; Cic. Fat. 8, 15; Macr. Som. Sc. 2, 48; Mart. Cap. 7, 741; Vulg. Isai. 29, 3.)
- syllaba (συλλαβή: class.) 26, 4; 137, 7; 166, 13. (Plaut. Bacch. 3, 3, 29; Cic. Par. 3, 2, 26; Quint. 1, 5, 62.)
- symbolum (σύμβολον: a. and p. c.) 93, 46; 214, 2; 219, 1; 227. (Plaut. Ps. 1, 1, 53; App. Dogm. Plat. 2, p. 16, 9; Vulg. Prov. 23, 21.)

- symphoniacus* (*συμφωνιακός*: class. rare) 60, 1. (Cic. Mil. 21, 5; Arn. 2, 73.)
- synagoga* (*συναγωγή*: eccl.) 140, 60. (Tert. adv. Jud. 8; Schol. Juv. 6, 159; Hier. Ep. 112, 13; Vulg. freq. Exod. 34, 31 to Apoc. 3, 91.)
- synodus* (*σύνδος*: eccl.) 175, 1. (Cod. Just. 1, 3, 23; Amm. 15, 7, 7; Hier. Ep. 143, 2.)
- theologia* (*θεολογία*: eccl.) 149, 25. (Chalc. in Tim. 264.)
- thesaurus* (*θησαυρός*: class.) 31, 5; 47, 3; 157, 39; 166, 12; 261, 1; 268, 3. (Plaut. Trin. 3, 3, 53; Cic. Div. 2, 65; Sall. J. 10, 4; Hor. C. 3, 24, 2; Vulg. freq. Gen. 43, 23 to Hebr. 11, 26.)
- tomus* (*τόμος*: rare) 175, 3. (Mart. 1, 67, 3; Hier. Ep. 22, 38.)
- trigonum* (*τρίγωνον*: rare) 55, 31. (Varro L. L. 7, 4; Gell. 2, 21, 10; Col. 5, 10, 13; Vitruv. 10, 11; Hier. adv. Ruf. 2, 19.)
- tropus* (*τρόπος*: p. a.) 180, 3. (Quint. 9, 1, 4; Ven. Carm. 10, 10, 54.)
- typhus* (*τύφος*: eccl.) 22, 1, 6; 102, 32, 38; 153, 3; 187, 21. (Arn. 2, 43; Mart. Cap. 5, 566.)
- typus* (*τύπος*: class.) 147, 32; 186, 31; 187, 37. (Cic. Att. 1; 10, 3; Plin. 35, 12, 43; Hier. Ep. 64, 19; Cael. Aur. Acut. 1, 14, 108; Vulg. 2 Reg. 13, 31.)
- tyrannis* (*τυραννίς*: class.) 204, 2. (Cic. Att. 14, 9, 2; Quint. 1, 10, 48; Val. Max. 2, 10; Juv. 8, 223; Vulg. 3 Reg. 16, 20; Job 15, 20; Sap. 16, 4.)
- zelus* (*ζήλος*: mostly p. c.) 2, 7; 22, 7; 186, 9. (Vitr. 7, Praef.; Prud. Ham. 188; Hier. in Gal. 2, 4, 17; Vulg. freq. Num. 25, 11 to Jacob 3, 16.)
- zizania* (*ζιζάνια*: eccl.) 23, 6; 27, 6; 43, 22; 53, 6; 76, 2, 3; 93, 15, 31, 32, 33, 36; 105, 16; 108, 10, 11, 12; 129, 5. (Prud. Apoth. 6, 8; Hier. Ep. 130, 7; Ambros. in Luc. 8, 49; Vulg. Matth. 13, 25; 26, 27, 29, 30, 36, 38, 40.)

b) Adjectives.

Of Greek loan-words in Latin, by far the largest number are nouns, being introduced principally to supply philosophical, technical and theological or other abstract terms in which the genius of the Latin language was deficient. Other parts of speech borrowed from Greek usually took on Latin prefixes or terminations and became hybrids. There is one suffix, however, which was borrowed from Greek and attached to Greek as well as to Latin words

to form adjectives. This is the ending *-ικός*, *-icus*, which is fairly common in Latin, and was especially useful in forming or adapting Greek adjectives. The following list will show that this termination predominates in the Greek adjectives found in the Letters.

agonisticus (from *άγών*: eccl.) 108, 18. (Tert. Cor. Mil. 13; Cael. Aur. Cron. 5, 11.)

allegoricus (*αλληγορικός*: late) 55, 21. (Arn. 5, p. 183; Hier. in Gal. 2, 4, 24.)

alogus (*άλογος*: eccl.) 36, 11. (Capitol. 6, 9, p. 329.)

angelicus (*άγγελικός*: eccl.) 112, 3; 140, 56; 147, 31; 162, 5; 186, 24; 187, 10; 205, 2. (Prud. Tetr. 11; Vulg. Judic. 13, 6, 1.)

apocryphus (*άπόκρυφος*: eccl.) 237, 2, 3, 4. (Hier. Ep. 107, 12; Commod. Apol. 823; Tert. Anim. 2.)

apostolicus (*άποστολικός*: eccl.) 35, 3; 36, 24; 43, 7, 10, 26; 44, 3; 49, 3; 52, 3; 53, 1 et passim to 268, 4. (Tert. Praescr. adv. Haer. 32.)

barbaricus (*βαρβαρικός*: poet. and p. a.) 47, 2; 111, 7; 127, 4; 146, 2; 228, 4. (Lucr. 1, 496; Plin. 15, 15, 16; Arn. 18, 2, 1.)

blasphemus (*βλασφημός*: eccl.) 167, 3. (Prud. *στεφ.* 1, 75; Tert. Res Car. 26; Hier. Ep. 21, 3; Vulg. Levit. 24, 14; 2 Macc. 9, 28; 1 Tim. 1, 13.)

canonicus (*κανονικός* = canonical: eccl.) 28, 2; 44, 14; 54, 1; 55, 7; 64, 3; 71, 4; 82, 3, 22, 24; 93, 32, 38; 147, 2, 4; 148, 15; 164, 6; 190, 17; 202A, 10; 237, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. (Civ. Dei 18, 36; Hier. Ep. 112, 19.)

catholicus (*καθολικός* = catholic: eccl.) very freq. from 11, 2 to 268, 2. (Prud. *στεφ.* 11, 24; Cod. Th. 16, 5, 47; Hier. Ep. 82, 2.)

comicus (*κωμικός*: class.) 155, 14. (Cic. Or. 20, 67; Quint. 11, 3, 125; Hor. S. 2, 5, 91.)

daemoniacus⁹ (*δαιμονιακός*: eccl.) 149, 26. (Tert. Anim. 46; Lact. 4, 15.)

diabolicus (*διαβολικός*: eccl.) 36, 12; 82, 16, 20; 88, 3; 108, 8; 128, 2; 141, 2; 149, 26; 177, 18; 185, 14; 262, 2. (Paulin. Nol. 29, 11; Vulg. 3 Reg. 21, 13; Jacob 3, 15.)

ecclesiasticus (*ἐκκλησιαστικός*: eccl.) freq. from 21, 4 to 268, 3. (Tert. Pudic. 22; Hier. Ep. 62, 2; Cod. Th. 1, 3, 22.)

⁹The correct form should be *daemonicus*. Cf. Goelzer (1), p. 153 and 219.

- evangelicus (εὐαγγελικός: eccl.) 36, 7, 24, 25; 44, 4; 55, 37; 57, 1; 82, 20, 22; 84, 2; 89, 5; 93, 9, 11, 23; 95, 2; 102, 21, 36; 108, 11; 147, 34; 153, 2, 4; 157, 15, 17; 164, 16; 177, 8; 194, 31; 199, 22; 237, 2, 8; 243, 6. (Tert. adv. Marc. 39; Prud. Apoth. 495.)
- grammaticus (γραμματικός: class.) 26, 4. (Auct. Her. 4, 12, 17; Quint. 1, 5, 54; Hor. Ep. 1, 19, 40, etc.)
- geometricus (γεωμετρικός: class, rare) 7, 4; 102, 23. (Cic. Div. 2, 59, 122.)
- historicus (ιστορικός: class.) 93, 22; 138, 16; 143, 12. (Cic. Brut. 83, 286; Plin. Ep. 7, 9, 8; Vop. Aur. 35.)
- laicus (λαϊκός: eccl.) 64, 3; 76, 4; 88, 9; 129, 6; 139, 3; 170, 1; 185, 18; 238, 2, 11. (Tert. Exh. ad Cast. 7; Hier. adv. Lucif. 3; Vulg. 1 Reg. 21, 4.)
- lethargicus (ληθαργικός: p. a.) 89, 6; 93, 2, 4. (Plin. 23, 1, 6; Cael. Aur. Acut. 1, 3, 38.)
- magicus (μαγικός: poet. and p. a.) 43, 2, 3; 137, 13; 138, 18, 19. (Verg. A. 4, 493; Tib. 1, 8; Ov. M. 5, 197; Vulg. Sap. 17, 7.)
- metricus (μετρικός: p. a.) 26, 4. (Plin. 11, 37, 88; Quint. 9, 4, 52.)
- musicus (μουσικός: class.) 7, 4; 9, 3. (Cic. Leg. 2, 15, 39; Ter. Heaut. Prol. 23; Vulg. 1 Par. 15, 16; 2 Par. 5, 13; Eccli. 32, 7; Isai. 22, 24; Apoc. 18, 22.)
- mysticus (μυστικός: poet.) 11, 2; 17, 3; 55, 2, 5, 11, 14. (Mart. 8, 81, 1; Verg. G. 1, 166; Stat. Th. 8, 765; Vulg. Isai. 3, 3.)
- phreneticus (φρενητικός: class.) 7, 2, 3; 89, 6; 93, 2, 4; 157, 7; 185, 7. (Cic. Div. 1, 38, 81; Cels. 3, 18; Mart. 11, 28.)
- propheticus (προφητικός: eccl.) 33, 4; 44, 9; 51, 1; 53, 1; 54, 1; 55, 5, 23; 57, 1; 80, 3; 82, 9, 14, 16; 93, 9; 102, 15, 21; 108, 10, 16; 137, 16; 140, 5; 177, 8; 185, 19, 20; 194, 15, 39; 197, 1; 199, 5, 22, 39, 50; 233. (Tert. Cor. Mil. 7; Hier. Ep. 130, 14; Vulg. 2 Petr. 1, 19.)
- rhetoricus (ρητορικός: class.) 118, 9. (Cic. de Or. 1, 29, 133; Quint. 5, 10, 3.)
- rhythmicus (ῥυθμικός: class.) 7, 4. (Cic. de Or. 3, 49, 190; Quint. 9, 4, 68; Mart. Cap. 2, 121.)
- scenicus (σκηνικός: class.) 91, 5. (Cic. Arch. 5, 10; Suet. Caes. 84; Quint. 6, 1, 26.)

- schismaticus (σχισματικός: eccl.) 53, 6; 61, 1; 76, 4; 88, 11; 93, 12; 129, 1, 4. (Hier. Ep. 10, 3.)
- scholasticus (σχολαστικός: p. a.) 118, 2. (Quint. 4, 2, 92; Tac. Or. 14; Gell. 15, 1, 1.)
- stoicus (Στωϊκός: class.) 104, 16. (Cic. Fam. 9, 22; Sen. Ep. 123, 14; Hor. Epod. 8, 15; Mart. 7, 69, 4; Juv. 13, 121; Vulg. Act. 17, 18.)
- theatricus (θεατρικός: late) 44, 1; 55, 12; 138, 14. (Civ. Dei 6, 6; Mus. 2, 5.)
- tropicus (τροπικός = figurative: late) 180, 3, 4. (Gell. 13, 24, 31; Hier. in Jerem. 3, 17, 20.)
- tyrannicus (τυραννικός: class.) 43, 24. (Auct. Her. 2, 30, 49; Cic. Leg. 1, 15, 42; Eutr. 6, 25.)

It will be observed from the above lists that Augustine uses Greek words with considerable frequency in the Letters, not only the indispensable ecclesiastical terms, but also other words for which a Latin equivalent might be found. As the author himself disliked Greek and declared¹⁰ that he did not know it well, this was probably not the result of deliberate choice on his part, but a reflection of certain tendencies of African Latin, which, as we have seen, preserves many of the most striking characteristics of the sermo plebeius.

2. Hebrew Words.

As might be expected from an author who quotes copiously from the Sacred Scriptures, Hebrew names occur often in Augustine's Letters. The names of the Biblical writers, as well as of patriarchs and prophets, kings and judges, apostles and disciples are found on almost every page. Usually these names are treated as indeclinable words and offer no peculiarities, except a few like *Moyse*, *Abraham*, *Jerusalem*, which show variation in declension. These will be treated in the section on inflectional forms.

The few Semitic words which are not proper names follow:

- abba (= pater) 194, 17. (Vulg. Marc. 14, 36; Rom. 8, 15; Gal. 4, 6.)
- amen (= fiat) 29, 2; 60, 87; 93; 105, 17; 217, 26; 227. (Vulg. very freq. Num. 5, 22 to Apoc. 22, 21.)
- alleluia (= laudate Dominum) 36, 19; 55, 28, 32. (Vulg. freq. Tobiae 13, 22 to Apoc. 19, 6.)

¹⁰ Confessions, 1, 13; 7, 13.

- gehenna (= infernus) 145, 4; 157, 19; 185, 14, 21; 194, 6; 204, 2. (Vulg. Matth. 5, 22; Marc. 9, 42; Luc. 12, 5; Jacob 3, 6, etc.)
- manna (= cibus in deserto) 54, 4. (Vulg. Deut. 8, 3; Josue 5, 12; 2 Esdr. 9, 20; Psal. 77, 24; Baruc. 1, 10; Joan. 6, 31; Hebr. 9, 4; Apoc. 2, 17.)
- pascha¹¹ (= transitus) 55, 2; 5, 9, 12, 14, 16, 23, 27, 29, 30, 32; 36, 18; 169, 1; 214, 5; 215, 1; 227. (Vulg. freq. 1 Esdr. 6, 19 to Hebr. 11, 28.)
- rabbi (= magister) 166, 9. (Vulg. Matth. 23, 7; Marc. 9, 4; Joan. 1, 38, etc.)
- sabbatum (= dies septimus) 336, passim; 39, passim; 186, 3; 247, 2. (Vulg. very freq. Exod. 16, 23 to Colos. 2, 16.)
- sabaoth (= exercitus caelestis) 147, 18. (Prud. Apoth. 901; Tert. adv. Jud. 13; Vulg. Jerem. 11, 20; Rom. 9, 29; Jacob 5, 4.)
- seraphim (= ordo spirituum beatorum) 55, 29; 147, 18, 23. (Prud. Cath. 4, 5; Isid. Orig. 7, 5; Vulg. Isai. 6, 2.)

3. Punic Words.

The few references in the Letters to the Punic speech, and the scant collection of African proper names are just enough to make one wish that Augustine had given us a little more light on that vanished tongue. He must have spoken it at least in childhood, as it was the language of servants and tradespeople in the African coast-towns, but it had evidently been so far overlaid in his mind by the knowledge and use of Latin, that he regarded it as something he had outgrown. In Letter 17, replying to some sarcastic animadversions of Maximus of Madaura, a pagan, who had attempted to ridicule the names of certain Christian martyrs, he makes the following interesting allusions:

"Nam quod *nomina* quaedam mortuorum *Punica* collegisti. . .
and 17, 2

¹¹ Augustine thus explains the derivation of this word: "Nam etiam vocabulum ipsum quod pascha dicitur non Graecum sicut vulgo videri solet, sed Hebraeum esse dicunt qui linguam utramque noverunt. Neque enim a passione, quoniam *πάσχειν* Graece dicitur pati, sed ab eo, quod transitur ut dixi a morte ad vitam, Hebraeo verbo res appellata est, in quo eloquio pascha transitus dicitur, sicut perhibent qui haec sciunt." Ep. 55, 2.

“ut homo Afer scribens Afris, cum simus utrique in Africa constituti, *Punica nomina* exagitanda existimares. . . .

17, 2

Then he proceeds to give the meaning of one of the names in question and makes an astonishing and ingenious adaptation of it as follows:

“Nam si ea vocabula interpretemur, *Namphamo* quid aliud significat quam boni pedis hominem? Quae lingua si improbatur ab te, nega Punicis libris, ut a viris doctissimis proditur, multa sapienter esse mandata memoriae paeniteat te certe ibi natum, ubi huius linguae cunabula recalent. Si vero et *sonus nobis noster* non rationabiliter displicet et me bene interpretatum illud vocabulum recognoscis, habes quod suscenseas Vergilio tuo qui Herculem vestrum ad sacra . . . invitat hoc modo:

Et nos et tua dexter adi pede sacra secundo.

Secundo pede optat ut veniat. Ergo venire optat Herculem *Namphamonem* de quo tu multum nobis insultare dignaris.”

It is regrettable that Augustine did not similarly explain the other two Punic names ridiculed by Maximus. These are Miggin, found in the accusative Migginem, and Sanam, accusative Sanamem (Ep. 16, 2) and they are called by the critic “diis hominibusque odiosa nomina.” The assertion that their violent death was no doubt a worthy punishment for their crimes carries an insinuation that part of their ill-deserving was the barbarity of their names. Augustine’s only retort to the incautious pagan, on this count, was the scorn heaped by him on such Latin names of divinities as Stercutius, Cloacina, Venus Calva, beside which Miggin and Sanam, whatever their meaning, must have been quite innocuous.

Two other references to the Punic tongue occur in Ep. 108, 14:

“Quae in eos per *Punicum interpretem* honesta et ingenua libertatis indignatione iaculatus es.” (to Macrobius)

and Ep. 209, 3:

“Quod ut fieret aptum loco illi congruumque requirebam qui et *Punica lingua* esset instructus.” (to Pope Celestine)

Unless otherwise specified the following are names of places, some of which occur in the adjective form with the Latin suffix *-ensis*, some in the noun form. The adjectives are in reality hy-

brids, but they are listed here in order that all the Punic words may be seen together.

Abaccadires (name of gods)	Namphamon (a martyr's name)
17, 2	17, 2
Aptunga 43, 2, 4	Olivetensis 105, 4
Bagaiensis 108, 14	Paratiensis 115, 1
Calama 91, 10	Rusicazensis 87, 10
Cartenna 93, 20, 22	Sinitis 105, 4; 112, 3
Carthago 43 et passim	Siccensis 229, 1
Cirtensis 44, 1; 43, 17	Sitifensis 111, 7; 229, 1
Cutzupitae (a sect) 53, 2	Spaniensis 35, 2
Cizau 63, 4	Subsana 63, 1, 3, 4
Eucaddires (a priesthood)	Tagaste 44, 14; 83, 6
17, 2	Tamugades 204, 3, 4, 9
Figulinensis 105, 4	Theoprepia 139, 1
Fussala 209, 2, 6, 9	Thiavensis 83, 1
Gelizitana 43, 5	Tibilis 112, 1
Hilaris 229, 1	Tigisitanus 43, 3, 5, 6
Hippo 43, 5; 83, 6; 139, 1;	Titiana 44, 14
209, 2; 213, 1	Tubuna 220, 3, 12
Milevis 209, 1	Tubursicus 44, 1, 14
Mallianensis 236, 1, 3	Turres 63, 4; 34, 5
Mustitana 76, 3	Verbalis 63, 4
Mutugena 173, 8	

CHAPTER IV.

PECULIARITIES OF INFLECTION.

Deviations from classical usage in the matter of inflection are far fewer in Augustine's Letters than the reader might be led to expect, considering the many influences which were at work on the Latin language in the fourth century A. D. Very likely Augustine's classical training and his early career of rhetorician may have made him something of a purist in this respect. Non-classical case-forms are extremely rare—only twelve exclusive of proper names. Even the foreign loan-words found in the Letters are usually provided with orthodox case-endings, although in some cases the same word may be found with more than one set of endings, showing perhaps that the author was not sure to which declension his words belonged. In his treatment of conjugation-forms also Augustine adheres closely to classical rules. The largest group of examples of non-classical inflectional forms occurs in the comparison of adjectives and adverbs, a process in which the writer allowed himself considerable liberty. The following list is complete:

1. Nouns.

infantum (gen. plu.) 186, 15. This form is mostly poetical or late. (Lucr. 5, 810; Verg. A. 6, 427; Manil. 3, 133; Sen. Ep. 4, 2; Just. 2, 4, 11; Tert. Anim. 26; Amm. 31, 22.)

Augustine uses the more common *i*-stem form *infantium* in 190, 14. *innocentum* (gen. plu.) 190, 13.

Pignus occurs with two forms: *pignore* 25, 5; 92, 1 and *pignera* 150. The classical writers do not seem to have decided which of the two penultimate vowels was the correct one in this and a few other neuters in *-us*, e. g. *faenus*, *facinus*, *stercus*.

Pignore is found in Anthol. Lat. 725, 12; Oros. 5, 5, 3; 5, 5, 6. *pignera* in Oros. 1, 276; Cyp. Ep. 4; Sedul. 2, 11, 3; Anth. Lat. 400, 1; 671, 69.

Baptismum varies in gender as well as in declension, appearing as a masculine *o*-stem, *baptismus*, *-i*; as a neuter *o*-stem, *baptismum*, *-i*; as a neuter consonant stem, *baptisma*, *baptismatis*. The following case-forms are found in the Letters:

- N. *baptismus* 51, 5; 54, 1; 70, 2; 76, 4; 89, 5; 108, 3; 190, 23 etc.
 G. *baptismi* 51, 4; 55, 33; 82, 9; 98, 5; 108, 9; 130, 16; 147, 52, etc. (Ven. Fort. 10, 1, 5.)
 D. and A. *baptismo* 88, 9; 89, 5; 93, 3; 98, 9; 105, 1; 108, 3, etc. (Ven. Fort. 10, 1, 1; Cyp. 707, 3.)
 Ac. *baptismum* 23, 4; 51, 4; 61, 1; 70, 2; 87, 9; 89, 5 etc. (Ven. Fort. 10, 1, 6; Cyp. 775, 15.)
 Nom. Neut. *baptismum* 23, 4 (fifth repetition, other instances are acc.)
 N. *baptisma* 43, 22; 51, 4; 190, 24. (Ven. Fort. 11, 1, 47; Cyp. 707, 6.)
 G. *baptismatis* 105, 12; 194, 42. (Ven. Fort. 1, 15, 53; Cyp. 781, 20.)
 Ab. *baptismate* 87, 9; 190, 23; 194, 32; 250, 2. (Cyp. 787, 22.)
 N.P. *baptismata* 43, 24. (Cyp. 781, 20; Ven. Fort. Vit. Mart. 2, 187.)

Genesis shows the Greek genitive ending in *geneseos* 166, 11; while *haeresis* has both Greek and Latin endings as follows:

- Gen. *haereseos* 29, 12. (Cyp. Ep. 69, 1; Hier. Vir. Ill. 60, 66; Sid. Ep. 7, 6, 2.)
haeresis 93, 18.
 Acc. *haeresim* 169, 13; 237, 1. (Hier. Vir. Ill. 41; Vulg. Act. 24, 14.)
haereseem 23, 4; 87, 4; 185, 25; 190, 22. (Civ. Dei 5, 18; Hier. Vir. Ill. 5, 18.)

Hebdomas shows heteroclite declension, occurring in case-forms of first and third declensions:

1st declension forms.

- S. Nom. *hebdomada* 55, 9; 199, 19. (Tert. adv. Jud. c. 8; Ambros. Ser. 34; Isid. 3, 1; Vulg. Dan. 9, 27.)
 P. Gen. *hebdomadarum* 199, 19. (Tert. adv. Jud. c. 8; Hier. Ep. 22, 7; Vulg. Exod. 34, 22; Deut. 16, 10; 2 Par. 8, 13; Dan. 10, 2.)
 Acc. *hebdomadas* 197, 5; 199, 19, 31. (Censorin. 14, 5; Vulg. Levit. 23, 15; Deut. 16, 9; 2 Par. 23, 8; Tobiae 8, 23.)

3rd declension forms.

- S. Gen. *hebdomadis* 54, 6; 199, 19. (Vulg. Dan. 9, 27.)
 Acc. *hebdomadem* 36, 27; 55, 20.
 Ab. *hebdomade* 36, 9; 27; 55, 5; 199, 16, 19.

P. Nom. hebdomades 199, 19, 20, 21. (Gell. 3, 10, 1; Vulg. Dan. 9, 24, 25.)

Ab. hebdomadibus 36, 20; 197, 1; 199, 20, 33. (Gell. 15, 2, 3; Vulg. Levit. 12, 5; Num. 28, 26.)

This confusion of forms is especially remarkable in 199, 19, 20, where Augustine does not hesitate to use forms of both declensions in the same paragraph and even (once) in the same sentence: hebdomada . . . hebdomadarum hebdomadis (199, 19).

Absida shows the same uncertainty of inflection, appearing as absidae in 23, 3 and absidem 126, 1, abside 125, 2.

The following nouns have the Greek ending *-n* in the accusative sing.:

apostasian 194, 42.

hyperbolen 149, 10.

hypocrisin 2, 7; 22, 7; 138, 13.

latrian 170, 2 (but cf. latriam, 173A.)

paralysin 227.

phantasian 140, 56.

It is not easy to discover what rule Augustine follows in his treatment of Hebrew words. Some he regards as indeclinable, e. g. Aaron, David, Abimelech, Israel, Joseph, etc.; some are used in one or two case-forms only, the choice of declension apparently depending on the vowel of the final syllable, as in Abraham, Abrahæ; Daniel, Danielis, etc.; while a few have a fairly complete set of inflectional forms, but may appear as heteroclite nouns.

1. Nouns of not more than two case-forms, principally of the 1st decl.:

Nom. Adam 26, 12; 98, 1, 2; 102, 15; 140, 21; 147, 5. (Vulg. Gen. 2, 19; Deut. 32, 8; 1 Par. 1, 1, etc.)

Gen. Adæ 157, 19; 186, 27; 190, 22; 202A, 11, 12. (Vulg. Rom. 5, 14.)

N.Acc. Abraham 105; 140, 47; 147, 26 passim. (Vulg. Gen. 17, 9; 1 Par. 1, 27; Eccli. 44, 20, etc.)

Gen. Abrahæ 36, 12; 76, 1; 80, 2; 102, 15, et passim. (Vulg. Gen. 22, 18; Tob. 6, 22; Matth. 3, 9; Luc. 3, 8; Act. 7, 17; Rom. 4, 13, etc.)

N. Elias 36, 2; 44, 9; 140, 39. (Vulg. 3 Reg. 17, 1; 4 Reg. 1, 4; Matth. 11, 14, etc.)

- Gen. Eliae 55, 38; 93, 6; 137, 13. (Vulg. 3 Reg. 17, 15; 4 Reg. 2, 13; Luc. 4, 25.)
- N. Hieremias 43, 23; 76, 4; 82, 18. (Vulg. Jerem. 19, 14; 2 Macc. 2, 5, etc.)
- Acc. Hieremiam 187, 32; 196, 13. (Vulg. Jerem. 7, 1; Dan. 9, 2; 2 Macc. 15, 15, etc.)
- N. Isaias 43, 23; 55, 29; 88, 9; 147, 13, 14. (Vulg. 4 Reg. 19, 6; Isai. 2, 1; Matth. 15, 7.)
- Acc. Isaiam 102, 36; 140, 15. (Vulg. 4 Reg. 19, 2; Isai. 7, 3; Matth. 3, 3, etc.)
- N. Jonas 166, 6, 21. (Vulg. Jonae 1, 3, etc.; Matth. 12, 40, etc.)
- Acc. Jonam 71, 5; 82, 5. (Vulg. 4 Reg. 14, 25; Jonae 1, 1, etc.; Matth. 12, 41, etc.)
- N. Juda 93, 7. (Vulg. 3 Reg. 4, 25; 4 Reg. 14, 12, etc.)
- Acc. Judam 43, 22; 78, 8; 82, 18; 108, 7, 18. (Vulg. Gen. 29, 35; Judic. 10, 9; 2 Reg. 3, 10.)
- N. Jordanis 55, 14. (Vulg. Josue 1, 15; Job 40, 18; Psa. 113, 3; Eccli. 24, 36, etc.)
- Acc. Jordanen 23, 4; 93, 26. (Vulg. has *-em* only in acc.: Gen. 13, 11; Num. 21, 1, etc.)
- N. Jacob (Old Testament = Jacob) 47, 2; 78, 8; 140, 47, etc. (Vulg. Gen. 26, 25, etc.)
- Jacobus (New Testament = James) 82, 8; 141, 25. (Vulg. Matth. 4, 21; Marc. 10, 35, etc.)
- Hierusalem (all cases except locative) 27, 1; 55, 10; 93, 21 et passim. (Vulg. Josue 10, 1; Judic. 17, 2; 2 Reg. 5, 5, etc.)
- Hierosolymis (locative) 82, 8, 10; 176, 4. (1 Macc. 1, 15; Matth. 21, 1; Luc. 23, 7, etc.)

2) *Nouns of several case forms.*

- N. Daniel 93, 19; 108, 7; 111, 3; 157, 2; 185, 7, 19. (Vulg. Ezech. 14, 14; Dan. 1, 6.)
- G. Danielis 111, 4; 197, 1. (Vulg. Dan. 6, 26; 14, 21; 14, 40.)
- Acc. Daniele 140, 28; 199, 19. (Vulg. Dan. 2, 25; 6, 11; 14, 28.)
- Ab. Daniele 111, 4; 199, 28. (Vulg. Ezech. 28, 3; Dan. 5, 12; 14, 9; Matth. 24, 15.)
- Danielo 199, 13.
- N. Ezechiel 157, 2; 185, 31. (Vulg. Eccli. 49, 10; Ezech. 24, 24.)
- G. Ezechielis 44, 12; 108, 7. (Vulg. Psal. 64, 1.)
- Acc. Ezechielem 87, 2; 111, 4. (Vulg. Ezech. 1, 3.)

- Ab. Ezechiele 29, 8.
 N. Moyses 29, 4; 43, 23; 93, 6; 137, 13 et passim. (Vulg. Exod. 2, 10; Num. 27, 15, etc.)
 D. Moysi 23, 4; 55, 28; 147, 20. (Vulg. Exod. 3, 27; 14, 31; Josue 1, 3, etc.)
 Acc. Moysen 55, 30; 82, 9, 17; 102, 12. (Vulg. Exod. 2, 15; 10, 12, etc.)
 Ab. Moyse 147, 13. (Vulg. Exod. 33, 9; Marc. 9, 3.)
 N. Salomon 170, 2; 187, 35. (Vulg. 2 Reg. 5, 14; 2 Par. 1, 1; Luc. 11, 31, etc.)
 G. Salomonis 190, 17. (Vulg. 3 Reg. 1, 12; 1 Esdr. 2, 55; Matth. 12, 42, etc.)
 Acc. Salomonem 215, 5. (Vulg. 3 Reg. 1, 10; 4 Reg. 21, 7; Psal. 71, 1; Matth. 1, 6.)
 N. Saul 87, 9. (Vulg. 1 Reg. 9, 2, etc.)
 G. Saulis 204, 5.
 Acc. Saulem 43, 23. (Vulg. 1 Reg. 9, 17; 17, 14; 26, 5.)
 Saulem 93, 5. (Vulg. Act. 9, 11.)

Gehenna does not occur in the nominative singular, but shows in the oblique cases both singular and plural forms without distinction of meaning:

- S. Acc. Gehennam 193, 6. (Vulg. Matth. 5, 29; 10, 28; Marc. 9, 42.)
 Ab. Gehenna 157, 19. (Vulg. Jacob 3, 6.)
 P. Gen. Gehennarum 185, 14, 21; 204, 2.
 Acc. Gehennas 145, 4.

The forms *Danielo* (ab.), *Ezechiele* (ab.), *Saulis* (gen.), and the plurals *Gehennarum*, *Gehennas* are not found in the Vulgate. The accusative *Saulum* is used in the New Testament only, as part of the inflection of *Saulus* (afterward *Paulus*), while *Saulem* is the accusative of *Saul*. On the whole the Vulgate prefers the uninflected form of *Saul*, which occurs in all cases.

II. Verbs and Participles.

- aisti 153, 22; 187, 4, 22; 199, 5, 16; 235, 1; 238, 6, 8. (Conf. 1, 19; c. Acad. 3, 6, 13.)

This form is used by Augustine only. The verb has no perfect inflection in classical Latin.

- iens (pres. part.) 147, 28. (Very rare, found only in Cic. Att. 4, 9, 2; 16, 1, 1.)
- transiens (pres. part.) 137, 7; 140, 30; 217, 16. (Vulg. Luc. 4, 30; 12, 37; Joan. 16, 9.)
- transies 140, 30; 217, 16. Not otherwise found, but *transiet* occurs in Itala (Lucif. Cal.) Judic. 2, 30; Tert. Res Carn. 37; Vulg. Judith 6, 4; Job 20, 8; Lact. Inst. 4, 18, 32; *transietis*: Itala (Ambros. Abrah. 1, 5) Gen. 18, 5; *transient*: Itala (Ambros. de Fide cont. Arr. 7) Isai. 45, 14; Vulg. Eccle. 8, 13; 2 Petr. 3, 10; Hier. in Is. 15, 55, 12.
- fiere—imperative 153, 11. (Civ. Dei 27, 29; cit. ex Itala, Gen. 27, 29.)

Passive Forms.

Passives occur with considerable frequency in the Letters, especially in the impersonal construction. It is noticeable that Augustine prefers the present to the perfect tense in his use of impersonals and does not shrink from using them in the subjunctive. Forms like *venitur*, *veniat*, *pervenitur*, *perveniatur*, *subvenitur*, *itur*, *eatur*, *transitur*, *reditur*, *caveatur*, *caveretur*, *curritur*, *currebatur*, *festinatur*, *oratur*, *oretur*, *imputatur*, *peccatur* are common.

Fugitur (with subject) is poetical: 127, 2.

Peritur, 36, 12; *prandetur*, 36, 10; *remaneatur*, 185, 39; *vivatur*, 189, 3 are extensions of this usage not found in classical Latin. *Peritur* and *remaneatur* have evidently been used to secure the effect of rhyme, one of Augustine's favorite rhetorical devices, and one which he evidently considered excuse enough for such an awkward construction. In 36, 12, there is a whole series of rhyming phrases in which this group appears:

“si secundum verba huius in sabbato per ieiunium peccatum
omne vitatur,
et, quod aliis diebus contractum est aboletur,
in dominico autem per escam ventris temptatio non cavetur,
et diabolicae calumniae locus datur,
et paradiso peritur,
et primatus amittitur.”

In 185, 39 *remaneatur* is called for by *habeatur*, thus:

“si tamen ipse baptismus non frustra foris *habeatur*,

sed, aut intus detur aut si iam foris datus est, non foris cum illo remaneatur."

If it were not for the rhyme, this unnecessary and meaningless passive would have the effect of an unfortunate slip of the writer's pen.

In 3, 5 there is an amusing discussion of passive infinitives and participles, where Augustine owns that he is not sure whether to say *cupi* or *cupiri*, *fugi* or *fugiri*, *sapi* or *sapiri*. He compares these three verbs with *iaci* and *capi*, makes thereon one of his incorrigible puns, and winds up by instancing *fugitum*, *cupitum* and *sapitum* as participial forms. The jocose tone of the whole paragraph however would lead one to suspect that Augustine's doubts were not serious, and that he was merely trying to bring a smile to the face of his solemn young friend Nebridius.

Prosperatum iri 28, 6 is a late and very rare form.

Pergituros for perrecturos occurs in 78, 3.

Supersidam 7, 1 is apparently derived from supersedere.

Potis est for potest is used in 138, 1 without regard for the gender of potis, which in this impersonal construction should be neuter.

III. Pronouns.

Augustine's principal variations from classical usage in the treatment of pronouns in the Letters are due to the change of meaning in the pronouns themselves and will be considered in the following chapter on Semantics. Only two deviations from classical inflection occur, as follows:

nemine, ablative of nemo, was replaced in classical diction by nullo.

With two exceptions, Augustine uniformly prefers nemine to nullo, using it with and without prepositions and in the ablative absolute:

a nemine 105, 3; 153, 15; 211, 10.

in nemine 157, 18; 167, 15.

nemine prohibente 190, 24.

nemine 91, 5, 8; 147, 44; 190, 24.

Nullo is found in:

nullo cogente 105, 3; and nullo resistente 220, 7.

IV. Comparison of Adjectives and Adverbs.

It is entirely consistent with Augustine's exuberance of style that he should make a liberal use of comparatives and superlatives, introducing them often, especially superlatives, when the idea of comparison is faint or non-existent. He takes advantage of the facility allowed at all periods of the language of comparing present and perfect participles, and shows a marked partiality for forms which usage indeed allowed but logic would condemn: such words as perfectissimus, excelsissimus, excellentissimus. These words carry a superlative idea in their original form, so that the effort to intensify them is quite unnecessary. The height of incongruity is reached by Augustine in immortalior, omnipotentissima, christianissimus. In the following lists, adverbs and adjectives will not be separated, but references will be given to both forms where they are non-classical. The number (29) of ἀπαξ λεγόμενα is significant.

1. *Comparatives.*

- amicior (late and rare) 151, 8, 12; 155, 11. (Fronto ad M. Caes. 1, 6.)
 anterior (late as adj.) 147, 53. (Civ. Dei 11, 5; Tert. adv. Marc. 1, 9; Hier. Ep. 124, 3; Ulp. Dig. 49, 14, 6; Amm. 16, 8, 8.)
 armator (ἀπαξ λεγόμενον) 73, 10.
 caecior (once only) 187, 17; 43, 11; 69, 1. (Hor. S. 1, 2, 91.)
 candidior (poet.) 145, 1. (Cat. 64, 148; Verg. E. 1, 28; Hor. S. 1, 5, 41; Vulg. Gen. 49, 12.)
 commodatius (p. c.) 69, 1. (Fronto de Orat. p. 162, 6.)
 commotius (adj. Aug. only) 29, 3. (De Dono Pers. 53.)
 conducibilis (late) 31, 1. (Auct. Her. 2, 14, 21; Sid. Ep. 61.)
 congruentius (late) 36, 24; 55, 28; 82, 9; 95, 9; 147, 34; 162, 7; 167, 14; 199, 32; 238, 12. (Front. de Orat. 4, 3, 5; Lact. 4, 26, 13; Cod. Just. 8, 47, 4.)
 correctior (rare and late) 65, 1. (Gell. 6, 14, 2; Hier. v. Hilar. 12.)
 cumulator (rare) 31, 1. (Cic. Or. 17, 54.)
 damnabilior (late and rare) 21, 1. (Salv. 4.)
 decolorator (Aug. only) 120, 20. (De Duab. Anim. 2, 2.)
 devotius (late) 29, 10; 118, 32. (Ambros. Serm. 84; Max. Tan. Homil. 39.)
 discretior (late) 120, 12. (Cf. Forcellini II, 740: Legi equidem apud Eugypp. qui locus mihi excidit.)

- distortior (rare) 167, 14. (Cic. Fat. 8, 16; Hier. Ep. 132, 14.)
- egentior (rare) 28, 6. (Cic. Ep. Att. 6, 1, 4; App. Dogm. Plat. 2, 18, p. 246.)
- emendatior (p. c.) 120, 1; 149, 8. (Dig. 4, 3, 11; Capitol. 5, 8; Treb. Poll. Claud. 2, 8.)
- enodatior (ἄπαξ λεγόμενον) 174.
- enodatus (once only: Cic. Fin. 5, 27) 80, 3.
- expressius (mostly p. c.) 7, 3; 36, 16; 147, 25; 167, 11; 185, 25; 190, 18. (Val. Max. 8; Col. 11, 1, 29; Scribon. Larg. 198; Cod. Just. 1, 14, 3.)
- exundantius (late, rare) 3, 1. (Paschas. Diac. 1 de S. S. 12.)
- falsior (rare) 7, 5. (Civ. Dei 7, 5; Petr. 136, 16. Cf. Paul. Fest. 92, 11, cit. apud Neue, II, 258: "falsius et falsior cum rationabiliter dici possunt, non tamen sunt in consuetudine.")
- ferventius (as adv. Aug. only) 33, 2; 171A, 1; 185, 31. (Ser. 206, 1; 209, 12; Genes. ad Lit. 2, 5.)
- fixius (ἄπαξ λεγόμενον) 92, 6.
- flagrantius (p. c.) 224, 3. (Fronto ad Ant. 1, 2; Amm. 31, 10, 5.)
- fructuosior (late) 217, 1; 233. (Ulp. Frag. 616, 17.)
- fructuosius (Aug. only) 118, 6; 128, 3; 140, 48; 150.
- honoratius (p. c.) 149, 30. (Justin. 5, 4, 13; Val. Max. 5, 1, 11.)
- immanius (late) 43, 12. (Amm. 18, 7, 5.)
- immortalior (ἄπαξ λεγόμενον) 187, 12.
- impacatior (ἄπαξ λεγόμενον) 185, 30.
- ineptius (p. c.) 82, 33. (Lact. Inst. 3, 17.)
- infelicius (rare) 157, 3. (Sen. Contr. 5, 33; Quint. 8, 6, 33; Hier. in Is. 7, 22, 2.)
- inflatus (mostly p. c.) 184A, 5. (Caes. B. C. 2, 17, 3; Amm. 22, 16, 10; Civ. Dei 1, 28.)
- insanabilior (rare) 185, 1. (Liv. 28, 25, 7.)
- insignior (rare, mostly p. c.) 54, 9; 151, 9. (Liv. 10, 15, 5; Tert. Spect. 21; Claud. Laud. Stil. 1, 28.)
- insuetius (ἄπαξ λεγόμενον) 137, 5.
- invrecundius (eccl. and rare) 155, 11. (Hier. Ep. 128, 2.)
- i- only) 93, 39. (Immort. Anim. 8; de Mort. 11, 20.)
- only) 93, 25. (Civ. Dei 5, 19; Gen. ad Lit.
- here only) 82, 33. (Adj.: Sen. Q. N. 4, 13.)
- e) 102, 33. (Cic. Ep. Att. 12, 21, 1.)

- luminosior (Aug. only) 28, 3; 78, 9.
 misericordius (Aug. only) 31, 6; 153, 21. (Doctr. Chr. 1, 16, 1.)
 munitius (adv.: a. c.) 263, 2. (Varro L. L. 5, 141.)
 obedientius (rare) 262, 4. (Liv. 38, 34.)
 obtusior (poet. and late) 187, 19. (Verg. G. 3, 135; Treb. Poll. 8, 5; Arn. 2, 19.)
 ordinatus (eccl.) 33, 4; 93, 13; 129, 6. (Tert. adv. Marc. 1, 19.)
 pacatus (p. c.) 36, 25; 148, 17. (Petr. 10.)
 perfectius (p. c.) 178, 2; 185, 31. (App. Flor. 16, p. 76; Veg. Re Mil. 1, 4; Vulg. Hebr. 9, 11.)
 perspicacior (p. c.) 193, 12. (App. M. 2, p. 124, 38.)
 perturbator (Cic. only) 250, 3. (Cic. Fam. 6, 52; Att. 6, 1, 11.)
 perversus (eccl.) 53, 3; 89, 2; 190, 14. (Tert. Apol. 2.)
 plurius (ἀπὸ τοῦ λεγόμενου) 192, 1.
 praesentior (poet.) 267; 155, 13. (Verg. G. 2, 127; A. 12, 152; Ov. Am. 2, 8, 17.)
 praesumptus (p. c. and rare) 93, 25. (Coripp. Joan 4, 550; Vop. Car. 4.)
 proclivior (mostly p. c.) 83, 4. (Cic. Tusc. 4, 37, 81; Quint. 4, 5, 21; Gell. 9, 1, 2; Claud. Cons. Honor. 3, 179; Nazar. Paneg. 33; Jul. Val. 3, 2; Vulg. Prov. 29, 22.)
 productus (p. c.) 166, 13. (Gell. 4, 17, 8; Ter. Maur. 144.)
 profundior (late) 262, 1. (Solin. 26.)
 prolixior (mostly p. c.) 12; 80, 1; 36, 37; 93, 53; 144, 3; 177, 19; 191, 1; 194, 1; 217, 22. (Cic. Ep. Att. 6, 3, 5; Col. 1, 3, 7; Gell. 13, 28, 3; Mamert. Grat. Act. 5.)
 prolixus (a. and p. c.) 36, 16; 239, 3; 241, 1. (Ter. Eun. 5, 8, 52; Suet. Tib. 7; Gell. 1, 22, 10; Vulg. Exod. 19, 19; Luc. 22, 44.)
 propinquior (rare) 102, 5; 140, 33. (Varro L. L. 10, 2, 8; Ov. Tr. 4, 4, 51; Vulg. Ruth 3, 12.)
 quaestuosius (rare) 91, 10. (Plin. 19, 4, 19.)
 rubicundior (rare) 245, 1. (Varro R. R. 1, 9, 5; Sen. Q. N. 1, 5, 2; Plin. N. H. 20, 6, 33; Vulg. Thren. 4, 7.)
 sceleratius (eccl.) 43, 11; 76, 4; 93, 13; 153, 23. (Vulg. Ezech. 16, 52.)
 secretius (mostly p. c.) 102, 14; 151, 5. (Sen. Q. N. 5, 42; Col. 11, 2, 25; Just. 21, 4, 3; Ennod. 136; Capitol. Albin. 82.)
 sincerius (rare, p. c.) 29, 10; 151, 10. (Gell. 6, 3, 55.)
 subiectior (very rare) 157, 8. (Hor. S. 2, 6, 47.)

- succinctior (mostly p. c.) 190, 9. (Plin. N. H. 6, 10, 17; Amm. 25, 3, 5; Ambros. Ep. 15.)
 suspiciosius (Cic. only) 1, 3. (Brut. 34.)
 tenacius (p. c.) 92, 6. (Val. Max. 7, 5, 2; Macr. S. 7, 3.)
 turbator (rare) 33, 3. (Sen. de Ira 2, 35, 3; Suet. Tib. 69; Calig. 23.)
 usitatus (p. c.) 147, 22; 149, 27. (Gell. 13, 20, 4; Aug. Trin. 9.)
 urguentior (p. c.) 36, 28. (Tert. Res Carn. 2; Cael. Aur. 2, 29.)
 vegetior (rare) 13, 3. (Col. 6, 20; App. M. 6, p. 181, 32.)
 veniabilior (ἀπαξ λεγόμενον) 153, 2. (This word occurs in a citation repeated by Augustine from a previous letter of his correspondent Macedonius. The positive veniabilis is late, found in Sid. Ep. 9, 1; Salv. adv. Avar. 4, 8; Prud. Ham. 943.)
 veracior (rare) 193, 12. (Cic. Div. 2, 56, 116.)
 vicinior (very rare) 14, 2; 64, 2; 108, 9. (Mythograph. 2, 9; 2, 25.) (Adv. occurs in Boeth. 4, 6; Venant. Car. 3, 12, 11; Vulg. Deut. 21, 3; Hebr. 6, 9.)
 vivacior (rare) 1, 2; 147, 44. (Quint. 2, 6, 3.)

2. Superlatives.

- abditissimus (Aug. only) 190, 16; 167, 13. (Enchir. 16.)
 acceptissimus (a. c.) 177, 1. (Plaut. Capt. 3, 5, 56; Vulg. Sap. 3, 14.)
 accomodissimus (ἀπαξ λεγόμενον) 10, 1.
 adrogantissimus (late) 93, 36. (Oros. 7, 25.)
 adversissimus (rare) 93, 2. (Cic. Ep. Att. 10, 8; Caes. B. C. 3, 107.)
 amarissimus (late) 185, 45. (Val. Max. 7, 6; Vulg. Num. 5, 18; 23, 26.)
 amicissimus (rare) 20, 1; 27, 4; 73, 3; 108, 13. (Caes. B. C. 2, 17; Cic. Div. 9.)
 annosissimus (ἀπαξ λεγόμενον) 137, 3.
 caliginosissimus (ἀπαξ λεγόμενον) 143, 7.
 calumniosissimus (ἀπαξ λεγόμενον) 141, 11.
 christianissimus (eccl.) 77, 1. (Hier. Ep. 57, 12; Ambros. Ep. 1, 1.)
 congruentissime (eccl.) 169, 8; 194, 20.
 considerantissimus (ἀπαξ λεγόμενον)
 contentiosissimus (p. c.) 207
 continentissime

- desiderantissimus* (late) 36, sal.; 67, 2; 138, sal.; 139, 4; 144, 3; 146, 1; 202A; 203, sal.; 218, sal.; 243, sal.; 256; 258; 268, 3. (Front. ad M. Caes. 5, 40; Cyp. Ep. 4, 5; Sev. ap. Capitol. Alb. 7, 3.)
devotissime (late) 31, 6; 36, 31. (Lact. 6, 9, 24; Ambros. S. 17.)
dilectissimus (mostly p. c.) 20, 2; 23, 1, 8; 31, 9; 35, 4; 36, 12; 48, 2; 53, 7 et passim. (Stat. Theb. 8, 99; Tert. de Praescr. 22; Vulg. Rom. 16, 8; Hebr. 6, 9; Jacob, 1, 16.)
dilucidissime (ἀπαξ λεγόμενον) 167, 4.
exitiosissime (ἀπαξ λεγόμενον) 28, 3.
exoptatissimus (rare) 192, 1. (Plaut. Trin. 4, 3, 65; Cic. Ep. Att. 4, 1, 2; Plin. Ep. 10, 4, 6.)
explicatissimus (ἀπαξ λεγόμενον) 31, 8.
exsuperantissimus (p. c.) 104, 10. (Gell. 3, 9, 8; App. Dog. Plat. 1, 12, p. 205; C. I. L. 3, 1090; 6, 426; 6, 1066; 9, 9481.)
falsissimus (late) 82, 26; 138, 18; 214, 4. (Col. 1, 6, 17; Cael. Aur. 3, 8, 134.)
falsissime (Aug. only) 78, 8. (Conf. 10, 13.)
feracissimus (very rare) 128, 2. (Caes. B. G. 2, 4, 6.)
festinantissime (Aug. only) 44, 1; 95, 9; 174A.
fidentissime (eccl.) 153, 21; 108, 9. (Amm. 17, 1, 9; Aug. Ver. Rel. 3.)
fundatissimus (rare) 118, 32; 157, 22; 164, 13; 167, 24; 169, 13. (Cic. de Domo, 36, 96; Arn. 3, 26.)
germanissimus (rare, mostly p. c.) 22, 1, 5; 45, sal.; 110, 4; 186, 39; 208, 1; 243, 10. (Cic. Acad. 2, 43, 132; Hier. Ep. 98; Aug. Ser. 12, 5.)
honorandissimus (eccl.) 175. (Nol. Ep. 46.)
impensissime (rare) 22, 9; 202A, 10; 248, 2. (Suet. Dom. 20.)
impiissimus (eccl.) 36, 28. (Tert. ad Nat. 1, 10; Dig. 28, 5; Hier. Ep. 26, 2.)
implicitissimus (p. c.) 1, 2. (Conf. 2, 10; Gell. 6, 2, 15.)
inhumanissimus (a. c.) 153, 10. (Ter. Phor. 3, 2, 24.)
iniuriosissimus (p. c.) 36, 3. (Vopisc. Sat. 8.)
inlecebrosissimus (ἀπαξ λεγόμενον) 153, 7.
inlicitissimus (ἀπαξ λεγόμενον) 91, 8.
inimicus (Aug. only) 185, 27. (Trin. 7, 1.)
inimicus (rare) 55, 29. (Sen. Ben. 7, 26, 5.)
inimicus (ἀπαξ λεγόμενον) 69, 2.
inimicus (Aug. only) 22, 1, 5; 130, 15; 193, 4. (Retract.

- instantissime* (p. c.) 148, 10. (Gell. 4, 18, 7; Aurel. Vict. Ep. 10, 2; App. M. 3, 9; Hier. Chron. 1, p. 43.)
invictissime (Aug. only) 166, 26. (Doctr. Chr. 3, 30, 42.)
invidiosissime (Aug. only) 185, 35; 209, 4.
liquidissime (*ἁπαξ λεγόμενον*) 166, 26.
litigiosissimus (*ἁπαξ λεγόμενον*) 88, 3.
longinquissimus (*ἁπαξ λεγόμενον*) 93, 25. (Neue, II, 260 says of this word: "superlatif fehlt.")
luculentissimus (mostly p. c.) 140, 83; 191, 1. (Planc. ap. Cic. Ep. Fam. 10, 24, 3; Hier. in Dan. 2, 22; C. I. L. 4, 2247.)
luculentissime (*ἁπαξ λεγόμενον*) 138, 14.
luminosissimus (*ἁπαξ λεγόμενον*) 145, 6.
manifestissime (p. c.) 55, 23; 62, 1. (App. Mag. 216, 26; Dig. 33, 2, 32; Cod. Just. 4, 18, 2.)
mendacissimus (a. c.) 43, 10. (Plaut. Rud. 3, 4, 48.)
misericordissimus (eccl.) 19; 48, 1; 93, 2; 130, 2; 140, 14; 149, 16. (Sid. Ep. 8, 6; Salv. 2, 2, 12.)
misericordissime (Aug. only) 93, 42. (De Cat. Rud. 25, 48.)
negotiosissimus (Aug. only) 118, 3; 153, 1.
obedientissime (Aug. only) 209, 3. (Civ. Dei 22, 8.)
obstinatissimus (mostly p. c.) 137, 20. (Sen. Ep. 117, 10; Amm. 17, 14, 2; Civ. Dei 2, 1.)
obstinatissime (rare) 153, 17. (Suet. Tib. 67.)
omnipotentissimus (eccl.) 113; 217, 24. (Macr. 17; Aug. Conf. 1, 4.)
onustissimus (late) 11, 1. (Jul. Val. Res Gest. Alex. 2, 26, 14.)
ordinatissimus (mostly p. c.) 55, 13; 88, 6; 105, 5; 166, 13; 173, 7. (Sen. Ep. 66, 6; App. de Deo Socr. 2, p. 120; Sid. Ep. 9, 7; Claud. Mam. 2, 3.)
ordinatissime (Aug. only) 173, 7. (Gen. Cont. Man. 2, 12.)
perfectissime 117, 10. (Gell. 11, 169.)
perseverantissimus (mostly p. c.) 125, 3; 126, 1, 7; 153, 4; 185, 49; 193, 2. (Val. Max. 6, 6; Col. Praef. 19.)
perseverantissime (very rare) 93, 40. (Plin. Ep. 4, 21, 3 only.)
*piissimus*¹ (mostly p. c.) 185, 25. (Tac. Ag. 4, 3; Flor. 4, 7, 15; Front. ad Aur. 2, 7; App. M. 9, 8, p. 605; Amm. 23, 6, 53.)
praepollentissimus (*ἁπαξ λεγόμενον*) 137, 15.

¹ Cicero condemned this word: Phil. 13, 19, 43: "tu porro ne pios quidem sed piissimos quaeris, et quod verbum nullum in lingua Latina est, id propter tuam divinam pietatem novum inducis."

prolixissimus (late) 138, 20. (Jul. Val. 1, 46; Cass. de Incarn. 3, 14.)

prolixissime (ᾤπαξ λεγόμενον) 231, 1.

prospectissime (ᾤπαξ λεγόμενον) 155, 12.

sacratissime (mostly p. c.) 7, 3, 7; 27, 3; 55, 24; 149, 11. (Plin. N. H. 33, 4, 24; Stat. Silv. 2; Spart. Sev. 23, 5; Treb.

Poll. 3, 2; Sid. Ep. 7, 6; Mam. in Max.; C. I. L. 3, 2909.)

scelestissimus (a. and p. c.) 43, 4. (Plaut. Am. 2, 1, 11; Vulg. 2 Macc. 7, 9.)

serenissimus (as title: late) 232, 5. (Cod. Just. 4, 23.)

sincerissime (Aug. only) 63, 1; 82, 32; 137, 17.

subtilissime (Cic. once only) 169, 4. (Cic. Balb. 22.)

sufficientissimus (eccl.) 43, 19. (Tert. adv. Marc. 5, 2.)

sufficientissime (ᾤπαξ λεγόμενον) 43, 20.

surdissimus (ᾤπαξ λεγόμενον) 26, 4.

taediosissimus (ᾤπαξ λεγόμενον) 105, 10 (positive: Firm. Math. 1, 3.)

testatissimus (Aug. only) 43, 5; 164, 14. (Conf. 8, 6, 10.)

veracissimus (Aug. only) 28, 5; 92, 1; 186, 40; 187, 10; 217, 10.

Other ways of expressing comparative or superlative degrees are sometimes resorted to either because the word will not admit comparison in the usual way or perhaps simply to secure variety or extra emphasis.

Multum is so used in *multum mirabilis*, 187, 21; *multumque carissime ac desiderantissime*, 139, 4.

Multo occurs in *multo maxime*, 238, 16; *multo maxime humiliter*, 185, 44;

nimis in *nimis alienus*, 23, 2; *nimis antiqua*, 199, 34;

plurimum in *plurimum necessaria*, 130, 20; 224, 2;

plus in *plus valentem*, 130, 31.

In 217, 11, *peiores* seems to stand for *pessimi*.

The following array of superlatives is characteristic:

"*novissimorum novissimi atque ad ipsum omnino novissimum.*"
199, 24.

CHAPTER V.

SEMANTICS.

We have seen how the Latinity of the ecclesiastical writers in general and of Augustine in particular was affected by two elements: 1) the addition of new words to the vocabulary, and 2) the introduction of foreign loan-words. A third element of development is to be found in the change of meaning which affects many words of current classical usage.

This semantic process is observable at all epochs of the language, being common indeed to all languages which are not dead, since a word is not the exact sign of an unchangeable idea. It is however more evident in the later period and is of especial interest in the vocabulary of Christian writers. The process is probably not a conscious one, and is gradual in its operation, but it may be hastened or retarded according as authors welcome innovation or cling to tradition. Sometimes it is possible to catch a word in the very act of changing, before it has definitely evolved from its old to its new meaning. Such a word is *sacramentum*, which in classical Latin signified a military oath, and which appears in the Letters of Augustine with no fewer than seven different meanings: symbol, rite, dignity, dispensation, sacrament, secret, the Holy Eucharist (vide *infra*, p. 161). Later it appropriated the last meaning and the more general one of sacrament almost exclusively.

Words may change their meanings in various ways:

1) by generalization or extension of the semantic area.

This phenomenon may proceed so far and a word become so general that its original force diminishes and it ceases to distinguish anything in particular from anything else. An example of this fading of sense is seen in the words for being, which must have meant something less abstract than pure existence when first ventured on in the primitive language of the Indo-European family. Instances in Latin are *reus*, originally, the defendant in a suit, later, guilty; *publicanus*, originally a tax-gatherer, later, a sinner.

2) By specialization or a restriction of the semantic area.

This occurs when a word, equally applicable to a number of objects which have some resemblances among themselves or to a

general category of ideas, narrows down its meaning so as to apply to only one of those objects or ideas, e. g. *fatum*, fate, from *fari*, speak, meant originally "that which is said," then, "the utterance of the divinity," and finally, in the plural, the divinities themselves which rule over human affairs. Examples in the Letters are: *angelus*, originally a messenger, later a heavenly messenger, an angel; *caritas*, originally affection in general, later, love of God.

3) By exchange from subjective to objective or vice versa.

The Latin mind made little account of this fundamental distinction of the two sides of a concept and often used the same word indifferently for either side leaving the sense to be extracted from the context. This sort of change is very common in poetry, where an epithet is transferred from person to thing or from thing to person: e. g. *oblivioso Massico*, Hor. Car. 2, 7, 21; *tristis Hyades*, id. Car. 1, 3, 14; *superbis postibus*, Verg. A. 8, 721. After being thus treated often enough, a word may lose its original force.

4) By degeneration or its opposite.

This happens when a word which originally stood for something quite unobjectionable comes to be taken in *malam partem* and to represent something unpleasant or evil: e. g. *pirata*, a pirate, which came into Latin from Greek, meant at first an adventurer but soon acquired the sense of sea-robber. *Publicanus*, *paganus*, *haeresis* underwent a like fate. The opposite tendency is more rare, when a word gains a dignified or agreeable meaning having started with a colloquial or opprobrious one. *Diffamare* is a word which went up in the world, meaning divulge wrongly in classical Latin, and publish lawfully in later Latin.

5) By euphemism.

When a deliberate understatement of an unpleasant truth is made, we have euphemism. It probably arose from that superstitious dread experienced by all ages and races not excluding our own, in speaking of death or misfortune. Latin was most ingenious in avoiding the unpleasant subject and had a number of euphemistic evasions; e. g. *fuisset*, *vixit*, in referring to death, *si quid acciderit*, for misfortune, etc.

6) By exaggeration.

This deep-rooted habit of human speech is the opposite to euphemism. It is something we can observe daily in the intercourse

of men, and always with the same effect, to wit, loss of meaning due to over-emphasis. This can be seen in late Latin in the abuse of superlatives and the creation of double superlatives, which had hardly more force than positives; e. g. *omnipotentissimus*, *excelentissimus*.

7) By interchange of abstract and concrete terms.

Latin, as we have seen, was not well-furnished with abstract terms in the earlier phases of its history, and consequently was driven to various expedients when abstract ideas had to be expressed. The simplest device was naturally the use of a concrete term in a generalized sense. Thus, *homo*, which originally designated an individual, was taken over to express the general concepts of mankind, human nature, etc. The reverse of this proceeding—the use of abstract terms with concrete meanings—was much more natural to the Latin mind and finds its simplest and most frequent exemplification in plurals of abstract nouns; e. g. *violentiae*, acts of violence, *honores*, public offices, *cupiditates*, unbridled passions, etc. Late Latin shows this tendency as freely as it does that of forming new abstract nouns.

8) By interchange of figurative and literal meanings.

The power of making metaphors is one of the most active elements in the growth of a language. If we examine the texture of our daily speech, we shall discover that English is a highly figured language and that some of our simplest and most common expressions are really metaphors. We realize this most thoroughly when we attempt to reproduce such expressions in another language, especially one of a different genius from our own. The verbs *insult*, *affront*, *astonish*, *consider* are in reality concealed metaphors of which few who use them are conscious. Such usages are by no means as natural to Latin as they are to English, but we shall nevertheless find a certain number of Latin words which have undergone this change. In the time of Augustine this number was much increased: e. g. *aedificare*,¹ to edify (lit. to build). *evacuare*, to render vain or void (lit. to empty).

9) By change from material to moral or spiritual sense.

Words for feelings or actions of the mind illustrate this group, e. g. *attention*, literally a stretching; *comprehend*, literally to take

¹ This verb has the distinction of retaining both literal and figurative meanings in the post-classical period. Both uses are found in the Letters.

hold of, etc. In the vocabulary of Christianity we find abundant instances of this sort of change: compungi, literally to be pricked, comes to mean to feel compunction or sorrow for sin; pravus, literally crooked, signifies wicked; correctio, a straightening, becomes correction.

All these varieties of change, which in the last analysis are reducible to two: restriction and extension of meaning, are found in the Letters. In general Augustine made comparatively few innovations in this direction: abscessus — death, abstinencia — abstaining from meat, condiscipulus — a fellow preacher, conlatio — a Church council, donator — one who absolves, exitus — death, renuntiatio — renunciation of self, requies — eternal happiness, traditio, tradere, traditor referring to the surrender of the Sacred Books to be burnt under stress of persecution, latebrosus — obscure, intricate, pastoralis — pastoral, referring to a bishop's care of souls, communicare — to form part of a Church congregation, coronari — to suffer martyrdom, donare — to forgive sins, eligere — to prefer, reconciliare — to absolve from excommunication, occur first in the Letters. But Augustine expressed his ideas in the language of his time, hence we shall find many words in the Letters which have changed their meaning.

The words in the following list will be classified thus:

1) Religious terms of paganism used to express Christian ideas. In this group the external meaning of the words has not changed, but the concept for which they stand is no longer the same: e. g. deus means god in both pagan and Christian terminology but in the former it means a god, one of many, in the latter the one, true God, Creator of the Universe.

2) Words which show a complete change of meaning.

3) Change of meaning in word-groups.

4) Titles.

5) Parallel forms.

1) Religious terms of paganism used to express Christian ideas:

a) *Nouns and Adjectives.*

adoratio 149, 13, 16 (rare). (Plin. 29, 4; App. M. 4, p. 155; Hier. in Is. 12, 44, 6.)

antistes (a priest) 31, 9; 43, 20; 54, 4; 177, 2. (Cic. Dom. 39, 104; Liv. 9, 34; Vulg. 2 Par. 39, 34; Cod. Just. 1, 3.)

- caelestis (heavenly) 137, 12. (Very frequent in class. Latin:
Cic. Legg. 2, 8, 19; Verg. A. 1, 11; Ov. M. 1, 76, etc.)
- consecratio 98, 5. (Cic. Dom. 40, 106; Suet. Dom. 2; Lact. 1,
20, 24; Vulg. Levit. 7, 27; Num. 66, etc.)
- deus 9, 1; 10, 2 et saepe passim (all classic Latin writers, Church
Fathers, Vulgate).
- divinitas (23, 3; 69, 2; 137, 8, etc. (Cic. N. D. 1, 13, 34; Liv.
1, 15; Suet. Aug. 97, etc.; Vulgate, Rom. 1, 20; Coloss.
2, 9; Apoc. 5, 12.)
- divinus 15, 2, passim. (Lucr. 2, 609; Cic. N. D. 1, 9, 22, etc.;
Vulg. Eccli. 39, 17; 2 Macc. 2, 4; Act. 17, 29; Rom.
11, 4; 2 Petr. 1, 3.)
- inferi 164, 5, 6, 7; 187, 6. (Cic. Tusc. 1, 5, 10; Liv. 22, 32, etc.;
Vulg. Gen. 42, 38; 1 Reg. 2, 6; Tobiae 6, 15; Esth. 13, 7;
Matth. 16, 18.)
- infernus 164, 2, 3, 7, 8, 10; 187, 5, 6. (Verg. A. 6, 106; Tac. A.
2, 28; Ambros. in Psa. 48, 22; Vulg. Gen. 37, 35; Num.
16, 30; Deut. 32, 22; 2 Reg. 22, 6; Job 11, 8, etc.)
- pontificalis 82, 23 (class. = of or pertaining to a pontifex).
(Cic. Leg. 2, 21, 52; Suet. Aug. 44.) (Eccl. = of or
pertaining to a bishop.)
- religio 11, 1; 29, 2; 34, 47, 3, etc. passim. (very freq. in class.
authors). (Lact. 5, 2, 8; Hier. in Dan. 8, 5; adv. Jovin.
1, 41.)
- religiosus 220, 3. (Cic. N. D. 2, 28, 72; Sall. C. 12, 3; Plin.
30, 1, 4, etc.; Vulg. Dan. 3, 90; Act. 2, 5; Jacob. 1, 26.)
- sacerdos 82, 28; 137, 15. (Cic. Leg. 2, 8, 20; Liv. 1, 19; Verg.
A. 3, 80, etc.; Vulg. very freq. Gen. 14, 18 to Apoc. 20.6.)
- sacerdotium 82, 28. (Cic. Verr. 2, 2, 51; Plin. Ep. 4, 8, 1, etc.;
Vulg. Exod. 28, 1; Levit. 7, 35; Num. 3, 3; Deut. 10, 6;
Luc. 1, 8; 1 Petr. 2, 5, etc.)
- sacrificium 47, 3; 102, 35; 137, 15, etc. (Cic. Brut. 14, 56; Liv.
45, 27; Caes. B. G. 6, 13; Vulg. freq. Exod. 29, 33; Levit.
2, 1; Num. 4, 16; Deut. 18, 1; Matt. 9, 13; Marc. 12,
33; Luc. 13, 1; Hebr. 5, 1.)
- sacrilegium 29, 9; 35, 3; 43, 22; 44, 13; 51, 3; 105, 7, etc.
(Sen. Vit. Beat. 27, 1; Flor. 2, 17, 12; Curt. 4, 3, 23;
Vulg. Num. 25, 18; 2 Macc. 4, 39; Rom. 2, 22.)
- sacrilegus 22, 3; 34, 1; 43, 27; 175, 4; 185, 4, etc. passim. (Liv.
29, 18; Cic. Verr. 2, 5, 72; Vulg. Josue 22, 16.)
- templum (= Temple at Jerusalem) 199, 25, 33; (= temple of a

god: Lucr. 1, 10, 14; Ter. Eun. 3, 5, 42; Cic. Rep. 6, 15, 15, etc.; — Temple at Jerusalem: Vulg. freq. Exod. 30, 13 to Apoc. 21, 22.)

b) *Verbs.*

consecrare 55, 17. (Freq. in class. Latin: Cic. Verr. 2, 4, 29; Suet. Aug. 29, etc.; Vulg. freq. Exod. 13, 12 to 2 Macc. 14, 33.)

sacrificare 102, 20. (Freq. in class. Latin: Plaut. Rud. 4, 7, 37; Cic. N. D. 2, 27, 67, etc.; Vulg. freq. Exod. 5, 1 to 1 Cor. 8, 1.)

The number of verbs indicating acts of worship, which could be used by Christian writers, was naturally limited, as most of them were inseparably connected with rites of paganism such as Christians were bound to abhor.

2. Words which show a decided change of meaning.

a) *Nouns.*

abscessus, 92, 1.

classical — departure (Cic. N. D. 1, 10, 24; Verg. A. 10, 445; Tac. A. 457; Vulg. Ruth, 3, 14.)

Augustine — death.

abstinentia, 147, 2; 211, 8; 262, 9.

class. — self-restraint (Cic. Off. 2, 2, 2; Sall. C. 3, etc.; Vulg. Num. 30, 14).

Aug. — an abstaining from certain foods, as meat.

aedificatio, 36, 1; 133, 3. (In 187, 37 this word means building.)

class. — act of building (Varr. R. R. 1, 13; Cic. Pis. 21; Vulg. Ruth 5, 10; 2 Par. 16, 6.)

eccl. — edification, good example (Hier. Ep. 108, 26; Ser. Don. 1 ap. Optat. p. 191; Vulg. Rom. 15, 2; 1 Cor. 14, 3; 2 Cor. 12, 19; 1 Tim. 1, 4.)

angelus, 234 to 257, 9 passim.

class. — messenger (Sen. Ep. 20).

eccl. — angel (Tert. Hier., etc.; freq. Vulg. Gen. 16, 7 to Apoc. 22, 16.)

apices, 248, 1.

class. — a mark or letter (in sing.: Quint. 1, 7, 2; Ov. M. 10, 279, etc.)

late — writings (Sid. Ep. 6, 8; Cod. Just. 2, 8, 6).

apostolus, freq. 22, 1, 2, etc.

juris. — a notice sent to a higher tribunal (Dig. 50, 16).

eccl. — an Apostle (Church Fathers freq. Vulg. Matth. 10, 2 to Apoc. 21, 14.)

arca, 55, 30; 108, 20.

class. — a box or chest (Cic. Div. 2, 41, 86; Suet. Tib. 63, etc.)

eccl. — the Ark of the Covenant (55, 30). (Vulg. Exod. 25, 10 to Apoc. 11.)

— Noah's Ark (108, 20). (Vulg. Gen. 6, 14 passim; Matth. 24, 38, etc.)

assertio, 108, 5; 186, 39; 190, 2, 13.

class. — warrant to recover slaves (Plin. Ep. 10, 72; Suet. Dom. 8.)

late — assertion (Arn. 4, 21; Hier. Ep. 84, 7).

ascensio, 54, 1; 199, 20.

class. — rising, soaring (Cic. Brut. 6, 137.)

eccl. — the Ascension of Christ into Heaven (Church Fathers).

auditor, 36, 27.

class. — a hearer, pupil (Cic. Or. 8, 25; Suet. Aug. 86; Vulg. Num. 24, 4; Job 31, 35).

Aug. — one who is in the lower grade of initiation of Manichaeism.

baiulus, 82, 16; 245, 1.

class. — a porter, laborer (Cic. de Or. 2, 10, 40, etc.)

late — 1) a pall-bearer (Sid. Ep. 3, 12).

— 2) a letter-carrier (Hier. Ep. 6; Cod. Th. 2, 27, 1; Vulg. 2 Reg. 18, 22.)

basilica, 29, 6; 51, 3; 70, 2; 76, 3; 88, 11; 93, 50; 105, 9; 128, 3; 129, 5; 139, 2; 190, 19.

class. — a building where law-courts were held (Liv. 26, 27; Vitruv. 5, 1).

late — a church (Sulp. Sev. H. S. 2, 33).

beatitas, 18, 2; 27, 6; 31, 2; 104, 13.

class. — happiness in this life (Cic. N. D. 1, 34, 95).

eccl. — Heaven or eternal happiness (Arn. 4, 36).

calix, 54, 7.

class. — a cup (Cic. Pis. 27, 67; Tib. 2, 5, 98; Prop. 2, 33, 40.)

Aug. — the Holy Eucharist.

canon, 237, 4.

class. — a measuring-line, a model (Vitruv. 10, 3; Spart. Sev. 8).

- eccl. — a list of the books of the Bible (Hier. Prol. Gal.; Aug. Civ. D. 17, 24; Isid. Orig. 6, 15).
- captus, 118, 14.
 class. — capacity (Caes. B. G. 4, 3; Cic. Tusc. 2, 27, 65).
 p. a. and late — physical power (Gell. 1, 9, 3).
- caritas, 19, 20, 2; 22, 5, etc. *passim*.
 class. — 1) costliness (Cic. Verr. 2, 3, 18; Suet. Ner. 45).
 — 2) affection (Cic. de Or. 2, 51, 206; Liv. 24, 4, 8; Quint. 6, 2, 12).
- eccl. — charity, love of God (Fathers, freq. Vulg.).
- caro, 29, 6; 52, 1; 92, 4, etc. *passim*.
 class. — flesh (literally) (Cic. Planc. 9, 23; Liv. 32, 1, 9).
 eccl. — the lower appetites or passions (Vulg. Rom. 7, 25; 2 Cor. 10, 2).
- castellum, 209, 2.
 class. — fort or stronghold (Caes. B. G. 2, 30; Cic. Phil. 5, 4, 9; Verg. A. 5, 440).
- Aug. — a village.
- cathedra, 23, 3; 43, 7, 8; 55, 3; 105, 16; 128, 3; 129, 5; 209, 7; 208, 2.
 class. — an arm-chair (Hor. S. 1, 10, 91; Prop. 4, 5, 37; Juv. 1, 65; Vulg. 1 Reg. 20, 25).
- eccl. — the episcopal office (Tert. Praescr. 36; Cyp. Ep. 17, 2; Optat. Milev.).
- censura, 89, 3; 91, 7; 93, 41; 104, 6; 108, 10; 125, 3; 153, 8.
 class. — censorship (Liv. 4, 8, 2; Plin. 14, 4, 5, etc.)
 p. c. — severe judgment (Treb. Gall. 3, Capitol. M. Aur. 2, 2).
- civitas, 44, 1; 53, 4; 91, 3; 76, 3; 115.
 class. — state, country or citizenship (Cic. Rep. 1, 34, 51; Caes. B. G. 4, 3; Sall. C. 40, 2; Liv. 1, 17, 4, etc.).
 p. a. and late — town, city (Petr. 7, 2; Sen. Ben. 6, 32; Suet. Vesp. 17; Lact. 2, 7, 19).
- comes, 207, 2; 220, 7; 244, 2; 250.
 class. — companion (Cic. Fam. 13, 71; Hor. 1, 7, 26; Lucr. 3, 1047, etc.)
 Aug. — count, as title of nobility.
- comitatus, 88, 7, 10; 97, 2; 141, 10; 151, 5; 185, 25; 250, 1.
 class. — escort, retinue (Cic. Mil. 10, 28; Caes. B. C. 3, 96; Verg. A. 12, 336).
- p. c. — court of the Emperor (Aus. Ep. 17; Sym. Ep. 8, 9).
- communio, 23, 5; 35, 2, etc. *passim*.

- class. — participation (Cic. Leg. 1, 7, 23; Suet. Aug. 84, etc.).
 eccl. — 1) reception of the Holy Eucharist (Hier. Ep. 77, 6; Sulp. Sev. H. S. 2, 45).
 — 2) a congregation.
- condiscipulus, 36, 21; 95, sal.; 118, 33; 192, 2.
 class. — a school-mate (Cic. Tusc. 1, 18, 41; Nep. Att. 1, 3, etc.).
 Aug. — a fellow-preacher.
- confessio, 78, 3; 185, 32; 186, 33; 187, 10; 188, 2; 190, 2, 3.
 class. — acknowledgment (Cic. Div. 1, 17; Quint. 2, 11, 2; Liv. 21, 18, 5, etc.).
 eccl. — profession of faith (Hier. in Osee 3, 14, 2).
- collatio, 23, 6; 128, 1, 4; 129, 3.
 class. — a bringing together literal, or figurative (Cic. de Or. 1, 48, 210; Liv. 5, 25, 5, etc.).
 Aug. — a Church council.
- contritio, 122, 2.
 p. c. — a grinding (Ennod. 3).
 eccl. — contrition, sorrow for sin (Lact. 7, 18; Vulg. Jer. 30, 15; Psa. 13, 3).
- conversio, 18, 2; 83, 2; 126, 7; 140, 56; 144, 1, 2; 177, 16, 217, 24.
 class. — a change or revolving (Cic. Div. 2, 42, 89; Plin. 8, 42, 67, etc.).
 eccl. — a moral change, conversion (Civ. Dei 7, 33; Hilar. in Matth. 4, 15; Hier. c. Pel. 1, 18; Alcim. Avit. 6, 49).
- correctio, 23, 1; 82, 7; 93, 38; 134, 4; 138, 11; 140, 54.
 class. — a straightening (Cic. Fin. 4, 9, 21; Suet. Tib. 42).
 eccl. — correction (Hier. adv. Pel. 1, 30).
- correptio, 53, 7; 73, 4; 153, 10; 250, 3.
 class. — a shortening (Vitr. 9, 9; Quint. 7, 9, 13).
 eccl. — a rebuke (Tert. Pudic. 14; Vulg. Tobiae 3, 21; Sap. 1, 9; Eccli. 8, 6).
- corpulentia, 120, 12.
 class. — grossness of body (Plin. 11, 53).
 late — corporeity (Tert. Carn. Chr. 3).
- cothurnus, 187, 21.
 class. — tragedy (Hor. A. P. 80; Juv. 15, 29, etc.).
 late — majesty (Amm. 21, 16, 1).
- creator, 18, 2; 55, 28; 102, 20; 120, 12; 127, 9; 137, 4, 15, 17; 138, 5; 141, 8 et passim.

- class.** — one who begets (Cic. Div. 30, 64; Ov. M. 8, 309; Lucr. 10, 266).
- eccl.** — God, Creator of the world (Ps. Tert. adv. Haeres. 16; Vulg. Deut. 32, 18; Judith 9, 17; Eccle. 12, 2; Sap. 13, 5; Eccli. 1, 8; 2 Macc. 1, 24; Rom. 1, 25).
- crux**, 29, 6; 102, 37; 138, 17; 140, 13, 41, 64; 147, 34; 149, 11; 164, 9, 14; 186, 40; 208, 5.
- class.** — a gallows (Cic. Rab. Perd. 3, 10; Hor. S. 1, 3, 82, etc.)
- eccl.** — the Cross of Christ, as instrument of salvation or symbol of suffering (Fathers; Vulg. Matth. 10, 38; Marc. 8, 34; Luc. 9, 23; Joan. 19, 7, etc.)
- cultura**, 105, 15; 149, 23, 27.
- class.** — care, cultivation (Varro R. R. 2, 41; Lucr. 5, 1360; Cic. Fin. 5, 14, 39).
- eccl.** — religious worship (Lact. 5, 7; Tert. Apol. 21; Lampr. Heliogr. 3; Vulg. 2 Par. 31, 21, etc.).
- decessor**, 99, 3; 108, 1, 9.
- class.** — one who retires from office (Tac. Ag. 7; Dig. 1, 16, 4.)
- Aug.** — predecessor in office.
- damnatio**, 61, 2; 140, 82; 148, 12; 157, 11; 164, 20; 166, 10 passim.
- class.** — condemnation (Cic. Att. 7, 3, 5; Tac. A. 4, 35; Suet. Tib. 61, etc.).
- eccl.** — eternal punishment (Lact. 5, 11, 8; Vulg. Luc. 20, 47; Rom. 8, 1; 1 Tim. 5, 12). (Augustine uses the word in the classical sense in 81, 9; 133, 1.)
- devotio**, 20, 3; 44, 1; 55, 2, 13; 58, 1; 80, 2.
- class.** — 1) a devoting or consecrating (Cic. N. D. 3, 6, 15).
— 2) a curse or imprecation (Suet. Cal. 3; Tac. A. 2, 68; Vulg. Act. 23, 14).
- eccl.** — piety, devotion (Lact. 2, 11; Hier. in Gal. 2, 3, 27; Lampr. Heliog. 3).
- diffidentia**, 23, 6; 88, 10; 217, 10.
- class.** — distrust (Cic. Inv. 2, 54, 165; Ov. R. Am. 543; Sall. J. 100, 4, etc.).
- eccl.** — unbelief, want of faith (Hier. in Ephes. 1, 1, 2; Vulg. Rom. 4, 20; Ephes. 2, 2, etc.).
- disciplina**, 35, 3; 54, 2; 63, 2, 4; 78, 8; 89, 2; 91, 6, etc. passim.
- class.** — 1) instruction (Caes. B. G. 6, 13, 4; Cic. Div. 1, 41, 92, etc.).

— 2) learning (C
 1, 10, 15, etc.)
 eccl. = obedience to t
 1, 24; Hebr. 12.
 discipulus, 36, 6, 31;
 129, 2, etc. pas
 class. = a pupil (C
 eccl. = a disciple c
 Joan. 2, 2; L
 discussio, 17, 5; 23,
 p. a. = a shaking
 late = a disputa
 dic. 11).
 dispersio, 185A; ;
 class., very rare
 late = a scatte
 dominus, very fr
 class. = a ma
 eccl. = the L
 Christ
 donator, 153,
 class. = a g
 Aug. = an
 ecclesia, 10,
 29, 2
 class. = a
 111.
 eccl. = 1

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 g
 electio,
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- evangelium, 26, 5; 29, 2; 36, 22; 43, 7, etc. *passim*.
 class. — good news (Cic. Att. 2, 31, written as Greek).
 eccl. — the Gospel (Church Fathers *passim*; Vulg. freq. Matth. 4, 23 to Apoc. 14, 6).
- execratio, 43, 3; 69, 1.
 class. — malediction (Cic. Pis. 19, 43; Tac. H. 3, 25, etc.).
 eccl. — object of execration (Vulg. Levit. 18, 27).
- exitus, 111, 6.
 class. — egress, departure (Cic. Par. 4, 29; Caes. B. G. 7, 44; Lucr. 6, 494, etc.).
 Aug. — death.
- experientia, 190, 16; 193, 12.
 class. — trial, proof (Varro, R. R. 1, 18, 8; Cic. Rab. Post. 6, 43, etc.).
 p. a. and late — experimental knowledge, experience (Tac. A. 1, 4; Col. 10, 338).
- factura, 132.
 p. a., very rare — manufacture (Plin. 34, 14, 41).
 late — creature, work (Prud. Apoth. 792; Vulg. Eph. 2, 10).
- feria, 29, 2.
 class. plural only — holidays (Plaut. Cap. 3, 1, 8; Varr. ap. Gell. 1, 25, 2).
 eccl., sing. and plu. — week-day (Tert. Jejun. 2).
- festivitas, 55, 16, 23.
 class. — mirth, pleasantry (Plaut. Cas. 1, 47; Ter. Eun. 5, 9, 18; Cic. de Or. 2, 5, 54, 219).
 p. c. — a feast-day (Cod. Th. 15, 5, 3; Lampr. Alex. Sev. 63; Vulg. Exod. 12, 16; Deut. 16, 14; Judith 16, 31, etc.).
- fides, 20, 2; 23, 4; 40, 4; 54, 5; 61, 2; 77, 1, etc. *passim*.
 class. — 1) trust (Cic. Off. 1, 7, 23; Ter. Ad. 3, 3, 88; Liv. 40, 34, 11, etc.).
 — 2) promise, assurance (Plaut. Pers. 2, 2, 61; Caes. B. G. 1, 3; Liv. 24, 4).
 — 3) protection, help (Plaut. Cap. 2, 3, 58; Sall. C. 20, 10, etc.).
 eccl. — the Christian religion or the virtue of Faith (Lact. 4, 30; Cyp. Ep. 10, 2; Vulg. Luc. 18, 8; Act. 6, 5, etc.).
 13, 4; 120, 6; 127, 1; 130, 4, etc. *passim*.
 very frequent in classical writers).
 † God, 2nd Person of the Holy Trinity.

- (Church Fathers; Vulg. Matth. 11, 27; Marc. 1, 1; Luc. 10, 22; Joan. 1, 18, etc.).
- firmamentum, 56, 3; 140, 36; 147, 50; 166, 20; 187, 33.
- class. — support, prop (Caes. B. C. 2, 15, 2; Cic. Planc. 9, 23, etc.).
- eccl. — sky (Tert. Bapt. 3; Vulg. freq. Gen. 1, 6 to 1 Tim. 3, 15).
- fons, 54, 10; 108, 1; 127, 7.
- class. — spring, fountain (Lucr. 5, 603; Cic. Verr. 2, 4, 53; Caes. B. C. 2, 24, etc.).
- eccl. — baptism (Cyp. Ep. 73, 10; Prosp. Aquit. Car. de Ingrat. 173).
- fornicatio, 55, 24; 140, 74; 259.
- class. — architectural term: vaulting (Vitr. 6, 11; Sen. Ep. 95, 53).
- eccl. — fornication (Tert. Pud. 1, 2; Hier. Ep. 79, 10; Vulg. freq. Num. 14, 33 to Apoc. 18, 3).
- generatio, 31, 9; 91, 6; 140, 20; 153, 13; 157, 11, etc. passim.
- class. — a begetting (Plin. 9, 50, 74).
- p. c. — a period of time (Ambros. Off. Ministr. 1, 25, 121; Vulg. Matth. 11, 16; Marc. 8, 38; Luc. 1, 48; Act. 2, 40, etc.).
- gentes, 40, 6; 49, 2; 82, 4; 88, 10; 92, 1; 93, 15, etc. passim.
- class. — races, tribes (Sall. J. 95, 3; Liv. 38, 58; Cic. Rep. 2, 20, etc.).
- eccl. — the gentiles or heathen (Vulg. Malac. 1, 11; 1 Macc. 4, 54; Matth. 6, 32; Marc. 10, 33; Luc. 2, 32; Joan. 7, 35, etc.).
- gentilitas, 149, 24.
- class. — relationship (Cic. de Or. 1, 38, 173; Plin. Pan. 39, 3).
- eccl. — heathenism (Lact. 2, 13; Prud. *σνεφ.* 10, 1086; Tert. Virg. Vel. 2; Vulg. Judith 14, 6).
- gratia, 27, 2; 35, 3; 40, 6; 53, 3; 58, 1; 65, 2, etc. passim.
- class. — 1) favor, esteem (Plaut. Trin. 1, 1, 12; Cic. Planc. 13, 32; Caes. B. C. 1, 1).
- 2) gratitude (Cic. Inv. 2, 22, 66; Liv. 37, 37, 8, etc.).
- 3) charm, beauty (Ov. M. 7, 44; Suet. Tit. 3; Quint. 6, 3, 26, etc.).
- eccl. — divine grace (Cyp. Donat. 2; Hier. Ep. 130, 12; Philastr. 107; Vulg. Luc. 1, 28; Joan. 1, 14; Act. 6, 8; Rom. 3, 24, etc.).

grex, 19; 22, 11.

class. — 1) flock, herd (Cic. Att. 7, 7, 7; Varr. R. R. 2, 6, 2; Verg. G. 3, 287).

— 2) band, company (Cic. Sull. 28, 77; Hor. Ep. 1, 9, 13, etc.).

eccl. — the flock of Christ (Vulg. Luc. 12, 32; Act. 20, 28; 1 Petr. 5, 2).

haeresis, 23, 4; 29, 12; 36, 27; 44, 6; 82, 15; 93, 18; 236, 2; 237, 15.

class. — a school of thought (Cic. Par. Proem. 2; Vit. 5 Praef.).

eccl. — heresy (Tert. adv. Haer.; Sid. Ep. 7, 6; Lact. 4, 30, 2; Vulg. Act. 5, 17, etc.).

humilitas, 2, 7; 22, 7; 29, 7; 88, 4; 102, 20; 111, 4, etc. *passim*.

class. — lowness, meanness (Cic. Tusc. 5, 10, 29; Liv. 26, 31, 4; Caes. B. G. 5, 25).

eccl. — humility (Lact. 5, 15; Sulp. Sev. Vit. S. Mart. 2; Vulg. Judith 6, 15; Prov. 11, 2; Eccli. 2, 4; Dan. 3, 39; Luc. 1, 48, etc.).

indulgentia, 102, 6, 17; 126, 7; 157, 29; 243, 12.

class. — fondness, tenderness (Cic. Verr. 2, 1, 44; Tac. Ag. 4, etc.).

p. c. — remission (Capitol. Anton. 6, 3; Amm. 16, 5, 16; Vulg. Is. 61, 1; 1 Cor. 76).

infidelitas, 140, 50; 144, 21, 22; 174A, 4; 185, 22; 186, 38; 217, 6, 10; 232, 4.

class. — untrustworthiness (Cic. Tusc. 5, 22; Caes. B. C. 2, 33).

eccl. — lack of faith (Hier. Ep. 60, 5; Vulg. Sap. 14, 25).

inimicus, 31, 6; 48, 2.

class. — enemy (Cic. Verr. 2, 2, 24; Liv. 29, 38, etc.).

eccl. — the evil spirit (Vulg. Matth. 13, 39; Cyp. Hab. Virg. 20; Philastr. 101).

instructio, 21, 4; 44, 1; 60, 1; 184A, 1.

class. — 1) erecting (Traj. Ep. ad Plin. 10, 35; Vit. 5, 9).

— 2) arranging (Cic. Caes. 15, 43; Auct. Herenn. 3, 10, 18).

late — instruction, teaching (Arn. 5, 163; Hier. Ep. 130, 15).
(In Ep. 243, 1, it has meaning (2).)

intentio, 11, 4; 55, 20; 82, 19; 98, 5, 7; 118, 1, 4, 6; 120, 10, etc. *passim*.

- class. — attraction for, application to (Cic. Tusc. 2, 23, 54; Liv. 4, 17).
- late — design, purpose (Hier. in Ezech. Hom. 12, 1; Papin. 31, 77, 26).
- ira, 190, 9; 193, 3; 194, 23, 30, 31.
- class. — anger (Cic. Tusc. 4, 9, 21; Hor. Ep. 1, 2, 62; Juv. 6, 647, etc.).
- eccl. — the wrath of God, i. e. eternal punishment (Vulg. Job 6, 2; Psa. 57, 10; Eccli. 5, 7; Matth. 3, 7; Luc. 3, 7; Joan. 3, 36, etc.).
- iudicium, 23, 35; 87, 4; 98, 3; 100, 1; 104, 9; 105, 7; 138, 12, etc. *passim*.
- class. — trial, judgment (Cic. Caec. 2; Caes. B. G. 1, 41, 2, etc.).
- eccl. — the Last Judgment at the end of the world (Cyp. Lap. 23; Vulg. Jerem. 25, 31; 2 Macc. 15, 20; Matth. 10, 15; Luc. 10, 14, etc.).
- iustitia, 44, 4, 7; 53, 7; 55, 8; 120, 12; 125, 1; 127, 5; 138, 14; 140, 50, etc. *passim*.
- class. — justice according to human laws (Cic. Fin. 5, 23, 65; Flor. 1, 24, etc.).
- eccl. — goodness according to the law of God (Vulg. Gen. 15, 6 to Joan. 3, 7).
- laesio, 73, 9; 120, 11.
- class. — rhetorical term: attack in argument on an opponent (Cic. de Or. 3, 53).
- eccl. — injury (Dig. 10, 3, 28; Lact. Ira D. 17; Vulg. Esdr. 4, 14; Dan. 6, 23).
- lapsus, 78, 8.
- class. — a slipping (lit. or fig.) (Lucr. 6, 324; Cic. Div. 1, 11, 19; Verg. A. 10, 750).
- Aug. — apostasy.
- lapsi, 23, 2; 157, 34.
- class. — fallen, either into error or wrongdoing (Caes. B. G. 5, 3; Prop. 1, 1, 25; Tac. A. 4, 6).
- eccl. — apostates (Cyp. Ep. 30, 1).
- lavacrum, 35, 3; 108, 3, 6, 10; 127, 7; 185, 39; 187, 28; 190, 21; 193, 3; 194, 32; 250, 1.
- p. c. — bath (Gell. 1, 2, 2; Amm. 16, 10, 14; Tert. Cor. 3).
- eccl. — baptism (Tert. Virg. Vel. 2; Cyp. Hab. Virg. 2; Pacian. Bapt. 6; Vulg. Tit. 3, 5).

- lectio**, 20, 3; 22, 8; 174, 9; 209, 3.
 class. — act of reading (Cic. Ac. 2, 2, 4; Liv. 9, 29; Quint. 1, 8, 2, etc.).
 late — that which is read, a lesson (Macr. S. 7, 7, 5; Isid. 1, 20, 3; Amm. 30, 4, 18; Cael. Aur. Tard. 1, 5, 163).
 Aug. — the office of lector, one of the Minor Orders.
- lector**, 40, 33; 43, 22; 63, 2; 64, 3.
 class. — a reader (Cic. de Or. 2, 55, 223; Hor. Ep. 21, 1, 214, etc.).
 eccl. — a lector, a cleric in Minor Orders (Tert. adv. Haer. 4, 1; Sid. Ep. 4, 25).
- lex**, 40, 6; 55, 5; 82, 9; 88, 10; 105, 2; 137, 17; 140, 11; 149, 9; 155, 14, etc. *passim*.
 class. — law (Cic. Caec. 14, 40; Liv. 3, 33; Sen. Ep. 108, 6, etc.).
 eccl. — the Mosaic law or the law of God (Vulg. Psal. 42; Esdr. 10, 28; Matth. 5, 17, etc.).
- lignum**, 140, 15; 147, 34; 187, 3; 199, 34.
 class. — wood (Cato R. R. 130; Cic. Verr. 2, 1, 27; Hor. C. 1, 9, 5, etc.).
 eccl. — the Cross of Christ (Vulg. Act. 5, 30; 1 Petr. 2, 24).
- machinamentum**, 43, 18; 137, 13.
 class. — engine, instrument (Liv. 24, 34; Tac. H. 4, 30; Sen. Ep. 24, 14).
 late — trick, device (Cod. Th. 6, 28, 6).
- maledictio**, 184A, 3.
 class., very rare — abuse (Cic. Cael. 3, 6).
 eccl. — curse (Vulg. Gen. 24, 41; Num. 5, 21; Deut. 11, 26, etc.).
- mandatum**, 125, 3.
 class. — a command (Cic. Att. 5, 7, 3; Liv. 1, 56; Sall. J. 35, 5, etc.).
 eccl. — the Law of God (Vulg. Deut. 30, 11, 1; 1 Reg. 13, 13; Matth. 22, 38).
- membrum**, 58, 1; 60, 2; 71, 2; 87, 8; 93, 31; 95, 7; 108, 3; 122, 1; 128, 3; 129, 2, etc. *passim*.
 class. — a limb, part (Verg. G. 4, 438; Suet. Vesp. 20; Juv. 2, 11).
 eccl. — a member of the Church (Vulg. Rom. 12, 5; Eph. 5, 30).
- mors**, 157, 32; 166, 21; 190, 8; 217, 19.

- class. — death (Cic. Fam. 6, 21, 1; Verg. A. 2, 62; Hor. S. 2, 3, 197, etc.).
- eccl. — eternal death, i. e. hell (Lact. 7, 10; Vulg. Apoc. 2, 11, 20; Joan. 5, 16, etc.).
- mundus, 11, 2; 27, 2; 43, 1; 53, 6; 55, 29; 93, 32; 95, 1; 129, 2, etc. *passim*.
- class. — the universe (Cic. Univ. 10; Plin. 2, 4, 3; Juv. 10, 169, etc.).
- eccl. — this world as opposed to heaven (Vulg. Joan. 17, 9; Eph. 2, 2).
- mysterium, 11, 2; 134, 1; 137, 18; 140, 5; 147, 32.
- class. — something secret, a rite (Cic. N. D. 2, 24, 62).
- eccl. — that which transcends human intelligence (Tert. Apol. 39; Vulg. freq. Judith 2, 2 to Apoc. 17, 5).
- naevus, 85, 1.
- class. — wart, mole (Cic. N. D. 1, 28, 79; Hor. S. 1, 6, 67; Plin. 22, 25, 67).
- late — fault, blemish (Symm. 3, 34).
- novitas, 21, 2; 36, 24; 44, 8; 54, 6; 55, 5; 140, 19, 30; 151, 6; 166, 23; 190, 13; 211, 4.
- class. — novelty (Cic. Div. 2, 28, 60; Quint. 1, 6, 39, etc.).
- eccl. — newness of life, conversion (Vulg. Rom. 6, 4).
- oblatio, 22, 6; 149, 16.
- p. c. — act of offering (Eum. Pan. ad Const. 16; Dig. 5, 2, 8).
- eccl. — sacrifice (religious) (Ambros. Cain 2, 6; 18; Vulg. Eph. 5, 2; Heb. 10, 5).
- obligatio, 157, 22; 190, 5.
- class. — an engaging or pledging (very rare: Cic. Ep. ad Brut. 1, 18).
- p. c. — an entanglement (Dig. 48, 10, 1; Vulg. Psal. 124, 52; Act. 8, 23).
- observantia, 262, 9.
- class. — reverence (Cic. Inv. 2, 22, 65; Quint. 18, 59; Liv. 1, 35).
- eccl. — observance of religious duties (Cod. Th. 16, 5, 12; Vulg. 2 Macc. 6, 11).
- officium, 115.
- class. — service, duty (Sen. Ben. 3, 18, 1; Cic. Lael. 16, 58; Col. 2, 14, 6, etc.).
- p. a. — law-court (Plin. Ep. 1, 5, 11).
- opinatio, 268, 1.

- class. — a supposer (once only: Cic. Ac. 2, 20, 66).
 late — a tax-collector (Cod. Just. 12, 38, 11; Cod. Th. 7, 4, 26).
 oratio, 20, 2; 21, 6; 22, 3; 29, 36; 65, 1; 78, 4; 111, 7; 124, 2; 126, 1, etc. *passim*.
 class. — language, discourse (Cic. Off. 1, 16, 50; Plaut. Mil. 3, 1, 155, etc.).
 eccl. — prayer (Fathers; Vulg. 3 Reg. 8, 28; 2 Macc. 10, 16; Luc. 6, 12; Act. 1, 14, etc.).
 ordinatio, 21, 2; 43, 4; 61, 2; 78, 3; 108, 5; 126, 6; 185, 17.
 class. — a regulating, an ordinance (Suet. Aug. 31; Plin. Ep. 8, 24, 8, etc.).
 eccl. — ordination (Sid. Ep. 7, 6; Cassiod. H. E. 9, 36).
 ordinator, 43, 3, 9; 88, 5; 129, 4; 140, 57; 161, 10.
 class. — a regulator (Sen. Ep. 109).
 eccl. — an ordainer (Ambros. in 2 Tim. 4, 13).
 paenitentes, 185, 32; 265, 2, 7.
 class. as adj. — repentant, regretful (Cic. Phil. 2, 2, 7; Suet. Claud. 43).
 Aug. as noun — penitents.
 paenitentia, 35, 3; 54, 4; 55, 9; 93, 41; 102, 37; 104, 9; 137, 16, etc. *passim*.
 class. — regret for failure (Sen. Q. N. 3, 3; Phaedr. 1, 13, 2; Tac. A. 1, 45).
 eccl. — penance (Cyp. Ep. 55, 22; Tert. Poen. 2; Hier. Ep. 77, 4, etc.).
 paganus, 31, 8; 35, 3; 43, 1; 45, 2; 91, 8; 93, 26; 102, 18; 184A, 5; 185, 41; 186, 1; 232, 4; 235, 1; 255.
 class. — countryman, peasant (Cic. Dom. 28, 74; Tac. H. 3, 24, etc.).
 eccl. — pagan, heathen (Cod. Th. 16, 7, 2; Tert. Cor. Mil. 11; Hier. in Psa. 41).
 paradisus, 36, 11; 38, 12; 147, 26; 157, 15; 164, 8; 187, 3, 5, 6, 9.
 p. c. — a park (Gell. 2, 20, 4).
 eccl. — paradise (Tert. Apol. 47; Vulg. Gen. 2, 8; Cant. 4, 13; Apoc. 2, 7, etc.).
 passio, 36, 29, 30; 40, 6; 44, 10; 54, 1, 8; 55, 2, etc. *passim*.
 p. c. — suffering (Maxim. Gallus 3, 42; Prud. *σρεφ.* 5, 291).
 eccl. — the sufferings of Christ or of the martyrs (Lact. 5, 23, 5; Vulg. Act. 1, 3).

**pastor, 23, 6; 29, 6; 36, 20; 93, 5; 105, 13; 138, 19; 149, 11;
157, 37, etc. passim.**

class.—a shepherd (Cato R. R. 141, 3; Caes. B. C. 1, 24; Hor. C. 3, 29, 21).

eccl. — a pastor (Vulg. Ezech. 34, 2; Joan. 10, 11; Hebr. 13, 20; Eph. 4, 11).

pater, 11, 2; 14, 4; 23, 4; 120, 6; 130, 19; 134, 4; 138; 140, 31,
etc. passim.

class. = a father (Caes. B. C. 2, 44; Cic. de Or. 1, 43; etc.).

eccl.—God the Father, First Person of the Blessed Trinity
(Fathers; Vulg. Matth. 5, 48; Luc. 10, 21; Joan, 4, 23;
Act. 1, 7, etc.).

рах, 93, 41; 105, 1, 6; 185, 46, 47.

class. = peace (Cic. Phil. 13, 1, 1; Caes. B. G. 1, 27; Liv. 9, 11, etc.).

Aug. = absolution.

persecutio, 29, 9; 43, 8; 44, 4; 51, 2; 76, 4, etc. passim.

class. = 1) a pursuing (Dig. 41, 1, 44).

— 2) prosecution (Cic. Or. 41, 141).

eccl. — persecution of Christians (Tert. Spec. 27; Vulg. Matth. 5, 10, etc.).

perseverantia, 93, 11; 126, 3; 147, 34; 217, 5; 262, 1.

class.—persistence, continuance (Cic. Inv. 2, 54, 164; Caes. B. C. 3, 26).

eccl. — perseverance in good (Vulg. Eccli. 28, 36; 2 Macc. 14, 38).

persona, 11, 3; 22, 2; 43, 14; 52, 2; 60, 1; 66, 1; 73, 6; 78, 6;
82, 5, etc. passim.

class. = 1) mask (Phaedr. 1, 7, 1; Luc. 7, 4, 297; Mart. 14, 176, 1).

— 2) character in a play (Ter. Eun. Prol. 26; Vell. 1, 3. 2).

juristic and late — person before the law (Cic. Att. 8, 12, 4; Hier. Ep. 52, 5; Dig. 1, 5, 1; Just. Inst. 1, 3; Vulg. Deut. 1, 17; 2 Par. 19, 7; Gal. 2, 6).

pietas, 11, 4; 47, 3; 86; 91, 2; 104, 5; 114; 120, 7; 130, 30;
134, 3, etc. passim.

class. = filial reverence for gods, parents, country (Cic. N. D. 1, 41, 115, etc. *saepe*).

eccl. — love and reverence. Cyp. Ep.

55, 23; Vulg. Eccli. 49, 4; Is. 11, 2; 1 Tim. 2, 2; Tit. 1, 1, etc.).

plaga, 143, 1.

class. — wound, misfortune (Plaut. Ps. 1, 2, 4; Cic. Tusc. 2, 17, 41, etc.).

eccl. — a plague (Vulg. Lev. 13, 2; Exod. 11, 1; 3 Reg. 8, 37, etc.).

plebs, 23, 5; 33, 4; 71, 5; 82, 2; 84, 2; 105, 1; 185, 36; 209, 2; 238, 5, 13; 265, 4.

class. — the common people (Cic. Leg. 3, 3, 10; Liv. 2, 33, 2, etc.).

late — populus (Vulg. Gen. 23, 13; Hier. c. Joan. 11).

Aug. in plu. — congregations.

populus (in plural) — 1) people: 36, 29; 82, 17; 87, 2; 91, 3; 105, 1; 118, 19; 175, 32; 179, 4.

— 2) the laity as distinguished from the clergy: 204, 1; 209, 9; 220, 7; 232, 6; 228, 9.

(Hier. adv. Vigil. 5.)

Still later populi came to mean persons, losing entirely its original collective force.²

praecursor, 187, 23; 189, 4.

class. — a forerunner (lit.) (Plin. Pan. 761).

eccl. — the Precursor, a name given to St. John the Baptist.

praedicatio, 87, 7; 164, 11, 12; 166, 21; 169, 34; 185, 18, 23; 194, 7; 199, 49; 217, 9; 228, 12; 238, 4; 243, 6.

class. — praise (Cic. Q. Fr. 1, 1, 14; Plin. Ep. 9, 9, 3; Liv. 4, 49, 10).

eccl. — preaching (Vulg. Jonae, 3, 2; Matth. 12, 41; Rom. 16, 25).

praedicator, 40, 6; 82, 9; 112, 2; 127, 7; 175, 3; 194, 11; 200, 1; 217, 11.

class. — a eulogist (Cic. Balb. 2, 4; Plin. Ep. 7, 33, 2).

eccl. — a preacher (Tert. adv. Marc. 4, 28; Sulp. Sev. Ep. 1, 6; Vulg. 1 Tim. 2, 7).

praeiudicium, 59, 2; 78, 4; 242.

class. — a preceding judgment (Quint. 5, 2, 1; Cic. Div. 4, 12, etc.).

p. c. — damage, prejudice (Gell. 2, 2, 7; Dig. 1, 6, 10; Vulg. 1 Tim. 5, 21).

² Bonnet, 274.

praepositus, 43, 23.

class. — one set over others, a prefect (Cic. Pis. 36, 88; Tac. H. 1, 3, 6).

Aug. — a religious or ecclesiastical superior.

praeposita, 211, 4 = abbess.

praevaricatio, 158; 177, 13; 179, 13; 186, 32, 33; 190, 7; 194, 30; 217, 9.

class. — violation of duty, collusion (Cic. Part. 36, 124; Plin. Ep. 120, 2).

eccl. — transgression, sin (Vulg. Levit. 7, 18; Deut. 19, 16; Psal. 100, 3).

praevaricator, 17, 5; 82, 20; 102, 18; 196, 4.

class. — sham defender or accuser in a suit (Cic. Part. 36, 126).

eccl. — sinner, apostate (Lact. 2, 16; Hilar. in Ps. 18, 15, 11; Vulg. 2 Reg. 23, 6; Prov. 13, 2, etc.).

pressura, 111, 2; 224, 2.

class. — pressure (Plin. 18, 31, 74; Sen. Q. N. 2, 6, 4).

eccl. — affliction, persecution (Tert. ad Uxor. 1, 5; Lact. 5, 22, 17; Vulg. Luc. 21, 23; Joan. 16, 33; 2 Cor. 1, 4).

principatus, 149, 25; 263.

class. — preeminence, chief place (Cic. N. D. 2, 11, 29; Caes. B. G. 6, 8; Nepos. Arist. 1).

eccl. — angels, good or bad (Vulg. Rom. 8, 38; Colos. 1, 1, 16).

probator, 153, 1.

class. — an approver (Cic. Phil. 2, 12, 29).

eccl. — an examiner (Vulg. Jerem. 20, 12).

providentia, 19; 23, 8; 98, 4; 102, 13, etc. *passim*.

class. — foresight (Cic. Inv. 2, 53, 160; Sen. Ep. 5, 9; Plin. Ep. 3, 19, 9).

eccl. — the Providence of God (Vulg. Tob. 9, 2; Judith, 9, 5; Sap. 6, 17, etc.).

publicanus, 146, 67.

class. — a tax-collector (Cic. Planc. 9, 23; Liv. 43, 16).

eccl. — a sinner (Vulg. Matth. 5, 46; Marc. 2, 15; Luc. 3, 12, etc.).

quadragesima, 29, 2; 169, 1.

class. — the fortieth part (Tac. A. 13, 51; Suet. Vesp. 1).

eccl. — the fast of Lent (Hier. Ep. 41, 3).

- reatus, 98, 6; 125, 3; 126, 1; 164, 13; 166, 27; 167, 2, 17, 20.
 class. — the state of reus or defendant (Quint. 8, 3, 34).
 eccl. — guilt (Tert. adv. Marc. 2, 15; Hier. in Eph. 2, 3, 8).
 redemptio, 55, 4, 25; 102, 35; 149, 20; 157, 22; 186, 40; 190, 3.
 class. — a buying back (Liv. 25, 6; Quint. 7, 1, 29; Vulg. Levit. 25, 24; Num. 18, 16).
 eccl. — release from sin and its punishment (Vulg. Psal. 110, 9; Prov. 13, 8; Isai. 63, 4; Matth. 20, 28; Marc. 10, 45, etc.).
 redemptor, 122, 2; 129, 2; 177, 11; 185, 23; 186, 27; 199, 21.
 class. — a contractor, tax-farmer (Cic. Div. 2, 21, 47; Hor. C. 3, 1, 35, etc.).
 eccl. — the Redeemer (Hier. Ep. 66, 8; Vulg. Job 19, 25; Psal. 18, 15; Isai. 43, 14; Act. 7, 35).
 remissio, 55, 3; 137, 12; 157, 22; 158, 5; 164, 12; 175, 6, etc. passim.
 class. — a sending back, a relaxing (Liv. 27, 17, 11; Cic. Tusc. 2, 23, 54, etc.).
 eccl. — forgiveness of sin (Tert. adv. Marc. 4, 28; Ambros. de Isaac et Anim. 1, 1; Vulg. Matth. 26, 28; Marc. 1, 4; Luc. 1, 77; Act. 2, 38).
 renuntiatio, 85, 12.
 class. — report, announcement (Cic. Verr. 2, 1, 34; Plin. Pan. 77, 1).
 Aug. — renuntiation (as a virtue).
 requies, 48, 4; 55, 17; 69, 2.
 class. — rest, refreshment (Lucr. 6, 1178; Cic. Off. 2, 2, 6; Ov. Tr. 4, 10, 118, etc.).
 Aug. — eternal rest, heaven.
 sacramentum, 21, 3; 22, 4; 23, 4; 34, 3; 36, 28; 43, 23; 44, 10; 61, 1, etc. passim.
 class. — a guarantee, a military oath (Varro L. L. 5, 180; Cic. Off. 1, 11; Caes. B. C. 1, 23, etc.).
 in Aug. — 1) symbol, 23, 4; 43, 23.
 — 2) dignity, 36, 12 (Lact. 7, 3, 14; Amm. 15, 7, 7).
 — 3) dispensation, 40, 6.
 — 4) rite, 40, 4; 43, 23; 44, 16 (Lact. 7, 22, 2).
 — 5) secret or mystery, 237, 4, 6, 7, 8 (Tert. Marc. 5, 18; Hier. in Is. 13, 45; Vulg. Tob. 12, 11; Apoc. 1, 20).

- 6) sacrament, 36, 28; 44, 10; 61, 1; 102, 38; 105, 12; 106; 108, 1, etc. (Fathers; Vulg. Eph. 5, 32).
- 7) the Holy Eucharist, 44, 10 (Tert. Cor. 3; Virg. Vel. 2).
- saeculum, 23, 3; 26, 5; 43, 8; 58, 2; 66, 1; 68, 2; 73, 10; 78, 1; 84, 1; 93, 27, etc. *passim*.
- class. — an age, century (Cic. N. D. 1, 9, 21; Liv. 9, 18; Quint. 8, 6, 24, etc.).
- eccl. — the world and its ideas as hostile to Christian principles. (Prud. *σρεφ.* 2, 583; Paul. Nol. Ep. 23, 33; Tert. Exhort. ad Cast. 13; Vulg. Jacob. 1, 27.)
- salus, 40, 4; 41, 1; 43, 22; 60, 1; 61, 1; 76, 2; 83, 3; 84, 2; 87, 1, etc. *passim*.
- class. — safety, health (Cato R. R. 143, 1; Plaut. Bacch. 4, 9, 147; Cic. Fin. 2, 35).
- eccl. — eternal salvation (Vulg. Psa. 3, 9; Prov. 8, 35; Eccli. 13, 18; Luc. 1, 69; Act. 13, 26; 2 Cor. 6, 2, etc.).
- sapientia, 102, 29.
- class. — wisdom (Lucr. 5, 10; Cic. Off. 2, 2, 5, etc.).
- Aug. — the Holy Ghost.
- scissura, 185, 45.
- class. — a cleft, fissure (Sen. Q. N. 6, 2; Plin. 5, 9, 9, etc.).
- eccl. — schism (Prud. Psych. 756; Vulg. 1 Cor. 11, 18, etc.).
- scriba, 43, 23.
- class. — a secretary (Cic. Verr. 2, 3, 79; Liv. 2, 12, 22; Hor. S. 1, 5, 35).
- eccl. — a Scribe, member of a Jewish sect (Vulg. 2 Reg. 8, 17; Matth. 23, 2, etc.).
- scriptura, 21, 3; 22, 1; 44, 3; 47, 2; 49, 3; 53, 6; 54, 5; 64, 3; 71, 4; 73, 1; 77, 1, etc. *passim*.
- class. — writing (Cic. de Or. 1, 33, 150; Liv. 25, 12; Suet. Gram. 2, etc.).
- eccl. — the Scriptures (Vulg. Matth. 21, 42; Joan. 7, 42; Marc. 14, 49, etc.).
- seductio, 53, 7; 127, 1; 134, 4; 185, 18.
- class. — a leading aside (Cic. Mur. 24, 49).
- eccl. — seduction (Tert. adv. Marc. 2, 2; Hier. in Is. 4, 14, 23; Ambros. in Luc. 7, 21, 18; Vulg. Jerem. 14, 14; 2 Thes. 2, 10).
- sermo, 29, 3, 7, 8, 11; 36, 28; 41, 2; 188, 2.

class. — speech, conversation (Plaut. *Curc.* 1, 3, 37; Cic. *Off.* 1, 38, 136; *Caes. B. G.* 5, 37, etc.).

Aug. — sermon, homily.

spes, 20, 2; 27, 3; 64, 1; 120, 8, 12; 130, 17; 147, 34, etc. *passim*.

class. — hope (Cic. *N. D.* 3, 6, 14; *Hor. S.* 2, 5, 26; *Caes. B. G.* 1, 42, etc.).

eccl. — a theological virtue, hope of salvation (*Vulg. Act.* 24, 15; *Galat.* 5, 5; *Eph.* 2, 12; *Tit.* 1, 2).

spiritus, 11, 2; 12; 23, 4; 43, 11; 82, 2; 98, 2; 108, 3, etc. *passim*.

class. — spirit, breath (Cic. *Verr.* 2, 5, 45; *Cels.* 4, 4; *Liv.* 40, 16, 1, etc.).

eccl. — the Holy Ghost (*Cod. Th.* 1, 1, 1; *Lact.* 4, 27, 12; *Vulg. Matth.* 1, 18; *Marc.* 1, 8; *Luc.* 1, 151; *Joan.* 1, 32, etc.).

This word also occurs frequently in the Letters with a classical meaning, and is especially used to denote spirit or meaning as opposed to letter.

susceptio, 11, 2; 130, 26; 140, 31; 169, 7; 187, 40.

class. — undertaking (Cic. *Fin.* 3, 9, 22).

Aug. — the Incarnation of Christ. The expression is either *susceptio hominis* or *susceptio carnis*.

susceptor, 186, 6; 187, 40.

p. c. — contractor or tax-collector (*Cod. Th.* 2, 12, 6; *Cod. Just.* 10, 70).

eccl. — protector (*Vulg. Psal.* 34, 41, etc.).

temptatio, 36, 21; 62, 2; 69, 1; 93, 30; 95, 2; 130, 21, etc. *passim*.

class. — attack, trial (Cic. *Att.* 10, 7, 2; *Liv.* 4, 42, 4).

eccl. — temptation (*Vulg. Tob.* 2, 12; *Judith* 8, 24; *Matth.* 6, 13, etc.).

temptator, 36, 21; 48, 3; 127, 1; 140, 34; 153, 12).

class. — assailant, attempter (*Hor. C.* 3, 4, 71).

eccl. — the evil spirit (*Vulg. Matth.* 4, 3; *Juvenc.* 1, 384).

testamentum, 29, 44; 82, 15; 93, 19; 102, 17; 111, 5; 124, 2, etc. *passim*.

class. — will, testament (Cic. *Mil.* 18, 48; *Hor. Ep.* 1, 7, 9; *Nep. Att.* 5, 2).

eccl. — the Bible, old or new testament (*Lact.* 4, 20, 4; *Tert. adv. Marc.* 1; *Vulg. 2 Cor.* 3, 14, etc.).

tractator, 82, 24; 147, 17; 157, 39.

class. — a slave attendant (Sen. Ep. 66, 53).

p. c. — one who treats of or handles (Sid. Ep. 2, 9; Hier. in Helv. 6).

tractatus, 44, 10; 224, 2.

class. — management, treatment (Cic. de Or. 3, 23, 86; Quint. 12, 8, 2, etc.).

eccl. — treatise (Hier. Ep. 54, 11; Aug. Haeres. 4, praef.).

traditio, 36, 6; 40, 5; 43, 6; 54, 3; 70, 1; 76, 1; 93, 27.

class. — surrender (Liv. 32, 14, 3; Plin. 37, 1, 4; Val. Max. 8, 14).

eccl. — tradition (Vulg. Matth. 15, 2; Marc. 7, 3) (in 36, 6; 40, 5; 93, 2).

Aug. — betrayal of the Sacred Books under persecution (51, 2; 43, 6, 10; 54, 3; 70, 1; 76, 2).

traditor, 35, 4; 43, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10; 44, 4, 5; 53, 3, 4; 70, 1, etc. *passim*.

class. — traitor (Tac. H. 4, 24).

Aug. — one who betrayed the Sacred Books under persecution.

transgressio, 205, 10.

class. — passing over (Cic. Pis. 33, 81).

eccl. — transgression (Aug. Quaest. in Exod. 108; Ambros. in Luc. 7, 164; Vulg. 1 Esdr. 9, 4; Isai. 59, 13; Galat. 3, 19).

verbum, 93, 32; 102, 11; 105, 4, 16.

class. — word, language (Cic. Brut. 78, 270; Caes. B. G. 2, 14, etc.).

eccl. — λόγος, The Word, Second Person of the Blessed Trinity (Vulg. Joan. 1, 1; Apoc. 19, 13).

villa, 44, 14; 173, 7.

class. — a farm, country-house (Ter. Heaut. 4, 4, 9; Cato R. R. 4; Cic. Fam. 10, 33, 5).

late — a village, town (App. M. 8, p. 209; Hier. de Situ et Nom. Loc. Col. 178).

vita, 55, 3; 93, 3; 98, 5; 102, 38; 127, 2; 130, 15; 134, 1, etc. *passim*.

class. — life (Cic. N. D. 2, 54, 134; Tac. A. 2, 88, etc.).

eccl. — eternal life, heaven (Cyp. Or. Dom. 1; Ep. 55, 22; Commodian. Apol. 58).

vocatio, 82, 11, 15; 149, 22; 157, 16; 218, 5.

class. — a summons (Gell. 13, 12, 6; Cat. 47, 5).

eccl. — calling, vocation (Hilar. in Matth. 4, 15; Vulg. 1 Cor. 1, 26; Hebr. 3, 1).

b) *Adjectives.*

beatus, 44, 4, 12; 73, 7; 78, 3; 92, 4; 102, 11; 104, 12, etc. passim.

class. — happy, fortunate (Cic. de Or. 2, 33, 144; Hor. C. 2, 2, 18, etc.).

eccl. — blessed (of the dead) (Amm. 25, 3, 1; Hier. Ep. ad Marc. 24).

canonicus, 28, 2.

class. — according to rule or measure (Vitr. 1, 1; Gell. 18, 18, 5)

eccl. — canonical (Civ. Dei 18, 36; Doctr. Christ. 2, 81).

devotus, 38, 9.

class. — devoted, faithful (Juv. 9, 72; Sen. Ben. 5, 17; Caes. B. G. 3, 22, 1).

eccl. — pious, devout (Hier. Ep. 108, 2; Auson. Id. 1, 2; Cass. Varr. 2, 16).

dominicus, 23, 4, 6; 35, 3; 36, 9; 40, 1; 51, 2; 53, 4; 54, 2; 55, 17, etc. passim.

class. — of or belonging to a master (Varro R. R. 2, 10, 10; Sen. Ep. 47).

eccl. — with or without dies — the Lord's Day; Sunday (Tert. Cor. 3; Jej. 15; Cyp. Ep. 38).

fideles (plu.) 53, 3; 77, 1; 78, 1; 82, 15; 93, 9; 98, 5, etc. passim.

class. — trusty, faithful (Cic. Cael. 6, 14; Liv. 22, 37, 4; Caes. B. G. 7, 76).

eccl. — the believers, the faithful (of the Church) (Comm. 2, 2; Lact. 4, 13; Cyp. Op. et Elem. 8; Fortunat. 12, Ep. 66, 5; Vulg. Act. 10, 45; Ephes. 1, 1; Colos. 1, 2, etc.).

gentilis, 29, 9; 32, 20, 26, 27; 139, 2; 149, 25; 184A, 5; 231, 5.

class. — of or belonging to a gens (Cic. Top. 6, 29; Liv. 3, 58, 11; Ov. F. 2, 19).

p. c. — foreign (Cod. Th. 3, 14, 1; Amm. 14, 7).

eccl. — gentile, heathen (Prud. $\sigma\tau\epsilon\phi$. 10, 464; Hier. Ep. 22, 30; Vulg. Tob. 1, 12; Act. 14, 5).

infideles (plu.) 102, 4, 14; 120, 5; 140, 8, 9.

class. — faithless, unreliable (Caes. B. G. 7, 59; Cic. Off. 3, 29, 106, etc.).

eccl. — unbelieving, infidel (Salv. de Gub. 5; Vulg. Rom. 15, 31; 1 Cor. 6, 6).

iustus, 138, 12; 140, 71; 147, 19; 153, 26; 157, 4; 164, 9; 167, 20; 177, 15, etc. *passim*.

class. — upright, honorable (Cic. Off. 2, 12, 42; Ov. P. 4, 3, 22; Hor. C. 1, 12, 54).

eccl. — virtuous according to divine law (Vulg. Psal. 1, 5; Prov. 3, 33, etc.).

latebrosus, 95, 3; 137, 5; 164, 10.

class. — full of hiding-places (Plaut. Bacch. 3, 3, 26; Cic. Sest. 59, 126, etc.).

Aug. — obscure, intricate (Retract. 1, 19).

litterarius, 37, 2; 40, 1, 9.

class. — of or pertaining to reading and writing as elementary subjects (Quint. 1, 4, 27; Tac. A. 3, 66; Plin. 9, 8, 8).

Aug. — literary.

omnis — totus in 22, 1, 1.

pastoralis 175, 4; 178, 2; 185, 23; 191, 2; 194, 47; 208, 2; 209, 9; 237, 9.

class. — of or belonging to a shepherd (Varro. R. R. 2, 1, 15; Cic. Div. 1, 48).

Aug. — of or belonging to a shepherd of souls, a pastor.

pious, 55, 18; 73, 10; 92, 1, 3, 4; 102, 38; 104, 3; 118, 21, etc. *passim*.

class. — conscientious, filial (Verg. A. 6, 662; Cat. 16, 5; Cic. Leg. 2, 7, 15, etc.).

eccl. — pious, devout (Cyp. Ep. 55, 29; Vulg. 2 Petr. 2, 9).

pontificalis, 82, 23.

class. — belonging to a pontifex (Cic. Leg. 2, 21, 52; Ov. F. 3, 420).

Aug. — belonging to a bishop.

prolixus, 36, 2; 40, 1; 73, 8; 82, 20; 111, 9, etc. *passim*.

class. — tall, far-reaching (Ter. Heaut. 2, 3, 49; Ov. Tr. 4, 2, 34; Verg. E. 8, 38).

p. c. — long, prolix (Gell. 13, 28, 3; Macr. S. 3, 7).

publicanus, 140, 67.

class. — of or belonging to public revenue, a tax-gatherer (Cic. Verr. 2, 3, 34; Liv. 43, 16).

eccl. — a sinner (Vulg. Luc. 18, 10).

saecularis, 27, 2; 33, 5; 40, 1; 48, 1; 55, 37; 64, 4; 69, 1, etc. *passim*.

class. — of or belonging to a saeculum (Suet. Aug. 31; Plin. 7, 48, etc.).

eccl. — worldly, profane, pagan (Hier. Ep. 60, 11; Tert. Exhort. ad Cast. 13; Vulg. 1 Cor. 6, 4; 2 Tim. 2, 4; Tit. 2, 12).

salutaris, 20, 3; 22, 18; 29, 9; 36, 15; 93, 3; 140, 46; 173, 10; 217, 7; 243, 7.

class. — healthful, beneficial (Cic. Leg. 1, 16, 44; Quint. 12, 10, 79, etc.).

eccl. — of or pertaining to salvation (sometimes *salutare* — *salus*) (Vulg. Psal. 26, 9; Eccli. 15, 3; 2 Macc. 3, 32).

salvus, 78, 6; 82, 8; 137, 9; 140, 26; 145, 8; 149, 3; 157, 8; 167, 2; 169, 4; 185, 43; 187, 34; 217, 19.

class. — safe, uninjured (Cato R. R. 141, 3; Plaut. Aul. 4, 6, 11; Liv. 22, 10).

eccl. — saved from sin, redeemed (Vulg. Act. 2, 21; 1 Cor. 7, 6, etc.).

sanctus, 14, 3; 26, 5; 36, 16; 43, 23; 55, 23; 78, 3; 82, 14, etc. *passim*.

class. — sacred, holy (Cic. Leg. 3, 3, 9; Liv. 8, 37; Quint. 6, 36, etc.).

eccl. — a saint (Fathers; Vulg. 2 Par. 6, 41; Psal. 30, 24, etc.).

spiritalis, 22, 1, 5, 9; 29, 2; 31, 7; 34, 3; 36, 11; 37, 2; 43, 27, etc. *passim*.

class. — belonging to breathing (Vitr. 10, 1; Veg. 5, 75, 1).

eccl. — spiritual (Tert. Apol. 22; Prud. *σρεφ.* 10, 13; Vulg. Gal. 6, 1, etc.).

terrenus, 9, 3; 15, 2; 27, 1; 31, 5; 35, 4; 36, 11; 43, 13, etc. *passim*.

class. — earthy, earthen (Caes. B. G. 1, 43; Liv. 38, 20, 1; Suet. Calig. 19, etc.).

eccl. — transitory as opposed to eternal (Cyp. de Zelo 2; Lact. 5, 22).

transmarinus, 22, 4; 29, 10; 43, 11; 44, 5; 52, 3, etc. *passim*.

class. — transmarine, foreign (Plaut. Most. 2, 2, 66; Liv. 26, 24; Caes. B. G. 6, 24).

Aug. — non-African (applied to Churches).

unus — primus, 36, 28.

c) *Verbs.*

aedificare, 31, 7; 47, 3; 69, 1; 82, 7; 87, 5; 104, 12, etc. *passim*.

class. — to build (Cato R. R. 3, 1; Plaut. Mil. 2, 2, 56; Caes. B. G. 6, 22, etc.).

- eccl. — to edify (Vulg. 1 Cor. 8, 1; 1 Thess. 5, 11).
 Augustine also uses this verb with the classical meaning in
 127, 7; 157, 33; 186, 36; 187, 19, 31, 41; 243, 1.
- angariare, 138, 9, 11; 139, 3.
 class. (rare) — to exact something as quit-rent, villainage
 (Dig. 49, 18).
- eccl. — to compel (Vulg. Matth. 5, 41; Marc. 15, 21).
- cibare, 102, 2, 6.
 class. — to feed animals (Col. 8, 10; Suet. Tib. 72).
 late — to feed men, to take food (Hier. in Ezech. 1, 3, 2;
 Vulg. Deut. 8, 16; Psal. 79, 6; Prov. 25, 21; Jerem. 9,
 15, etc.).
- circumcidere, 23, 4; 82, 8, 12, 16, 18, 19.
 class. — to cut around, to trim (Lucr. 3, 412; Caes. B. G. 25,
 5; Cic. Fin. 5, 14).
 eccl. — to circumcise (Vulg. Gen. 17, 10; Exod. 4, 25; Levit.
 12, 3, etc.).
- communicare, 64, 2; 70, 2; 76, 2; 87, 1; 93, 13; 102, 38, etc.
 passim.
 class. — to share, divide (Cic. Lael. 19, 70; Caes. B. G. 7, 37;
 Sall. C. 56, 5).
 Aug. — 1) to form part of a Church congregation.
 — 2) to receive the Holy Eucharist (Hier. Ep. 48, 15).
- compungere, 93, 49; 153, 15.
 class. — to prick, sting (Phaedr. 3, 6, 3; Col. 8, 14, 8; Cels.
 6, 18, 9).
 eccl. — to feel remorse (Lact. 4, 18, 14; Sulp. Sev. Dial. 3, 13;
 Vulg. Psa. 4, 5; Act. 2, 37).
- convertere, 82, 3; 83, 3; 91, 6; 93, 26; 97, 4; 102, 37; 104, 9;
 105, 4; 140, 30; 166, 18; 217, 29; 227; 232, 2.
 class. — to turn or whirl around (Lucr. 2, 1097; Cic. Rep. 6,
 17, 17, etc.).
 eccl. — to convert (Hier. in Philem. 5, 10; Vulg. 3 Reg. 8, 35;
 2 Par. 6, 24; Tob. 13, 8; Job 17, 10, etc.).
- coronare, 108, 9.
 class. — to wreath, crown (Ov. M. 8, 264; Hor. C. 3, 23, 15,
 etc.).
 Aug. (in passive) — to be crowned with martyrdom.
- dealbare, 34, 3.
 class. — to whiten (Cic. Verr. 2, 1, 55; Suet. Gall. 9; Vitr.
 7, 4, etc.).

- eccl. — to purify (of the soul) (Vulg. Apoc. 7, 14; Hier. Ep. 108, 17).
- decolorare, 77, 1; 123, 8; 138, 10.
- class. — to discolor (Sen. Q. N. 2, 41; Hor. C. 2, 1, 35; Cels. 2, 8).
- late — to disgrace (Cod. Just. 1, 3, 19; Capitol. Ant. Phil. 19).
- diffamare, 71, 6; 87, 5; 97, 4; 102, 35; 104, 7.
- class. — to divulge wrongly (Ov. M. 4, 236; Tac. A. 14, 22).
- late — to publish (in good sense) (Aug. de Mor. Eccl. 14; Vulg. Marc. 1, 45).
- dimittere, 43, 10; 73, 3; 82, 33; 93, 21; 104, 8; 157, 2; 167, 19; 185, 49; 194, 42; 211, 14.
- class. — to dismiss, release (Cic. Sull. 20, 57; Caes. B. C. 1, 18).
- eccl. — to forgive sins (Pacian. Ep. 3, 24; Philastr. 107, 125; Vulg. Marc. 2).
- dirigere, 161, 10; 191, 1; 215, 2.
- class. — to arrange, direct (Caes. B. G. 6, 8, 5; Liv. 2, 6; Verg. A. 5, 162, etc.).
- late — to send a letter (Capitol. Clod. Alb. 2; Hier. Ep. 134, 2).
- donare, 43, 11; 48, 3; 193, 5.
- class. — to give (Plaut. Mil. 4, 4, 5; Cic. Rosc. Am. 8; Caes. B. G. 7, 11, etc.).
- Aug. — to forgive sins.
- dormire (in pres. part.) 22, 6.
- class. (dormire) — to sleep (Plaut. Most. 3, 2, 4; Hor. Ep. 1, 7, 13, etc.).
- eccl. (dormientes) — those who sleep, i. e. the dead (Vulg. 1 Thess. 4, 12; Hier. ad Rufin. 3, 2).
- electus, 236, 1, 2; 264, 2—in Manichaeon sense of the initiated.
- eligere, 110, 4; 127, 2; 140, 81; 147, 19; 149, 16; 185, 33; 197, 5; 202A, 17; 211, 2.
- class. — choose, select (Varro R. R. 3, 9, 14; Cic. Tusc. 3, 34, 83, etc.).
- Augustine uses it regularly for *malle* with a verb in the infinitive, e. g. *elegerunt vivere* (166, 18); *eligitis confidere* (140, 8); *eligit vitam finire*, 127, 2), etc.
- eructare, 27, 4.
- class. — to vomit forth (Cic. Pis. 6, 13; Verg. A. 3, 6, 32; Lucr. 3, 1012).

- eccl.—to utter (Civ. Dei 18, 32; Vulg. Psal. 44, 2; Matth. 13, 35).
- evacuare, 177, 11; 185, 17; 186, 37; 196, 16.
class.—to empty (Plin. 20, 6, 23).
- late—to cancel (Cod. Just. 8, 43, 4; Vulg. 1 Cor. 1, 17; Galat. 3, 17).
- habere—frequent passim. Begins to lose its meaning of have, hold and shows signs of becoming an auxiliary verb, as it later developed in the Romance languages. In 209, 3; occurs the expression “habebam . . . paratum presbyterum,” which indicates the beginning of this development.
- In 82, 32 non habeo is equivalent to nescio.
- insinuare, 11, 4; 18, 2; 36, 2; 44, 2; 49, 1; 53, 1; 54, 8; 55, 14; 64, 2; 65, 1; 95, 7, etc. passim.
class.—1) to bring in by windings or turnings (Lucr. 6, 860; Liv. 44, 41).
—2) to ingratiate oneself (Suet. Gram. 21; Plin. Pan. 62).
- late—to make known, to teach (cf. French enseigner) (Dig. 32, 1, 11; Rutil. Nam. 1, 590).
- interpellare, 194, 16.
class.—to interrupt, importune (Plaut. Men. 5, 9, 62; Cic. Tusc. 1, 8, 16).
- eccl.—to intercede (Vulg. Hebr. 7, 25).
- intimare, 55, 21; 57, 1; 65, 1; 82, 31; 126, 6, etc. passim.
p. c.—to put or bring in (Sol. 5; Tert. adv. Valent. 17).
- late—to announce (Amm. 21, 11, 1; Treb. Gall. 16; Cod. 14, 3, 1; Mart. Cap. 3, 274).
- invenire—has a quite peculiar use in Augustine. It is used with a negative as a synonym for nescio, e. g. quid melius facerem non inveni.”; 48, 5. Also in 76; 82, 34; 118, 5; 148, 5; 250, 2.
- lucrari, 73, 9; 83; 84; 105, 1; 108, 13; 185, 31; 262, 1.
class.—to acquire profit (Cic. Par. 3, 1; Hor. A. 238; Tac. G. 24).
- eccl.—to convert (Vulg. 1 Cor. 9, 20).
- magnificare, 93, 52; 217, 24.
a. and p. c.—to esteem highly, praise highly (Plaut. Stich. 1, 2, 44; Auct. Her. 3, 4, 8).
- eccl.—to worship (Vulg. Psal. 34, 3; Matth. 15, 31, etc.).

memoratus, 32, 3; 114; 115; 141, 9; 148, 12; 190, 22; 200, 1; 209, 2; 215, 2; 222, 3.

class. — renowned (Verg. A. 5, 391).

p. c. — above-mentioned (Amm. 15, 15, 4).

Augustine prefers this word to *supradictus*, but the latter occurs in 185, 6; 214, 2, 3; 219, 2.

mundare, 82, 18; 93, 2, 2; 120, 3; 147, 25; 148, 12; 157, 3; 164, 19; 187, 29.

class. — to cleanse (Plin. 33, 6, 34; Col. 12, 3).

eccl. — to purify from sin (Vulg. Psa. 18, 13; Ezech. 16, 30; 2 Cor. 7, 1, etc.).

operari, 55, 19; 69, 2; 87, 7; 126, 10; 137, 10; 140, 77; 166, 18; 169, 6; 176, 3; 179, 3, etc. *passim*.

class. — to labor, toil (Liv. 4, 60, 2; Hor. Ep. 1, 2, 29; Tac. A. 2, 14, etc.).

eccl. — to carry into effect, to administer (Lact. 6, 12, 38; Ambros. in Luc. 4, 47; Vulg. Levit. 20, 12; Joan. 9, 4; 2 Cor. 7, 11, etc.).

ordinare, 21, 3; 41, 8; 43, 16; 44, 8; 51, 4; 53, 2; 60, 2; 63, 1, 2, etc. *passim*.

class. — to set in order, arrange (Liv. 29, 1; Hor. C. 3, 1, 9; Cic. Inv. 1, 14, etc.).

eccl. — to ordain to the priesthood (Lampr. Alex. Sev. 45; Cass. H. E. 9, 36).

peregrinari, 55, 17; 69, 2; 91, 1; 138, 17.

class. — to travel (lit.) (Cic. Brut. 13, 51).

Aug. — to go through life as a pilgrim. (In 54, 5 this verb has the literal meaning).

perfectus, 13, 4; 31, 5; 48, 2; 55, 19; 127, 5; 140, 33; 145, 5; 147, 11; 185, 40; 187, 4; 188, 9.

class. — finished, perfect (Cic. de Or. 1, 13, 58; Ov. A. A. 2, 547).

eccl. — perfect in virtue (Vulg. 3 Reg. 11, 4; Matth. 5, 48).

persequi, 93, 8.

class. — to pursue (Plaut. Cist. 1. 3, 35; Cic. Verr. 2, 5, 35; Verg. A. 9, 218, etc.).

eccl. — to persecute for religious belief (Tert. ad Scap. 5; Vulg. Joan. 15, 20; Act. 7, 52; Rom. 12, 14, etc.).

perseverare, 29, 12; 78, 6; 102, 9; 108, 2; 140, 62; 149, 22; 150; 153, 4; 185, 8; 187, 27, etc.).

- class. — to continue, to persist (Cic. Leg. 3, 11, 26; Caes. B. G. 1, 26, 2, etc.).
- eccl. — to continue in the state of grace (Matth. 24, 13; Hebr. 12, 7).
- praedestinare, 102, 20; 149, 21; 177, 7; 190, 12; 204, 2.
- class. — to determine beforehand (Liv. 45, 40).
- eccl. — to determine who are to be saved, to predestine (Vulg. Eph. 1, 5).
- praeiudicare, 43, 18; 53, 3; 129, 5; 140, 32; 141, 6; 142, 3; 144, 3; 177, 9.
- class. — to judge beforehand (Cic. Inv. 1, 20, 60; Liv. 42, 61).
- eccl. — to be injurious to (with dative) Dig. 42, 1; Paul. Sent. 5, 3, 3; Ambros. in Luc. 3, 41).
- praescire, 140, 48; 186, 23; 190, 12.
- class. — to know beforehand (Ter. And. 1, 5, 4; Suet. Tib. 67).
- eccl. — of God's foreknowledge (Ambros. in Luc. 7, 167; Vulg. 4 Reg. 19, 27; Sap. 19, 1; Act. 26, 5; Rom. 8, 2; 2 Petr. 3, 17).
- praevaricare, 157, 15 (Augustine prefers the active form).
- class. — to walk in zigzag fashion (Plin. N. H. 18, 19, 49).
- eccl. — to commit sin (Hier. c. Pel. 3, 6).
- propinare, 26, 6; 108, 6.
- class. — to drink one's health (Plaut. Curc. 2, 3, 8; Cic. Tusc. 1, 40, 96).
- p. c. — to give to drink, to set before (Capitol. M. Aur. 15; Vulg. Isai. 27, 3; Jerem. 24, 15, 17; Amos 2, 12).
- radicare, 58, 1.
- p. a. — to take root (lit.) (Col. 4, 22; Plin. 13, 4, 8).
- eccl. — to take root (fig.) (Vulg. Eccli. 24, 16; Eph. 3, 17).
- reconciliare, 228, 8; 265, 7.
- class. — to reconcile, reunite (Cic. Dom. 50, 129; Suet. Caes. 19; Liv. 1, 50).
- Aug. — to reconcile to the Church, to absolve from sin or excommunication.
- redimere, 76, 1; 82, 33; 244, 2.
- class. — to buy back (Cic. Phil. 13, 5, 10; Liv. 26, 27; Plin. 37, 1, 2).
- eccl. — to redeem (Vulg. Psal. 25, 11; Isai. 43, 1; Luc. 24, 21; Tit. 2, 14).
- regenerare, 186, 27; 187, 21; 217, 14; 228, 8.
- class. (Plin. only) — reproduce (Plin. 7, 11, 10; 50, 12, 1).

eccl. — to regenerate spiritually (Firm. Matern. 18, 8; Vulg. 1 Petr. 1, 3).

remittere, 185, 49; 193, 3; 194, 45.

class. — to send back, restore (Caes. B. G. 1, 43; Cic. Div. 1, 54, 123, etc.).

eccl. — to forgive sin (Fathers; Vulg. Matth. 9, 2; Luc. 5, 20; Joan. 20, 23, etc.).

renasci, 130, 22; 140, 9; 187, 30, 31, 32, 33; 190, 3, 9, 10, 21; 194, 31, 32, 44, 46.

class. — to be born again, revive (Ov. M. 15, 402; Plin. 13, 4, 9; Liv. 6, 1, etc.).

eccl. — to be born again spiritually by baptism (Firm. Matern. 18, 8; Vulg. Joan. 3, 3; 1 Petr. 1, 23).

resurgere, 140, 38.

class. — to rise, to appear again (Ov. M. 5, 3, 349; Hor. C. 2, 17, 14; Tac. A. 3, 46).

eccl. — to rise from the dead (Lact. 4, 19, 6; Vulg. Marc. 9, 8; Luc. 7, 22).

sonare, 1, 2; 33, 7; 98, 4; 102, 19; 118, 2; 143, 5, 9, has the meaning of crebrescere, but in 137, 7 means literally to sound.

temptare, 43, 23; 78, 7; 95, 2.

class. — to handle, try, attack (Ov. M. 10, 282; Caes. B. C. 3, 40; Cic. Tusc. 4, 14).

eccl. — to tempt to sin (Vulg. Matth. 4, 1; Marc. 1, 13; Luc. 4, 2; Act. 5, 3, etc.).

tepscere, 130, 18.

class. — to grow warm (Cic. N. D. 2, 10, 26; Cels. 3, 6; Ov. M. 3, 412, etc.).

Aug. — to decrease in fervor, to grow tepid in virtue.

tradere, 43, 6; 76, 2.

class. — to give up, surrender (Plaut. Trin. 1, 2, 14; Caes. B. G. 1, 27; Cic. Fam. 7, 17, 2; Liv. 22, 22, etc.).

Aug. — to deliver the Holy Scriptures to be burned under persecution.

tribulare, 140, 35; 199, 37; 248, 1.

a. c. — to press (Cato R. R. 23, 4).

eccl. — to oppress (Tert. adv. Gnost. 13; Ambros. Serm. 22; Cass. H. E. 1, 11; Vulg. Psa. 3, 2; Isai. 19, 20; 1 Macc. 10, 46; 2 Cor. 1, 6, etc.).

d) *Other Parts of Speech.*

The process noted above in the change of meaning of nouns, adjectives and verbs, went forward more thoroughly, if less conspicuously in pronouns, particles and prepositions. The distinction between *hic* and *ille*, always so carefully observed by classical writers, the peculiar force of *iste*, the difference between *quam*, *quantus* and *quot*, or between *num* and *utrum* began to be disregarded, with a consequent confusion of meaning and usage in the words in question. Augustine was the child of his age in this as in other points of style. He seems to choose his pronouns more or less at random, and while he may sometimes refer to a pair of objects or persons as *hic* and *ille*, he is quite as likely to use *hic*, *iste*, or *ille*, *iste*, or *ille*, *ille*, or *alius*, *alius*: e. g. *alius pro isto*, *alius pro illo* (130, 23); *clamor iste ipsa est tuba illa* quam commemorat apostolus (140, 78); *hoc animo, hac voluntate, ista intentione* (82, 19). So also *tam magna* occurs for *tanta*, *tam multi* for *tot*, *aliquis* for *quis* after *si*, *ne*, *num*; *quis* for *uter*, etc.

In the use of negatives, the variety is even greater. *Nemo*, *nullus*, *nihil* appear as *non quisquam* or *quispiam*, *non aliquid* or *non quicquam*; while *non* is quite regular in questions for *nonne*, and also for *ne*.

The following are the principal variations found in the Letters in the usage of pronouns, particles and prepositions.

i. Pronouns and Pronominal Adverbs and Adjectives.

aliquis, aliquid for *quis, quid*.

si aliquis, 11, 2; 143, 11; 162, 4; 173, 7; 231, 2; 228, 5, 10.

ne aliquis — *ne quis*, 111, 5; 141, 2; 213, 1. (Cf. *nisi quis*, 153, 14.)

utrum aliquid — *numquid*, 51, 5; 58, 2. (Cf. *numquidnam*, 194, 32.)

sine aliquo — *ullo*, 53, 7; 122, 1; 167, 10.

Other uses of aliquis.

aliqui . . . aliqui — *alii . . . alii*, 118, 33; 88, 9.

non aliquid — *nihil*, 19; 126, 10; 155, 17; 162, 1; 164, 5; 190, 17; 228, 8.

non aliquem — *nullum* or *neminem*, 141, 5; 166, 23.

altera . . . altera (5 times) for *alia . . . alia*, 140, 1.

una . . . altera for *altera . . . altera*, 93, 7; 118, 16; 130, 29; 202A, 20.

unus . . . alter — alter . . . alter, 17, 1; 36, 5; 78, 2; 139, 3;
147, 9; 155, 14; 159, 1; 164, 22; 185, 33; 237, 30;
222, 2; 224, 2.

ille . . . ille for hic . . . ille, 31, 5; 149, 30; 185, 7; 187, 5;
199, 16.

ille . . . iste for ille . . . hic, 4, 2; 7, 2; 10, 3; 15, 2.

iste — ille or is, 23, 2; 29, 3, 4; 34, 4; 35, 3; 36, 1 and very frequently.

hic . . . ille are used with the classical sense in 98, 2; 104, 14;
162, 1; 153, 14; 185, 45; 187, 19; 193, 7.

iste with its classical sense is found in 36 passim.

Nemo shows only two variations:

ut nemo — ne quis (purpose idea) 185, 11.

non quisque (nostrum) — nemo, 93, 28.

quisquam, quicquam:

non quisquam — nemo, 89, 4; 228, 5.

non quicquam — nihil, 10, 1.

non fere quisquam — paene ullus, 184A, 6.

ne quisquam — ne quis, 34, 4; 95, 1; 141, 2; 148, 8; 149, 17;
164, 3; 166, 4; 178, 3; 185, 45; 188, 3; 205, 3; 214, 4;
237, 2; 238, 21, 26.

si quisquam — si quis, 148, 8; 164, 7; 185, 23; 243, 12.

quantum — quam, 31, 5; 150 (quantum mirabili gaudio, 31, 5).

quam multi — quot, 44, 9; 55, 35; 88, 8; 93, 2; 98; 102, 41;
118, 10; 127, 4; 195, 10; 202A, 17; 231, 5. (Cf. quot,
199, 35.)

Quid horum duorum occurs for utrum in 36, 5, and quodlibet
horum duorum for utrumlibet in 55, 7.

Tam multi for tot is regular: 11, 1; 87, 3; 88, 9; 93, 16; 102,
14; 118, 10; 137, 3; 140, 29; 142, 3; 170, 5; 173, 2;
185, 46; 188, 3; 200, 2; 211, 4; 218, 19; 220, 6; 238, 16.
(Cf. tot 190, 19; 164, 16.)

Tam magnus for tantus: 11, 2; 87, 4; 124, 2; 138, 9; 175, 13;
188, 6; 189, 3, 4; 190, 12; 217, 8, 24; 220, 7; 236, 1;
247, 1. (Cf. tot et tanta, 220, 5.)

Totum for omnes, 15, 1.

ii. Particles.

aut — neque, 23, 1.

non — nonne, 118, 2.

non = ne, 141, 12; 142, 1; 143, 11; 147, 21; 170, 10; 177, 6;
185, 46; 188, 3; 199, 16; 209, 9; 211, 7, 10, 13, 14, 16;
217, 7, 8; 220, 12; 228, 2 (Cf. ne, 228, 3).

quando non = nisi, 36, 29.

non habere non possum = non possum quin, etc., 140, 35.

ut ne = ut non, 21, 6; 243, 12; 246, 3.

ut non = ne, 117, 2; 194, 40; 218, 3.

In single indirect questions, *utrum* is used almost exclusively for *num* (whether):

1, 3; 36, 1, 3; 43, 19; 44, 5, 6, 9; 63, 3; 82, 1; 87, 2, 6; 93, 4,
9; 102, 13; 104, 2; 113; 114; 115; 118, 11; 137, 2; 138,
18; 139, 1; 147, 10; 167, 10; 169, 6; 185, 5; 188, 4, 8;
191, 2; 196, 9; 197, 3; 205, 2, 19; 207; 211, 13; 213, 1;
237, 1; 242, 4; 244, 2; 250, 2; 250A; 254, 1; 261, 1;
262, 3 (Cf. *num* in 137, 14; 147, 3).

iii. Prepositions.

The study of prepositions in an author might seem to belong to syntax rather than to a vocabulary study; but inasmuch as the peculiarities of usage in the Letters arise for the most part from an extension of meaning of certain prepositions, this seems to be the proper category to which to refer them.

Absque.

Plautus and Terence used this word with pronouns only; classical authors proscribed its use almost entirely; but beginning with Apuleius and Aulus Gellius it came to be felt as a synonym for *sine* and is so used by Augustine.

absque detrimento, 137, 3.

absque peccato, 179, 7, 9; 186, 32, 33, 36 (Hier. Ep. 50, 1; Sid. Ep. 2, 7; Sulp. Sev. 1, 22).

absque paenitentia, 83, 1; 186, 32.

absque ullo rancore, 73, 1.

Ad.

Ad with *gaudere* is rare and mostly p. c. Tacitus has it once in H. 2, 36.

In the Letters it is found in 98, 15: *ad minus gaudet quam si ad Dei potestatem gaudet* (also Hier. Ep. 43, 2).

Apud meaning simple location, not proximity is used for a locative case in:

- apud Caesaream*, 190, 1.
- apud Carthaginem*, 193, 1.

Circa with a figurative meaning of *de* or *in* is post-classical:

- circa eos*, 100, 1.
- omnia quae circa nos sunt*, 178, 1; 186, 1; 209, 1.
- circa me*, 213, 5.
- circa verbum Dei*, 157, 1.
- circa ecclesiam*, 253.

De is used for *propter*, *per* or a case-construction:

- 95, 9; 98; 153, 25.

Erga is used for *de* in 99, 1; for *in* in 138, 17; 139, 2.

Iuxta for *secundum* occurs in 208, 7.

Praeter has the force of *contra* in 63, 1; of *extra* in 29, 5; 166, 25; 185, 2.

Super means on account of in 153, 8; 175, 1.

The general tendency in the Letters is towards a more extended use of prepositions with a resultant weakening of the force of those so used.

iv. Other Peculiarities of Usage.

Without actually changing the meaning of some words, Augustine manages to use them either more frequently or more emphatically than is common with classical writers. Such are *utique* — at any rate, certainly; *omnino* — altogether, entirely; *tantum modo* — only; *propterea* — therefore, which recur so often as to constitute a distinct mannerism. The use of *absit* is another idiom much favored by Augustine. This verb has two distinct meanings. Sometimes the force of the optative subjunctive is brought into strong relief, and the word is used almost as an expletive: "Far be it!" either to modify an otherwise harsh statement or to express the writer's profound feeling on the subject under consideration. Such use of the word is seen in the following:

- hoc si ita est, quod absit*, 82, 5.
- si hoc praeceptum rationabile non est, ergo inrationabile est; absit!*
- absit ab eius moribus et fide*, 125, 4.

neque enim odio, quod absit a nobis, 126, 9.
 modo autem tanto—quod absit—miserior, 127, 8.
 num . . . deus pater malorum est? absit!
 quod malum absit a vobis, 188, 10.

This use of *absit* recalls the “*absit omen!*” so devoutly uttered by the pagan Romans when they were obliged to advert to misfortune. The other meaning given to the expression by Augustine is that of the classical *tantum abest ut*, the force of the subjunctive being so much diminished as to be practically non-existent. It is found in:

ego autem absit ut laedar, 73, 1.
ego tamen absit ut eos credam haec . . . suggerere, 82, 32.
quos absit ut amiseris, 82, 33.
absit ut tales servi simus, 91, 10.
absit ut ista . . . instemus, 104, 1.
absit ut ideo credamus, 120, 3.
absit a nobis ut sic . . . defendatur, . . . absit . . . ut dicatur,
 126, 12.
absit ut dicamus tot ac tantos fideles, 167, 11.
absit ut haec libenter audiat virgo Christi, 188, 5.
auxilium absit ut subtraham, 213, 6.

The total list of passages in which *absit* occurs follows:

36, 28; 73, 1, 1; 82, 3, 5; 32, 33; 91, 10; 92, 3; 99, 2; 101, 2,
 25; 104, 1, 4, 8, 8; 105, 7, 12; 111, 5; 118, 2; 120, 3, 3,
 20; 124, 1; 125, 4; 126, 9, 12, 14; 127, 8; 129, 7; 130,
 10, 20; 151, 7; 153, 14; 166, 7, 28; 170, 10; 180, 4, 15;
 186, 18; 187, 13; 188, 4, 5, 10, 19; 190, 21, 23; 194, 34,
 39; 199, 24; 202A, 1, 6, 8; 213, 6; 217, 7; 228, 6, 11;
 238, 21.

A final phenomenon to be noted is the infrequent occurrence of simple for compound words, where the meaning of the compound is expressed by the uncompounded form:

crementum (very rare) for *incrementum*, 9, 4 (Isid. Orig. 9, 5,
 5; Plin. 11, 37)

and the opposite phenomenon of compound for simple:

depraedemur (late) for *praedemur*, 35, 4.

3. Change of Meaning in Word-Groups.

In this category are placed those expressions in which the change of meaning does not arise from any one word, but rather from the particular juxtaposition of the words. It might be advanced with truth that the meaning of any word may be altered by joining a modifier to it, but that is not the sort of temporary modification observable in the following expressions. These are mostly theological or religious phrases which tended to take a special form. Sometimes a tropical meaning is given to a word, usually taken literally, as e. g. *ancilla*, *servus*; or again a word may be given a wider or narrower comprehension than that commonly accepted. One of the most interesting groups is that connected with the word *homo*, e. g. *novus homo*, *vetus homo*, *interior homo*. Augustine also treats it sometimes as an indefinite pronoun, joining it to adjectives and demonstrative pronouns in complete disregard of classical usage.

In the following list the arrangement is alphabetical by the first word:

- ancilla Christi*, 211, 14. } — a religious. (Cf. also *virgo Christi*,
ancilla Dei, 111, 3. } *famula Christi*).
apostolica sedes (or v. v.) — The Holy See, 175, 2, 4; 178, 1, 5;
 178, 3; 190, 1; 209, 8, 9; 250A.
Catholica mater — the Church, 170, 10; 185, 13, 30, 32, 36, 44.
convivium sanctum — Holy Communion, 185, 24.
Corpus et Sanguis Domini — Holy Communion, 29, 3. (Cf.
sacra cena.)
famulus Christi — disciple, 186, 1.
famulus Dei — a saint or patriarch, 29, 4; 147, 32. (Vulg. *Jos.*
 1, 13; *Judic.* 2, 8, etc.)
famula Dei — a religious, 147, 12; 211, 9, 12.
Filius hominis — Our Lord, 93, 23, 49. (Vulg. *Matth.* 8, 20;
Marc. 2, 10; *Luc.* 6, 5, etc.)

Homo occurs in the following combinations:

- homo Christianus*, 36, 29; 130, 21.
homo fidelis, 159, 4; 120, 8.
homines infideles, 140, 57.
hominem Graecum, 118, 10.
homini apostatae, 105, 9.
unus homo erat habens duo nomina, 140, 49.

regi homini, 137, 20.
 carissimus homo, 151, 8.
 multi homines, 220, 6.
 nec quisquam erit homo nostrorum temporum, 232, 4.
 eos homines, 185, 16.
 eorum hominum, 118, 27; 185, 4; 188, 2.
 unus homo, 110, 4.
 homo — tu in 217, 2.
 — quis in 217, 4.
 — ille in 71, 5; 73, 5.
 — an indefinite pronoun (cf. French *on*) in 130, 7.

In the above expressions homo is a more or less unnecessary word with a rather vague meaning; in the following the meaning is specialized:

Interior homo, 92, 1, 3, 4; 120, 20, means a man whose thoughts are more on spiritual than on temporal things. In 92, 1; 120, 20; 148, 17 the same combination means the inner man, i. e. the soul as distinguished from the body. (Vulg. Eph. 3, 16.)

Exterior homo, 148, 17, means the body as distinguished from the soul.

Primus homo, 186, 27, is used in reference to Adam (Vulg. 1 Cor. 15, 45) while secundus homo, 186, 27, means Christ (Vulg. 1 Cor. 15, 47). Novus homo, 187, 30, also means Christ as Redeemer (Eph. 2, 15; 4, 24) and vetus homo, 187, 30; 140, 5, is used of Adam, and also of sin (Rom. 6, 6; Eph. 4, 22; Colos. 3, 9). These four expressions are borrowed from St. Paul.

ignis aeternus, 122, 1 — hell (Vulg. Matth. 25, 41).
 immundus spiritus, 82, 17; 130, 26 — the devil (Vulg. Matth. 10, 1; Marc. 1, 23, etc.).
 infernae umbrae, 2, 37 — hell.
 libri sancti, 21, 4; 28, 3, 4; 52, 3; 102, 38; 111, 2; 147, 12, 39; 238, 4; 249; 258, 3.
 libri divini, 125, 3.
 litterae sacrae, 102, 17, 18; 104; 132; 167, 14; 264, 3.
 litterae sanctae, 28, 2; 189, 8.

The last four expressions are used regularly of the Holy Scriptures. Sometimes the position of the words is reversed.

mater ecclesia, 185, 51; 243, 8 — our holy mother, the Church.
 originale peccatum, 184A, 2 — original sin, the sin of Adam.

panem frangere, 36, 28; 207 — to administer Holy Communion.

regnum caelorum, 29, 5; 127, 8; 130, 2; 140, 54; 149, 22; 157, 23, 27, 28, 30; 177, 10; 186, 11, 27, 33; 189, 3, 5; 193, 4, 31, 32. (Vulg. Matth. 3, 2; Marc. 1, 14.)

regnum Dei, 127, 7; 157, 23; 164, 11. (Luc. 4, 43; Joan. 3, 3; Act. 1, 3, etc.).

These two mean either heaven or the Church.

sacra cena, 93, 15 — the Holy Eucharist.

saecula saeculorum, 148, 11. (Vulg. Dan. 7, 18; Rom. 16, 27; 2 Tim. 4, 18, etc.)

saeculum saeculi, 140, 53, 61, 63. (Vulg. Psal. 9, 6; 51, 10, etc.)

These two are expressions of perpetuity and mean forever.

sancta civitas, 164, 9 — Jerusalem (Apoc. 11, 2; 21, 2).

servus Dei, 20, 2; 26, 5; 43, 23; 77, 1, 5; 87, 9; 91, 8; 96, 2; 111, 5, 6, 7; 125, 2, 3; 126, 3; 133, 1, 2; 134, 3; 145; 159, 1; 173, 4; 177, 6; 178, 1; 185, 31; 186, 1; 197, 4; 213, 1; 215, 1; 220, 3, 5; 262, 5. (Vulg. Act. 16, 17; Tit. 1, 1.)

servus Christi, 167, 11 (Vulg. Rom. 1, 1; 1 Cor. 7, 22; Eph. 6, 6, etc.)

These two, like *famulus Dei*, *famulus Christi*, are frequently added to names of saints or patriarchs as titles of respect.

susceptio hominis, 11, 2 — the Incarnation.

timor Dei, 20, 3; 23, 1; 129, 6 — one of the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost (Vulg. Gen. 20, 11; 2 Reg. 23, 3; Psal. 13, 3; Prov. 1, 7, etc.)

ultimum examen, 153, 4 — the last judgment.

ultimus dies, 56, 2 — the last day of the world.

verbum Dei, 21, 2; 137, 6, 7, 11, 12, 15; 140, 6, 11; 149, 17; 169, 7, 8; 170, 4; 175, 3; 187, 4 — the Truth, the teaching of Christ (Vulg. Eccli. 1, 5; Marc. 7, 13; Luc. 8, 1; Act. 6, 2, etc.).

Ex hac vita migrare is a favorite expression to designate death. It is found in: 71, 2; 98, 10; 149, 22; 151, 10, 23; 159, 7; 164, 2, 12; 166, 20; 194, 32.

4. Titles.

If the Letters of Augustine are any indication of the customs of his time—and there is every reason to believe that they are—

then we must conclude that people in the fourth and fifth centuries A. D. addressed each other in the most complimentary fashion. "Your Benignity," "Your Charity," "Your Highness," "Your Magnificence," seem to have been ordinary modes of address, with "Your Eminence," "Your Reverence," "Your Holiness," "Your Sublimity," "Your Venerability," as variations. A few of these have remained in use in the Church, but are restricted to special ecclesiastical positions, as priests, cardinals, popes. In Augustine's time anybody might be addressed as Your Holiness or Your Reverence—even women were awarded this latter title. Sometimes one of these high-sounding titles was felt to be insufficient and was then combined with another or modified by a superlative: e. g.

tua sanctitas et gravitas, 59, 1.
 eximietas tua ac praestantissima caritas, 27, 4.
 honorabilem benignitatem tuam, 35, 1.
 tuam sanctitatem et caritatem, 148, 4.
 sanctam et sincerissimam benignitatem tuam, 149, 34.

By the side of such superlative cordialities, a simple "bone vir et bone frater," sounds almost like a studied insult.

Dominus was freely used in both masculine and feminine forms, e. g.

domine dilectissime frater, 23, 8.
 domine beatissime et plenissima caritate venerabilis, 22, 1.
 dominis in Domino insignibus et sanctitate carissimis ac desiderantissimis fratribus Albinae, Piniano et Melaniae, 124, sal.
 dominae religiosissimae, 262, sal.

The following list contains the titles used by Augustine in addressing his correspondents in the body of his Letters, but does not include the combinations found in the salutations. It will be noticed that the words are all abstracts.

beatitudo tua, 60, 1; 177, 5, 9; 197, 1; 199, 31; 209, 1, 13; 219, 3.
 benignitas tua, 33, 2; 35, 1; 40, 9; 60, 1; 82, 17; 89, 8; 99, 1; 104, 2; 113; 146; 149, 34; 151, 2, 12; 178, 1; 179, 1; 191, 1; 222, 3; 234, 3; 253; 256.
 benivolentia tua, 23, 1, 8; 33, 2; 35, 3; 57, 1; 61, 1; 84, 2; 108; 151, 1; 189, 1; 235, 1; 242, 1.

- benivolentia vestra*, 223, 6; 232, 1; 241, 2.
caritas tua, 27, 6; 31, 7; 62, 1; 73, 9; 74; 82, 1; 92, 4; 96, 2;
 97, 2; 101, 1; 111, 9; 122, 1; 148, 4; 149, 2; 170, 2;
 173A; 175; 181; 184A, 6; 189, 1; 193, 13; 194, 1; 196,
 1; 204; 222, 1; 224; 227; 244, 1; 246, 1, 3; 250, 1; 254.
caritas vestra, 31, 1; 45, 1; 48, 3; 78, 9; 82, 3; 199, 1; 213, 1,
 6; 214, 5; 215, 1, 7.
celsitudo tua, 48, 1; 140, 66; 204, 6; 232, 6.
dignatio tua, 37, 2; 65, 1; 241, 2.
dilectio tua, 92A; 104, 1; 120, 20; 139, 3; 151, 6; 177, 21;
 180, 1, 5; 185, 1; 190, 25; 193, 1; 201A, 6, 16; 204, 3.
dilectio vestra, 209, 3; 122, 1.
excellencia tua, 86; 100, 2; 133, 3; 134, 1, 4; 137, 20; 139, 4;
 151, 14; 200, 1.
eximietas tua, 27, 4; 34, 4; 35, 1; 56, 1; 58, 3; 97, 3, 4; 99, 1;
 113; 116, 1; 139, 1, 4; 189, 1; 203; 257.
fraternitas tua, 52, 1; 269.
germanitas tua, 63, 2; 82, 1; 186, 39; 263, 2.
germanitas vestra, 173A.
tua gravitas, 32, 3; 35, 1; 69; 88, 10.
tua magnificentia, 86.
tua nobilitas, 133, 1; 143, 2.
tua potestas, 134, 2.
praestantia tua, 97, 3; 104, 11; 116; 131 (to a lady); 133, 3;
 139, 13; 137, 20; 150, 13; 151, 2, 5, 11, 12; 206.
prudentia tua, 57, 1, 2; 60, 2; 62, 2; 65, 1; 104, 1; 170, 6;
 257; 258, 5.
religio tua, 113; 114; 251; 252.
reverentia tua, 177, 6; 179, 8; 188, 1, 14; 200, 3; 262 (to a
 lady); 266 (to a lady).
tua sanctimonia, 59, 2; 177, 15; 209, 6.
sanctimonium vestrum, 45, 2.
sanctitas tua, 20, 1; 21, 4; 22, 1, 8, 9; 27, 2, 3, 4; 31, 1, 7, 8;
 37, 1; 82, 32; 83, 1 and very frequently *passim*.
sinceritas tua, 82, 14; 145, 1; 186, 1; 190, 1, 2; 193, 1; 194, 1.
spectabilitas tua, 128, 1; 129, 7.
tua strenuitas, 204, 1.
tua suavitas, 110, 1.
tua sublimitas, 86; 134, 3; 133, 1; 200, 1.
venerabilitas tua, 59, 1; 60, 1; 65, 1; 110, 6; 176, 5; 177, 2;
 179, 5; 199, 13, 46.

veneratio tua, 149, 2; 174; 175, 4; 176, 1; 177, 1, 3; 179, 1;
186, 1; 190, 1, 22; 187; 199, 1, 5, 19; 202A, 1; 209, 4;
212; 237, 2, 9; 250, 1.

5. Parallel Forms.

Several sets of parallel forms showing little if any divergence of meaning are used by Augustine in the Letters. Sometimes this may have arisen from uncertainty of the correct form, but usually it is sheer exuberance of vocabulary.

anathemare, 94, 7, 8; 186, 27; 238, 4, etc.

and

anathemizare, 94, 7, 8; 185, 4.

daemon, 130, 26; 137, 12; 138, 18, etc.

and

daemonium, 17, 1; 91, 5; 98, 1, 3; 187, 36, etc.

sine dubio, 130, 4; 147, 7

and

sine dubitatione, 120, 4; 126, 3 (with meaning of doubt).

gustus, 137, 56

and

gustatus, 118, 19

idolum, 29, 4, 9; 36, 15; 43, 23; 47, 3, etc.

and

idolium, 47, 6.

promissum

and

promissio

propagatio

and

propago

tegmen, 211, 10

tegumentum, 211, 10

tegumentum, 211, 15

contagium, 178, 2; 192, 4 (poet. and late).

contagio, 53, 6; 93, 44; 131; 190, 5; 211, 11.

} — sense of taste.

} 177, 13 — promise.

} 190, 1.

} — covering, clothing.

PART II—STYLE.

CHAPTER I.

TROPES.

The style of an author may be defined as the manner in which he sets forth his thoughts in words. It will be modified in different ages by various factors, such as canons of criticism or literary movements. It is also powerfully affected by the personality of the author. In the time of Augustine, a certain literary mould had come to be adopted, which differed widely from the standard of classical times. A greater freedom in the choice of words, allowing the circulation in prose of a whole vocabulary of poetical and rare words, new words and foreign words gave a greater fluency and amplitude of expression, at the same time that a passion for the oratorical introduced a demand for a profusion of images and for those ingenious turns of phrase known to rhetoricians as figures of speech. The result of these innovations was to change profoundly the periodic style of Cicero and Livy, breaking up the rhythms in which the prose of the past had been set, and giving a new range of tone and color to the language.

Passing over the question of sentence rhythm and clausulae as a topic which is at present in the state of theory only and uncertain theory at that, we shall consider the use made by Augustine of rhetorical ornament, an aspect of his work, which added to the study already made of his vocabulary, ought to give a fairly adequate idea of the nature of his style as shown in his Letters.

Erasmus¹ speaking of Augustine's style characterizes it as difficult and involved, requiring an alert, attentive, careful and patient reader, such as is not easily found. He admits however that the author lightens his work by the use of figures, and adds that the Letters are less diffuse in style than his other works. Another interesting criticism is that of Sixtus Senensis, which as an estimate of Augustine in an imitation of Augustine's own style, deserves to be quoted:²

"Orationis eius et dictionis genus fecundissimum et exuberan-

¹ *Antibarbar.* 1 and *Praef.* cited in Weissenbach, 223.

² Weissenbach, 221, 222.

tissimum est, ditissima et copiosissima ne dicam nimia diversarum rerum affluentia redundans, et periodis in longum productis mistim et indiscriminatim quam plurima secum volvens ac rapiens, digressionibus excursibus et ambagibus vagabundum, quod ingeniosum attentum memorem et patientem requirat lectorem, quem, ne multiloquii taedio fastidiat Punicis quibusdam argutiis recreare solet, ludens saepissime in *similiter progredientibus, similiter cadentibus* sententiis, aliisque non iniucundis Rhetorum figuris quae longum et implicatum prolixae lectionis iter emolliant."

This criticism, while probably a general one of all Augustine's works, nevertheless applies in many respects to the Letters, especially in the stress laid on the "*similiter progredientibus, similiter cadentibus* sententiis," for hardly any figures are more common in the Letters than homoioteleuton and homioptoton. Taking into consideration Augustine's expressed views on the use of rhetorical devices by Christian writers (cf. *Introd.* p. 14) we must believe that his use of them in such profusion is often an unconscious result of the habits formed in the years when he was a professional rhetorician.

The highly artificial character of these embellishments and the foreign aspect of them lead to the question of their origin. They were not native to Latin, except such as are common to all languages, like metaphor, but were adapted, like the hexameter, from Greek.

The Greeks regarded Gorgias of Leontini as the founder of their art of oratory. He was a Sicilian sophist who flourished between 485 and 380 B. C. The principal object of his endeavor was to secure brilliancy and effectiveness of expression, which he did by the use of poetical words and by a certain symmetry in the arrangement of clauses, designed to produce a rhythmical³ prose. He is credited with the invention of certain figures called Gorgianic: antithesis, parison and homoioteleuton. His pupil Isocrates carried his work still farther and set a standard of prose style which was to affect all subsequent prose literature.⁴ Through the schools of rhetoric his style was then passed on to the Romans and first appears in the conflict between the so-called Asianism and Atticism, whereof the leaders in Rome were respectively Hortensius and Cicero. The word Asiatic in this connection is properly a

³ Jebb, cxxiii.

⁴ Jebb, II, 427.

geographical term only, gaining its significance from the fact that between 320 and 280 B. C. the Greek colonies in Asia Minor were of all parts of Hellas the most actively and successfully engaged in cultivating the arts of oratory and prose literature, for both of which they formulated the canons of style. They called their school the New Oratory to distinguish it from the Old Oratory or Atticism. The difference between them was that the latter was an art based upon theory, the former a knack acquired by practice.⁵

There were two tendencies in Asianism, one sententious and epigrammatic, the other ornate and declamatory. Both were combined in Hortensius (flor. c. 95 B. C.). Cicero, on the other hand, appeared as the representative not precisely of Atticism, but of an eclecticism which was a preparation for Atticism. This attitude he owed to his master, Molon of Rhodes. His Greek counterpart is not Demosthenes but Isocrates.⁶ True Atticism was represented at Rome by Calvus (B. C. 82-48), poet and orator, and owed much to the literary criticism of Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Caecilii.

While these developments were taking place in Roman literature, there had come a reaction and a decline in Greek oratory, and rhetoric became rather the occupation of the schools than the profession of the orator. But towards the close of the first century A. D. a renaissance of Greek rhetoric began in the schools of Asia Minor, spreading thence to Athens during the reign of Hadrian. The avowed object of this movement was to revive the classic purity and simplicity of Lysias and Demosthenes, Thucydides, Xenophon and Plato; but the artificialities of the Early Sophists proved more congenial to the taste of these New Sophists and they were soon exaggerating the worst defects of the earlier school. Their principal aim was to please an audience, their ideal the ability to speak on any subject without preparation, developing their theme by means of the "loci communes"; quis, quid, ubi, quibus auxiliis, cur, quomodo, quando; adorning it with all the embellishments of rhetoric. This New or Second Sophistic, penetrating with its teachings all the departments of literature, continued until the fifth century A. D. and because of its control of the schools exerted an influence out of all proportion to its importance. Many of the Church Fathers, both Latin and Greek, were trained in this school and show the effects of it in their preaching and writing.

⁵ Jebb, II, 441.

⁶ Jebb, II, 450.

None of the Neo-Sophists were great orators or writers although they enjoyed a resounding fame in their own day. Most of their works have disappeared and of some we know little more than their names: Dio Chrysostom, Nicostratus, Polemon, Maximus of Tyre, the Philostrati, Aelius Aristides, Libanius, Themistius and Himerius were the famous orators of their time. Lucian, a prose-writer of the Neo-Sophistic style, can be estimated through his extant works, and is especially interesting for Roman literature as having been imitated by Apuleius.

The characteristics of this style were unreality of subject and artificiality of treatment, affectation of learning, carefully balanced periods, forced and unnatural comparisons, redundancy of epithet and excessive use of rhetorical ornament. The principal figures affected by the Neo-Sophists were: metaphor, simile, hyperbole, anaphora, asyndeton, polyptoton or conversio, paronomasia, oxymoron, isocolon, parison, paramoiosis, antitheton, hyperbaton and homoioteleuton. Ecphrasis, another form of rhetorical embellishment, was also much favored by them. These figures and devices were not new, but the excessive use of them in the Second Sophistic makes them in a way peculiar to that style.

Among Roman writers the influence of this new school first appears in Apuleius¹ and is visible throughout the whole of the *elocutio novella*. The African temperament must have found it particularly congenial, as the eagerness with which public declamations were attended in African cities shows. Even young boys of fourteen and fifteen declaimed in public² and the travelling lecturer, a familiar figure from the time of Apuleius to that of Augustine, found all doors open to him as he made his tours from town to town, stopping to speak or to add to his store of information. These itinerant speakers, equally versed in the lore of natural phenomena and the mysteries of religious rites, were nothing else than Neo-Sophists.

The schools were affected by the movement almost from the beginning—when such brilliant careers were open to accomplished rhetors, sophistic school-masters were inevitably in great demand. We have seen that it was Augustine's earliest ambition to become one himself. There is no doubt then that this was the rhetorical school in which he was trained. An examination of his rhetoric

¹ Goelzer (2), 730.

² Bouchier, 35.

will show that all the devices except *ecphrasis* are found in the Letters.

Before proceeding to an examination of the figures found in the Letters it might be well to establish the distinction between tropes and figures. While they agree as to the general definition of a trope, authors are not of one opinion regarding the number and classification of the same. Quintilian defines trope as follows:⁹ "*tropus est verbi vel sermonis a propria significatione in aliam cum virtute mutatio*," and again¹⁰ "*est igitur tropus sermo a naturali et principali significatione translatus ad aliam ornandae orationis gratia*." After admitting that even in his day, authorities¹¹ differed, Quintilian enumerates fourteen tropes:¹² metaphor, synecdoche, metonymy, antonomasia, onomatopoeia, catachresis, metalepsis, epitheton, allegory, aenigma, irony, periphrasis, hyperbaton and hyperbole. Tryphon¹³ adds to these but some of the additions are obviously subdivisions of the others as e. g. parable, a form of allegory, sarcasm, a form of irony, etc.

Tropes may be divided into two groups according as they are expressed in one word or several. Tropes of one word are: metaphor, synecdoche, metonymy, antonomasia, epitheton, catachresis and metalepsis. Tropes of phrase are: allegory, aenigma, hyperbole, irony, periphrasis, hyperbaton, onomatopoeia. All of these are found in Augustine's Letters except catachresis, metalepsis, aenigma and onomatopoeia.

Figures are thus defined by Quintilian:¹⁴ "*figura sicut nomine ipso patet est conformatio quaedam orationis remota a communi et primum se offerente ratione*." Ancient authors, from Theophrastus on recognized two classes of figures: *σχήματα διανοίας*, *figurae sententiarum*, which depend on the inner sense and connection of the words,¹⁵ and *σχήματα λέξεως*, *figurae verborum*, which may be expressed by single words. The principal *figurae sententiarum* are: interrogatio, responsio, suggestio, praesumptio or prolepsis, communicatio, sustentatio, dubitatio, correctio, exclamatio, prosopopoeia, apostrophe or aversio, hypotyposis or subiectio, aposiopesis or interruptio, ethiopia, litotes, praeteritio or occultatio. Not all of these are found in the Letters as some of them would

⁹ Inst. Or. 8, 6, 1.

¹⁰ Ibid. 9, 1, 4.

¹¹ Ibid. 8, 1, 1.

¹² Ibid. 8, 1, 4.

¹³ *περὶ τρόπων*.

¹⁴ Inst. Or. 9, 1, 4.

¹⁵ Volkmann, 392.

not be suitable to the subjects treated, even when Augustine forgets that he is not addressing a congregation from a pulpit.

Quintilian divides *figurae verborum* into three classes¹⁸ according as they are produced by addition, subtraction or resemblance.

i) per adiectionem.

repetitio, iteratio, conduplicatio, geminatio, anadiplosis, kuklos.

anaphora or epanaphora.

antistrophe or conversio.

symploche or complexio.

traductio or polyptoton (*paragmenon*).

synonymia or congeries.

polysyndeton.

climax or gradatio.

ii) per detractioem.

asyndeton or dissolutio.

zeugma or synaecosis.

iii) per similitudinem.

paronomasia or annominatio.

homoiptoton or similiter cadens.

homoioteleuton or similiter desinens.

compar or isocolon.

antitheton or contrapositum.

commutatio or metathesis.

All the *figurae verborum* are found in the Letters. These were the figures most favored by the later Sophists and Augustine's frequent use of them, sometimes, it must be confessed, with poor taste, was doubtless the result of his rhetorical training. They are for the most part artificial, but they require a considerable fluency and verbal skill, which Augustine possessed in an eminent degree.

TROPES IN THE LETTERS.

I. *Metaphor*. *Μεταφορά* or *translatio*, consists in comparing one thing to another by using for the thing compared a term proper to that to which it is compared. This is the most common

¹⁸ *Inst. Or.* 9, 3.

of all tropes and finds a place even in the speech of the unlearned. Nouns, adjectives and verbs are the parts of speech which may be used to secure the effect desired. Its frequency makes it one of the influences which work for change of meaning in a language. Quintilian¹⁷ indicates the effects to be secured by the use of metaphor: it must add either to the significance and force of the idea or to the grace and propriety of the expression. Failing that it is improperly used. Under the influence of the Second Sophistic,¹⁸ however, metaphor became a mere embellishment used to elaborate and often to obscure the idea expressed. The orator's skill was judged by his ability to add image to image; the greater the profusion of images, the more forceful the language was held to be. The image might often be fantastic or even grotesque, the comparison strained or in poor taste, but if it showed the ingenuity of the author or served to rouse the fickle interest of a public jaded by rhetorical excess it had done what was expected of it.

The sophistic influence is perceptible in Augustine's Letters, but is not excessive. Naturally he had not the same incentive to rhetorical flourish in his correspondence that he had in his sermons: it is precisely when his letters are least like letters and most like sermons or harangues that he makes his most lavish use of figures. His metaphors show an extended range of imagery, usually well-chosen, drawn from a variety of activities and for the most part adapted to his subject. From his own statement it is clear that he exercised a deliberate restraint in his choice of images, because of his scrupulous regard for truth. In Ep. 180, 3, explaining the nature of the "officious lie" to Oceanus, he says: "*sed nullo modo mihi videtur tropicam locutionem recte dici posse mendacium. Non enim mendacium est cum diem laetum dicimus quod laetos faciat, aut tristem lupinum quod gustantis vultum amaro sapore contristet . . . proinde beatus Hilarius . . . mendacium non esse monstravit non solum in his usitatoribus tropis, verum in illa etiam quae appellatur metaphora, quae loquendi consuetudine omnibus nota est. Nam gemmare vites, fluctuare segetes, florere iuvenes contendet quispiam esse mendacium, quod in his rebus nec undas nec herbas vel arbores videt ubi proprie ista verba dicuntur?*" If he found it necessary thus to defend and explain the use of metaphor he was not likely to abuse it in his own writing.

¹⁷ Inst. Or. 8, 6, 6.

¹⁸ Méridier, 22, 23.

Occasionally however his rhetorical good sense relaxed its vigilance and he indulged in a series of images which resulted in some badly mixed metaphors. But this was the exception. According to the nature of the comparisons used the metaphors of the Letters may be classified as follows:

1) Metaphors drawn from farming and its kindred activities.

a) a country estate:

id solius sapientis (i. e. beatus esse) praedium est (3, 1).

villa ecclesiae (21, 5).

b) planting:

quod nobis in evangelio . . . praeseminat est (242, 3).

non enim sic plantavimus et rigavimus hortum dominicum in
vobis ut spinas istas metamus ex vobis (211, 3).

haec sui erroris nova semina spargerent (157, 22).

c) winnowing, scattering of chaff before the wind:

si eam ante ultimum tempus ventilationis palea purgare non
possumus (87, 8).

dummodo verba nostra non inaniter ventilentur (33, 4).

iste sermo . . . cum . . . foris ventilaretur (29, 3).

d) weeds, their persistence and abundance:

quod eradicandis . . . erroribus . . . inserendae scientiae im-
pedimento esse (1, 1).

quod natura insitum vix ulla unquam extirpat impietas (184A, 6).

de omnibus haeresibus quae post domini salvatoris adventum
. . . pullulaverunt? (222, 1).

This is a most successful metaphor, the whole image being suggested by the single word *pullulaverunt*, a word which moreover conveys an emotional hint of contempt and disgust.

e) harvesting:

ista cogitantes, nolite esse pigri in operibus bonis ut ad vestri
seminis messem suo tempore veniatis (112, 1).

qui vobis de isto bonorum operum semine messem vitae aeternae
promittit (268, 2).

innumerabilium peccatorum exsurrexit seges (22, 1, 2).

This one seems to carry an echo of the story of Cadmus and the dragon's teeth from which sprang the crop of armed men.

operare in agro dei ubi certus est fructus (69, 2).

The following is joined with antithesis and homoioteleuton:

haec est autem in praesenti saeculo verus dei cultus,
ut sit eius in futuro saeculo certus atque integer fructus (155, 5).

f) vine-culture, grafting, etc.:

habet enim ecclesia . . . vineam et plantatores (157, 37).

haerens in diffusionem vitis radicem non deseruit unitatis (93, 40).

totum Alypium inseram praecordiis tuis (27, 5).

quoniam fructuosum sarmentum si aliquid habebat adhuc purgandum, etiam gloriosa martyrii falce purgatum est (108, 9).

g) trees:

vos enim estis arbores dei quas adsiduis imbribus etiam per nostrum ministerium rigare dignatur (268, 3).

sed huius fidei olivam suo tempore manifestandam in illius arboris . . . tamquam radice servabant (157, 24).

quod de stirpe inoboedientiae ducitur propago peccati atque supplicii (190, 10).

dixisti consilium meum arborem curvam et nodosam (241, 1).

eum qui talium putatorum linguis tamquam falceibus concidi timet, lignum esse aridum (118, 4).

The following has the air of a proverb:

admittere non facile recessuram (i. e. iram) et perventuram de surculo ad trabem (from twig to trunk) (38, 2).

A number of these agricultural comparisons are reminiscent of scriptural parables and are evidently intended to recall the teachings of Our Lord and the Apostles. Foremost among these is the metaphor of the wheat and the cockle (Matth. 13, 25-40) of which Augustine makes vigorous use in his denunciation of heresy.

fingite vos ante tempus messis fugere permixta zizania, quia vos estis sola zizania. Nam si frumenta essetis permixta zizania toleraretis et a segete Christi non vos divideretis (76, 2).

Sometimes he is content merely to paraphrase the words of the Gospel, sometimes he makes a more original use of it, or even combines two parables.

dum aetas in viridi faeno est, zizania convertat in frugem (27, 6). ipsa est ecclesia in bono semine quod seminavit filius hominis (93, 31).

ecclesia dei inter multam paleam multaque zizania constituta multa tolerat (55, 35) (wheat and chaff: Matth. 3, 12; Luc. 3, 17).

perniciēs vel zizaniorum vel praecisorum de vite domini sarmentorum (23, 6) (cockle, vine and branches: Joan. 15, 4, 5).

The metaphor of the vine and branches appears alone in:

ab illa radice orientalium ecclesiarum se esse praecisam (52, 2).

St. Paul's comparison of the wild olive-tree (Rom. 11, 16-24) is used effectively in Ep. 140, a long treatise on Grace, addressed to Honoratus.

sed idem ipse apostolus oleastro inserto in oliva timorem praecipit, hoc est gentibus additis radici Abraham, Isaac, Jacob (140, 49).

quam insertionem oleastri amputatis propter infidelitatis superbiam naturalibus ramis, etiam ipse dominus in evangelia praedixit (140, 50).

haec superbia deiciuntur ut humilis inseratur oleaster (140, 54).

The three following are plainly inspired by the words of Our Lord in the Gospel:

ut frumentum simus (23, 6) is probably a reference to the parable of the sower (Matth. 13, 4-23).

ne messis domini copiosa operariorum inopia in praedam volucris iaceat (243, 12) recalls the words of the Gospel (Luc. 10, 2; Joan. 4, 35): "The harvest indeed is great but the laborers are few."

etiam qui faenea quadam temporaliter felicitate flouissent (140, 13), is a skilful and subtle reference to the words: "The grass of the field which is today and tomorrow is cast into the oven" (Luc. 6, 30). The whole idea of the transitory nature of earthly prosperity and the possibility of a reckoning in another life is suggested by the single word *faenea*, most felicitously chosen and further strengthened by the alliteration, *faenea . . . felicitate flouissent*.

It will be noticed that all these Biblical references are to the New Testament. There is one however in this category recalling the Old Testament, a severe arraignment of false devotion to parents based on a reference to Adam and Eve:

nam ista umbra pietatis de foliis illius arboris venit quibus se
primum parentes nostri in illa damnabili nuditate texerunt
(243, 10).

2) Metaphors drawn from age.

nondum est perfecta sed quodam modo adulta iustitia (145, 5).
si multorum annosas et decrepitas falsitates studio iactantiore
quam prudentiore arbitreris! (118, 7).

These have almost the effect of a personification.

3) Metaphors drawn from animals.

a) Horses. These are of three sorts, two proper to the driver,
one to the animal. The imagery of reining in a spirited horse is a
natural one to apply to the impulses of the human heart and a very
common one. The opposite action of applying the spur is equally
common and equally effective. Augustine uses both with modera-
tion and thereby avoids the danger of triteness.

si nihil aliud constitueretur frenandae malitiae perditorum
(134, 4).

refrenandae carnalis concupiscentiae causa (55, 36).

horum amorem . . . frenare (2).

acerbissimi doloris aculeis excitatus (23, 8).

concussi ac stimulati aculeis verborum tuorum (108, 14).

In each of the preceding cases the image is conveyed by a single
word: frenare, aculei.

The action of trampling is suggested by the following:

calcandae superbiae exempla (31, 6).

et ea passim spargere atque conculcare non desinunt (92A).

The reference to the yoke in the following is evidently taken from
the Gospel, Matth. 11, 29, 30.

iugum mundi iugo Christi iucundius (26, 5).

Christi nomine conligatis et tantae auctoritatis iugo subditis
(29, 9).

b) Dogs. Comparisons to dogs are few but vigorous and always
to the disadvantage of the person or thing compared; they all refer
to the importunate barking of the animal in question:

falsorum philosophorum erroribus illo tempore circumlatrantibus
(118, 33).

videlicet eos appellans qui plerumque contra innocentes latrant (140, 39).

episcopum ecclesiasticis curis circumstrepentibus districtum atque distentum (118, 2).

It is thus he rebukes Dioscorus for his ill-timed questionnaire on the philosophy of Cicero.

timui ei committere ecclesiam praesertim inter haereticorum circumlatrantium rabiem constitutam (65, 1).

c) Wild Animals. Only one image is drawn from wild animals: it is an exhortation to Honoratus not to desert his flock in the midst of the disasters which have befallen Africa:

et inter dentes obtrectantium a sui propositi intentione minime defecerunt (228, 14).

4) Metaphors drawn from the arena. These were much favored by the sophistic rhetoricians¹⁹ who sometimes carried them to elaborate lengths. St. Paul had found them useful to describe the conflicts which the Christian must be prepared to sustain with the world, the flesh, and the devil. We should therefore expect Augustine who quotes St. Paul so frequently, to make a greater use of this class of images. It is rather surprising to see how seldom they occur; but it may be that after his conversion, Augustine so resolutely broke with the habits of the past that not even his imagination retained the pictures of pleasures in which he had once taken such keen delight. Two references are made to the prize awarded to the athlete—the crown of martyrdom (157, 36), an expression which had almost lost its figurative sense by common use in the Church; and the palm of victory (23, 5) a probable echo of Apoc. 7, 9: “clothed in white garments and having palms in their hands.” Three comparisons made to a net seem to be drawn from the gladiatorial combats in which one contestant, the retiarius, was armed with net and trident:

ut iam eiusdem haeresis retibus implicatus (237, 1).

nam unde te nunc inretitum involvit et ab instituto cursu retardatum reflectit et curvat? (243, 4).

si absque paenitentia diversis criminibus inretiti de corpore exierint (205, 18).

¹⁹ Méridier, 109.

The two following are apparently drawn from wrestling:

ubi frangitur et debilitatur humana superbia (171A, 1).
reperies duos errores inter se adversa fronte conlidi (118, 16).

5) Metaphors drawn from architecture, parts of the house, etc.

This category is unexpectedly numerous and includes references to the act of building and to foundations, penetralia, door, roof, and steps of the house. A few of the more significant examples follow:

quae antiquissimae fidei stabilita molitur fundamenta convellere (190, 22).
quam diu linguis humanis ruinoso gaudia construis (118, 5).
in mentis penetralibus (10, 3).
tu potes et apud tuam mentem habitare (10, 1).
ne viderer tibi ostium fiduciae inhumaniter claudere (266, 1).
totum culmen auctoritatis . . . in illo salutari nomine (118, 33).
aut excellentioris conscenderint sanctitatis gradum (153, 24).

6) Metaphors drawn from the human body and its parts.

The foremost and most frequent use of these is that one of St. Paul who calls the Church the Body of Christ and Christians its members (Rom. 12, 5; 1 Cor. 12, 13; Col. 1, 18). Augustine makes telling use of this image in defending the unity of the Church:

quid nos solus Christus offendit cuius membra laniamus (33, 5).
et cogitem caput nostrum in cuius corpore fratres sumus (148, 4).

The heart is conceived of as the whole person in certain metaphors and mention is made of its eyes, ears, etc.

hiantia ora cordis tui (19).
erigite oculos cordis . . . aperite aures cordis et audite (76, 1).

The expression "bosom of the Church" so commonly used today is found twice in the Letters:

pio matris catholicae gremio collecti (185, 12).
ad cuius ecclesiae gremium frater eius metuens perire confugerat (151, 11).

A slight variation of the same idea occurs in:

oblato sibi gremio pacis, quo correcti exciperentur (93, 14).

7) Metaphors drawn from various crafts. Inasmuch as crafts-

manship was in the hands of slaves all through the empire, and therefore scorned and contemned by free men, it is rather surprising to find any metaphors drawn therefrom in the Letters. One however is a Biblical figure—that of the potter (Jerem. 18, 6; Rom. 9, 21). As Augustine uses it the figure usually turns on the word *massa*, the unformed clay, and forms part of his predestinarian arguments.

tota quippe ista massa iustae damnationis reciperet debitum,
nisi ex ea faceret non solum iustus sed etiam misericors
figulus alia vasa in honorem secundum gratiam non se-
cundum debitum (190, 12).

cur ex Adam massa quae perfecto ex uno in condemnationem tota
conlapsa est illud vas faciat in honorem illud in contu-
meliam (186, 12).

Other crafts which appear are dyeing (always with the notion of using substitute dyes), weaving and metal-working.

animum tuum sine ullo fuco iniqui temporis (20, 1).

nec fucatis eloquiis ambit ad animum (132; he speaks of sacred eloquence).

ingentes texuisti quaestiones (169, 1).

qui sine ulla sui mutabilitate contexit ordinem saeculorum
(137, 10).

quod de me excudere potuit ultimum noctis (13, 1) (anvil).
limatam esse sententiam (93, 43) (file).

8) Metaphors drawn from clothing. These are usually indefinite, referring to clothing in general. The only articles mentioned specifically are veil (*velamen*), cloak (*pallium*), and girdle (*balteum*).

quanto facilius decipiunt nescio qua umbra honestatis et libera-
lium studiorum nomine velatae atque palliatae (118, 1).

(It will be observed that this is a slightly mixed metaphor.)
accinctus balteo castissimae continentiae (220, 3).
indue itaque humilitatem mentis (262, 1).

9) Metaphors drawn from eating and drinking. There are no strikingly original figures in this group: comparisons of longing for knowledge, virtue or the presence of someone to thirst, or of truth to food are common enough in the language and bespeak no special attention. The following are remarkable as showing a slightly grotesque use of this metaphor:

utinam saltem tam opima mensa iam annosum ab stilo tuo ieiunium meum tandem accipias! (42).

sic enim regionum nostrarum ardentissimae siti diaconum Lucillum tu potius concessisti (84, 2).

10) Metaphors drawn from fire, heat, cold, light and shadow. These are also rather trite figures, turning frequently on a single word—flagrare, accendere, frigescere, elucescere, splendidus, flamma, aestus, etc. They are frequent in the Letters and often conduce to brevity of expression. The following are characteristic examples:

quando iam ne . . . Stoicorum aut Epicureorum cineres caleant, unde aliqua contra fidem Christianam scintilla excitetur (118, 12).

huius fumi vel vaporis temporalis quae vita humana dicitur, ultimum diem expectes (56, 2).

in tenebras cecidit schismatis amisso lumine caritatis (185, 47). non solum illud omne tristitiae nubilum fugit de cordibus nostris, sed etiam tantum ibi laetitiae lumen infulsit ut nihil egisse in nobis videretur ille maeror et timor nisi successorum ampliorem flagrantiam gaudiorum (194, 1).

11) Metaphors drawn from the sheepfold. These are all of Scriptural origin inspired either by Psalm 23, Dominus regit me, or by the parables of the Lost Sheep (Matth. 18, 12; Luc. 15, 4), the Good Shepherd (Joan. 10, 13, 14) or the Sheepfold (Matth. 15, 24; Joan. 21, 17).

an non pertinet ad diligentiam pastorem etiam illas oves? (185, 23).

et oves eius mortifero errore dispersas in pacem salutis aeternae suo sanguine congregarent (185, 31).

ne tranquillam aquam bibentes in nostra conscientia pedibus incautis agere convincamur ut oves dominicae turbidam bibant (126, 2).

12) Metaphors drawn from forms of government. Among these the scriptural comparison of the kingdom of heaven predominates, but heaven is once referred to as a republic and once as a state, thus:

divinae illi caelestique reipublicae (155, 1).

ad illam civitatem ubi hereditas aeternitas est (153, 26).

The evil spirit is called "princeps et praepositus mortis" (164, 5), while the following quotation seems to carry a reference to the system of court favorites:

ut nostro ministerio atque ut ita dixerim satellitio in dominatum
... vehementius excitentur (118, 1).

13) Metaphors drawn from medical science. This is one of the largest groups of all and includes the ideas of health, illness, wounds, poison and remedies. Sin, heresy and schism readily suggest the ideas of wounds or epidemics, and these occur frequently; while heresy and error are also pictured as a secret and deadly poison. We do not gain much knowledge of remedies employed in Augustine's time, as he contents himself with the most general ideas on this subject, expressed by means of simple verbs like *sanare*, or nouns like *medicina* and *medicamentum*. Only two references to surgery occur; both to cutting off an offending member, thus:

dilationum morulas amputavit (93, 18).
nos tamen malumus eos in ecclesiae compage sanari quam ex
illius corpore velut insanabilia membra resecari (157, 22).

14) Metaphors drawn from war and military tactics. Military metaphors were always favored in the Roman speech as befit a people whose chief glory was war; hence it is not unnatural that Augustine should have made a liberal use of them. Besides, St. Paul, reducing the Christian life to the terms of a combat (Eph. 6, 11-17) had made the use of military terms inevitable in those who wrote or spoke of it. We find all the operations and panoply of war in the metaphors of the Letters: attack and defense, siege, ambush and assault, troops, commanders, recruits, banners, swords and fortifications. The enemy is usually the devil, but sometimes, it must be confessed, anything that interrupts a much-harassed and long-suffering bishop in the midst of his often conflicting occupations. Among a host of common comparisons, the following merit attention for their vigor and sprightliness:

tu me innumerabilium quaestionum turba repente circumval-
landum vel potius obruendum putasti (118, 1).
quamquam nos curis circumstemur ingentibus (40, 1).
ab his me revocari et retardari inruentibus de transverso quibus-
libet quaestionibus nolo (169, 1).

15) Metaphors drawn from nature. Admiration for the beauties of nature had no great place in the Roman temperament. With the exception of Lucretius and Vergil, the writers of the classical age who indulged in nature-description, for the most part picture artificial landscape beauties. Consequently the deposit of nature-metaphors in the language is inconsiderable. The sea appears most often, the sky, rivers, clouds, springs fairly often, mountains and forests seldom. Augustine used the language as he found it and made few innovations in the choice of his imagery; hence it is not surprising to find in the Letters that of the total number of metaphors drawn from nature (38) almost half refer to the sea; while rivers and springs occur just half as often, mountains once only, forests twice (in a derogatory sense), flowers and thorns three times. Out of a number of commonplace comparisons the following are noteworthy, the first giving in a single word a vivid picture of the motion of water bubbling from a spring:

scatet animus in loquelas communicandas tecum (28, 1).

montes quippe dei sancti eius sunt (140, 71).

in hac tota imaginum silva (7, 2).

in alia atque alia diversarum occupationum tempestate direptus sum unde nunc stillam vacantis temporis nactus (180, 1).

16) Metaphors drawn from the senses. An examination of these metaphors shows an unexpected predominance of figures of smell and taste. These occur as often as figures of sight, always more common (4 times each), while hearing is referred to but once and touch twice. The metaphor of the good odor of Christ is not Augustine's but St. Paul's (2 Cor. 2, 15).

fragrant enim epistolae tuae odore sincerissimo Christi (186, 39).

diu desideratam notitiam epistulari solacio quodam modo prae-gustantes (257).

inruit enim de consuetudine carnalis vitae in ipsos quoque interiores oculos turba phantasmatum (147, 42).

17) Metaphors drawn from slavery, prison, fetters, etc. There is a monotonous sameness about this class of images not found in any other. Twenty-seven out of forty-two instances are expressed by the one word, *vinculum*, which Augustine applies to many sorts of ideas. He has *vinculum concordiae*, *carnis*, *corporis*, *mortalitatis*, *legum*, *consuetudinis*, *caritatis*, *vitae*, *ieiunii*, *societatis*, *pacis*, *damnationis*, *peccati*, *captivitatis*, *cupiditatis*, *ministerii*, *unitatis*, *continentiae*, *iniquitatis*, *culpa*, *perversitatis*, *amicitiae*. Al-

most anything, good or bad, might be for him a vinculum. The only variants he uses are compedes (once), nexus (once) and catena (twice). Another idea borrowed from the slave's condition is that of the slave's punishment, flogging, which appears in the words flagellum, virga and verberari. Two of the best figures of this class are the following:

cum superflua terrena diliguntur artius adepta quam concupita
constringunt (31, 5).

discissis . . . pellibus . . . timidæ servitutis christiana . . .
indutus fiducia (23, 4).

18) Metaphors drawn from ideas of space, distance, etc. These are chiefly remarkable as being applicable in two ways: sometimes a concrete idea is substituted for an abstract, as is the case with the greatest number of metaphors which have for object to render an idea clearer or more easily apprehended by the mind. Sometimes however a concrete idea of one class is substituted for a concrete of another class, usually for the sake of varying or adorning the expression. So, in this class of images, ideas of time may be expressed in terms of space as e. g.

cum paululum spatii vix datur inter acervos occupationum
(139, 3).

As examples of abstract ideas in concrete terms we have:

haec quaestio quam late pateat profecto videt quisquis pulchri
aptique distantiam sparsam quodam modo in universitate
rerum valet (138, 5).

scrutetur qui potest iudiciorum eius tam magnum profundum
verum tamen caveat praecipitium (194, 23).

19) Metaphors drawn from travel, roads, etc. The ideas of life as a pilgrimage (Eccle. 7, 1) and death as a journey (Joan. 3, 14) were common to the early Christians, suggested no doubt as much by the uncertainties which beset them before Christianity became the state religion, as by the words of St. Paul (2 Cor. 5, 6). Ex hac vita migrare was a euphemism for death favored by Augustine and quite in accord with the ideas of his time. So also the notion of the pleasures, duties and honors of life as baggage to be carried or a burden to be crushed under was a familiar one. Augustine usually speaks of the episcopal office as sarcina, a word he uses in this figurative sense eleven times: e. g.

curarum ecclesiasticarum sarcina imposita est (101, 3).

A good use of the figure of a road is found in:

vide quantum in peius profecerint dum sine limite timoris vel
pudoris hac atque hac vagabunda fertur impunita loqua-
citas (92, 4).

There were also the images of walking, or running in the way of the Lord (Psa. 18, 142, 8; Matth. 1, 3, etc.), and of the way of peace (Luc. 2, 14) or the way of truth (Psa. 118, 30).

20) Metaphors drawn from miscellaneous ideas. The Letters also contain a number of metaphors not reducible to any of the foregoing categories, yet not sufficiently numerous to warrant separate classification. The table appended at the end of this section will show the frequency with which they occur. Only significant examples will be quoted. The images expressed are the following: balance (scales), birth, books, boundaries, calendar, color, conspiracy, family, footsteps, furniture, hunting and fishing, insects, knots, law, leaven, metals, mirror, money and book-keeping, oracles, serpents, sleeping and waking, shaking, ships, song and dance, theft. There are also four purely Biblical metaphors: the Cross, the sacrifice of praise, the circumcision of the heart, and the Ark, figure of the Church. These will be referred to more particularly in the paragraphs on scriptural metaphors. Besides these there are four others expressed by verbs, which have a rather vague effect of personification without calling up any special image.

Examples:

maior liber noster orbis terrarum est (43, 25).

si qua opera vestra mater ecclesia desideraverit (48, 2).

dominum in cuius familia nobiscum caelesti iure censeris
(134, 1).

in aucupandis . . . voluptatibus (167, 4).

si . . . ego . . . curvam refragationem et nodos difficultatis
posuissem? (241, 1).

immo vero vela cupiditatum mearum cum ceteris tunc dilectori-
bus meis inter praecipuos aura laudis inflabas (268, 1).

non ut de tuis quaestionibus enodandis explicandisque cogitarem
(118, 3).

The figure of leaven (*fermentum*) is borrowed from the Gospel (Matth. 13, 33; Luc. 13, 21; 1 Cor. 5, 6), so also is that of the

net taking all kinds of fish (Matth. 13, 47); while the expression *domesticus fidei* (268, 1) is plainly a repetition of St. Paul (Gal. 6, 10).

It may be said that Augustine's metaphors are uniformly in good taste, but the following is somewhat grotesque—the only one of its kind. He is speaking of the servants of God and says:

ferveat iter sanctorum formicarum, fraglent opera sanctorum apum (44, 1).

Two others are remarkable because they show something exceedingly rare in the Letters—the vocabulary of paganism. As a rule Augustine uses terms of this sort only to ridicule and repudiate what they signify, but these two seem to have slipped out unawares. One refers to the curious superstition of the werewolf, the other to the pagan belief in oracles:

haec versipellis astutia (194, 46).

pectus tuum tale domini oraculum est (31, 8).

21) Mixed metaphors. On the whole, Augustine is not sophistic in his use of metaphors in the Letters; he does not make a practice of heaping them one upon another, or of expressing one idea under a bewildering succession of images—one usually suffices for one idea. Consequently he does not often fall into the defect of the mixed metaphor—only six instances in all are found in the Letters. The more remarkable follow:

amisso . . . sacerdotio et sacrificio quod totum umbra erat futuri, in captiva dispersione magno aestu tribulationis aduritur (102, 35) (light and shade, slavery, fire).

quaedam quaestionis huius lumina praeseminare (9, 2) (light, agriculture).

corpus autem Christi ecclesia, firmamenta ergo ecclesiae qui nisi apostoli? (140, 36) (body, architecture).

Among the few (7) instances of changing metaphors used to express the same idea are the following:

quamvis talia disputare qualia isti disputant non sit militare sed rebellare, non sit plantare vineam sed eradicare, non sit pascendos congregare sed perdendos a grege separare (157, 37).

habet enim ecclesia quodam modo suos milites et quodam modo

provinciales, habet vineam et plantatores, habet gregem et pastores (157, 37).

pascat potius dominus sapientiae floribus et vivi fontis haustibus inriget (261, 3).

neque propter paleam relinquimus aream domini, neque propter pisces malos rumpimus retia domini, neque propter haedos in fine segregandos deserimus gregem domini, neque propter vasa facta in contumeliam migramus de domo domini (93, 50).

TABLE OF METAPHORS

IMAGES EXPRESSED	NO. OF TIMES	IMAGES EXPRESSED	NO. OF TIMES
agriculture	102	balance	3
age	2	birth	8
animals	25	books	2
architecture	41	boundaries	2
arena	8	calendar	6
body	26	conspiracy	1
crafts	21	family	9
clothing	12	footsteps	2
eating and drinking	23	furniture	2
fire, heat, light	74	hunting etc.	14
flocks	25	insects	3
government	10	knots	8
medical science	66	law	2
military science	49	leaven	5
nature	39	metals	2
senses	13	mirror	3
slavery	44	money	9
space etc.	9	oracle	1
travel	30	sleep	3
		ships	3
Biblical	10	serpent	1
		song	1
		shaking	2
		theft	4
		verbs	4
		wereworf	1
Total	730		
Pages	2005		

This total is not a large one considering the number of pages of the Vienna Corpus which the Letters represent. This number includes only the Letters of Augustine, not those of his correspondents, some of which are incorporated in the text used. Evi-

dently Augustine exercised deliberate restraint in his Letters in the matter of metaphors, preferring to present his thoughts in straightforward terms, choosing where he desired adornment, those figures of sound and word-order which would tend to impress the memory of his readers. The above table is rather surprising both for what it contains and for what it does not contain. The large number of metaphors drawn from agriculture and from medical science would hardly be expected from a writer of Augustine's character, training and early life. On the other hand it is remarkable to discover none at all from the law-courts and the theatre, both of which played their part in his educative processes. Of sophistic metaphors he has only those drawn from military science, the arena and the sea.

SCRIPTURAL METAPHORS.

On the other hand scriptural phraseology forms such an important part of the imagery of the Letters that it seems worth while to point out the distinctively Biblical metaphors and to show what proportion they constitute of the foregoing list.

a) Of metaphors derived from agriculture, 55, or nearly 54% are directly traceable to scriptural parables or comparisons. These bear on:

i) planting and harvesting, referring to the parable of the cockle (25), Matth. 13, 24-30, e. g.

vingite vos ante tempus messis fugere, permixta zizania, quia vos estis sola zizania, etc. ut supra (76, 2).

or to that of the sower (4), (Matth. 13, 3-23; Marc. 4, 3-20; Luc. 8, 5-11) e. g.

qui vobis de isto bonorum operum semine messem vitae aeternae promittit (268, 2).

or to Our Lord's words: "the harvest indeed is great, but the laborers are few" (2), (Matth. 9, 37; Luc. 10, 2) e. g.

ne messis domini copiosa operariorum inopia in praedam volucris iaceat (243, 12).

or to the parable of the wheat and chaff (Matth. 4, 12; Luc. 3, 17) e. g.

si eam ante ultimum tempus ventilationis palea purgare non possumus (87, 8).

ii) vine-culture (7). The principal reference is to the parable of the vine and branches (Joan. 15, 4, 5), with a mention of the operation of pruning and of the uselessness of the branch which has been cut off from the parent stock, e. g.

eum qui talium putatorum linguis tamquam falcibus concidi
timet lignum esse aridum et ideo non putari tantum indoc-
tum atque hebetem sed vere esse atque convinci (118, 4).

iii) trees:

the Tree of Life (Gen. 2, 9).

the tree of the forbidden fruit (Gen. 2, 17).

the tree which grew from the mustard seed (Matth. 13, 31;
Marc. 4, 31).

e. g. ex ipsa arbore quae ramorum suorum porrectione toto orbe
diffunditur iste in Africa ramusculus est (185, 32).

the wild olive-tree (4), (Rom. 11, 16-24).

iv) The grass of the field (Luc. 6, 30).

b) Metaphors derived from animals (22).

All these refer to horses, either harnessed to a yoke or subject to spur or rein. The metaphor of the yoke of Christ (Matth. 11, 29, 30) was a favorite one with preachers: it is found three times in the Letters, e. g.

Christi nomine conligatis et tantae auctoritatis iugo subditis
(29, 9).

The image of the spur or goad is taken from Eccle. 12, 1. The following is a direct echo of it:

concussi ac stimulati aculeis verborum tuorum (108, 14).

The action of checking or reining in a spirited horse (9) may be suggested by two passages: Jacob. 3, 2:

si quis in verbo non offendit . . . potest etiam freno circumdu-
cere totum corpus.

or Jacob. 3, 8:

linguam autem nullus hominum domare potest.

e. g. carnem vestram domate ieiuniis (211, 8).

c) Metaphors derived from architecture (7).

Of this numerous class seven metaphors seem to be of direct

scriptural origin. Four references to buildings erected upon firm or unstable foundations are evidently inspired by the parable of the man who built his house upon a rock (Matth. 7, 24-27; Luc. 6, 48, 49), or of the builder of a tower (Matth. 21, 33; Marc. 12, 1; Luc. 14, 28), e. g.

in aliquo igitur firmo atque incommutabili bono te figure volumus constantissimae intentionis domum (118, 6);

while the following:

incorporalem locum mansionis eius (147, 53)
tantam beatitudinis mansionem (120, 4)

might be a paraphrase of:

locum habitationis gloriae suae (Psal. 25, 8).

d) Metaphors derived from the arena (3).

Although this was a favorite source of sophistic metaphors we nevertheless find that Augustine derived some of his from another source. St. Paul (1 Cor. 9, 25; 2 Tim. 2, 5) uses the vigorous figure of the agon, the athletic contest, and of the crown of victory (1 Cor. 9, 25; 2 Tim. 4, 8, also Jacob. 1, 12; 1 Petr. 5, 4; Apoc. 2, 10), while that of the palm is found in Deut. 25, 1 and Apoc. 7, 9. All these occur in the Letters, e. g.

relinquatur ad . . . agonem praesentis luctaminis (157, 19).
non provenit corona martyrii (157, 36).
quam tibi palmam praeparet dominus (23, 5).

e) Metaphors derived from the human body (14).

More than half of the total number of these turn on St. Paul's comparison of the Church to the Body of Christ (Rom. 12, 5; 1 Cor. 12, 13; 12, 27; Ephes. 5, 30; Colos. 1, 18) or to Christ as the head and Christians as the members. An interesting variation used by Augustine no less than seven times is the expression *compages* or *compago Christi*.

f) Metaphors derived from crafts (10).

The potter (Jerem. 18, 6) and the vessels of wrath or the vessels of mercy (Rom. 9, 22) are the two sources from which the scriptural metaphors of this group are drawn. They are used with little change from the phraseology of prophet or apostle, and form almost half of the total number of metaphors taken from crafts.

g) Metaphors derived from food and drink (7).

Four of these are based on the figure of the fountain of life (Psal. 35, 10; Joan. 4, 14; Apoc. 21, 6) e. g.

ibi est quippe fons vitae quem sitire nunc oportet in oratione
(130, 27).

The others are adaptations of 1 Cor. 3, 2; 1 Petr. 2, 2, e. g.

nondum cibo paterno idoneum sed adhuc materno lacte nutriendum (93, 21).

h) Metaphors derived from fire, light (11).

Christ, the light of the world (Joan. 8, 12), the light of truth (Psal. 42, 3), the light of justice (Psal. 36, 6), good works as a light before men (Matth. 5, 16), are the sources of the scriptural metaphors of light in the Letters. The two which refer to fire are evidently reminiscent of Luc. 12, 49: *ignem veni mittere in terram*.

i) Metaphors derived from the sheepfold. Vide supra, p. 199.

j) Metaphors derived from military science (6).

St. Paul makes a skilful use of the imagery of war in rousing his converts to combat the forces of evil. Of his figures however, Augustine uses only the more general ones in the Letters, i. e. the Christian as a soldier of Christ (2 Tim. 2, 3; 1 Tim. 1, 18; also Job 7, 1) choosing the expression *militia Christiana* or the verb *militare* to convey his idea.

k) Metaphors derived from the senses (3).

The comparisons of the good odor of Christ are the only scriptural metaphors in this group. Vide supra, p. 201.

l) Metaphors derived from slavery (7).

The frequent use of the word *vinculum* has been noted. (vide supra, p. 201). Two only of the combinations cited occur in the Vulgate: *vinculum caritatis* (Osee 11, 4) and *vinculum pacis* (Ephes. 4, 3), but Augustine's extension of the figure may be due to the influence of these two expressions. The two instances of the word *flagellum* may have been suggested by two different passages of Scripture:

visitaturus esset in virga et in flagello (29, 6).

cf. visitabo in virga iniquitates eorum (Psal. 88, 93).

and

flagellis temporalibus emendari (43, 21).

cf. supplicia minora esse flagella domini (Judith 8, 27).

m) Metaphors derived from travel (10). Vide supra, p. 202.

n) Metaphors derived from miscellaneous ideas:

the Ark of Noe (2), (27, 2; 248, 1) (Gen. 8, 8, 12).

birth in the Gospel (209, 4: cf. Galat. 4, 19).

circumcision of the heart (23, 4; cf. Rom. 2, 29).

clothing: the garment of incorruptibility (263, 4; cf. 1 Cor. 15, 53); the garment of the queen (36, 23; cf. Psal. 44, 10).

the cross (243, 11; cf. Matth. 16, 24; Marc. 8, 34; Luc. 9, 23).

the empire of death (164, 5; cf. Hebr. 2, 14).

the kingdom of heaven (29, 5; cf. Matth. 3, 2; Marc. 1, 14; Luc. 4, 43, etc.).

the household of the faith (263, 1; cf. Gal. 6, 10).

the keys of the kingdom of heaven (93, 42; cf. Matth. 16, 19).²⁸

hunting and fishing (7), (2; 92, 5; 108, 7; 176, 5; 250, 3; 93, 34, 42).

Five metaphors based on hunting use the same word laqueus, as laqueus temptationum, laqueus iniquitatis, etc. This is a familiar figure in Scripture (Josue 23, 13; Psal. 24, 15; Prov. 21, 6; 1 Tim. 3, 7, etc.).

The parable of the net taking in all sorts of fish (Matth. 13, 47, 48) is the source of the comparisons drawn from this activity.

the leaven (108, 13, 16; 211, 3), vide supra, p. 203.

the figure of money and banking (6), (37, 9; 149, 24; 61, 1; 261, 1, 1; 262, 6).

The imagery in four of these is supplied by the expression thesaurus sapientiae (Eccli. 1, 26; Colos. 2, 3); the other two turn on the use of the verb lucrari as applied to winning souls (1 Cor. 9, 20).

e. g. eos lucrari deo cupimus (61, 1).

the mote and beam (Matth. 7, 35; Luc. 6, 41, 42).

²⁸ St. Matthew alone of the evangelists uses the expression regnum caelorum; the others prefer regnum Dei, but the figure is the same.

the oil of flattery (27, 6; cf. Psal. 140).

the sacrifice of praise (26, 5; cf. Psal. 49, 14).

the sword of the Word of God (243, 5; cf. Ephes. 6, 17).

wayfarers compelled to enter the Church (Luc. 185, 46; cf. Luc. 14, 23).

verbs: asking, seeking, knocking (Luc. 11, 9).

TABLE OF SCRIPTURAL METAPHORS

Ideas expressed	No. of times	%*	Ideas expressed	No. of times	%
agriculture	55	54	Miscellaneous	35	
animals	22	84	Ark of Noe	2	
architecture	7	12½	circumcision	1	
arena	3	37½	cross	2	
body	14	54	empire of death	1	
clothing	2	16	kingdom of heaven	1	
crafts	10	47	household of faith	1	
eating etc.	7	34	keys of heaven	1	
fire, light	11	15	hunting, fishing	9	64
flocks	25	100	leaven	4	
military	6	12	money	7	77
senses	3	23	mote & beam	1	
slavery	7	16	oil of flattery	1	
travel	10	33	sacrifice of praise	1	
verbs	1		sword of the Word	1	
			wayfarers	1	
Total	226	30			

The proportion (30%) of the number of Scriptural metaphors to the total number of all metaphors may not seem remarkably high on first consideration. Recalling however the facts that Augustine came to the knowledge of the Scriptures only after he had reached the age of 32, that his imagination had been formed on the literature of paganism, that his education had been conducted after the principles of the neo-sophistic, it is perhaps surprising to find that the imagery of the Bible occupies as large a place in his style as it does. Moreover the Biblical metaphors are never forced, they never give the impression of having been conscientiously superadded to an unscriptural idiom, but they occur as naturally as the others.

An examination of the separate items will show that some groups found in the first table are not represented in the second; while

* The % is of the total number of metaphors.

of those that are represented, the percentage of scriptural metaphors is significant. Although it would be difficult to compute the exact number of sophistic metaphors, it may be said that three of the categories mentioned in the first table are recognized as undoubtedly sophistic: the arena, military science and the sea. The sophistic influence is however to be recognized not so much in the choice of the figures as in the manner in which they are used; and in this Augustine is not markedly sophistic. Whether this is due to the influence of the Holy Scriptures or not it is not possible to determine.

II. *Synecdoche* is thus defined by Quintilian: *translatio per-movendis animis plerumque et signandis rebus ac sub oculos subi-ciendis reperta est. Haec variare sermonem potest ut ex uno plures intelligamus, parte totum, specie genus, praecedentibus sequentia vel omnia haec contra; liberior poetis quam oratoribus.*²¹

This last statement is abundantly proved by Augustine in the Letters, where the figure is found only three times.

non in tectis et parietibus (140, 35).

hominum diem (97, 4).

cum penderet in ligno (140, 15).

The last is a scriptural expression: *lignum* is used for the Cross in Act. 5, 30; Galat. 3, 13.

III. *Metonymy or hypallage*—*quae est nominis pro nomine positio. Cuius vis est pro eo quod dicitur causam propter quam dicitur ponere . . . haec inventas ab inventore et subiectas res ab obtinentibus significat.*²²

This figure has several forms according as cause is put for effect, or effect for cause, container for the thing contained, possessor for the thing possessed or sign for the thing signified. Three forms are found in the Letters, where the figure is rare.

i) effect for cause.

ille ipse consule inter praeconum terribiles voces et cruentas
carnificum manus numquam collegam damnaret (43, 13).

ii) container for the thing contained.

ab omnibus cloacis (i. e. impurities), 55, 6.

²¹ Inst. Or. 8, 19.

²² Quint. 8, 6, 23.

mensam Christi, 23, 5.

cathedra (= bishop's office), 23, 3.

iii) sign for the thing signified.

sub iura tuae securis esse venturos, 134, 2.

usque ad canos (old age), 218, 1.

lavacrum (baptism), 35, 3.

Cf. also 101, 2; 104, 6; 118, 9; 140, 29; 187, 21; 190, 21.

Three cases of metonymy have a scriptural origin: *lavacrum* (baptism) and in *lavacro regenerationis* (190, 21), are an echo of Tit. 3, 5; while in *nostro capite* (i. e. Christ), 140, 29, is a reference to Rom. 12, 5; 1 Cor. 12, 13; Ephes. 5, 30; and Coloss. 18, 24.

IV. *Antonomasia*, the use of a descriptive epithet instead of a person's name is another trope more common to poets than to rhetoricians²² but is nevertheless used by Augustine more often than either of the two preceding. Epitheton, addition of the epithet to the name, is not a true trope, since it does not substitute one word for another, but is so like *antonomasia* that its proper place seems to be here. Sometimes indeed it is merely accidental whether the epithet is a substitution or an addition.

Examples of *antonomasia*:

omnium munerum spiritalium distributor atque largitor (i. e. *deus*), 37, 2.

principibus tenebrarum (i. e. evil spirits), 55, 6.

princeps mundi, mortisque praepositus (cf. Joan. 14, 30), 164, 5.

infirmiori vasi tuo (i. e. the recipient's wife), 20, 3.

ille magnus gratiae praedicator, 217, 11.

clamat vas electionis, doctor gentium, tuba Christi (i. e. St. Paul), 157, 12. (Cf. Act. 9, 15; 1 Tim. 2, 7.)

Examples of *epitheton*:

sensus, vanissimos nuntios, 7, 3.

Moses, amicus dei, nubis inquilinus, delator legis et populi dux, 36, 13.

duae tantae urbes Latinarum litterarum artifices, Roma atque Carthago, 118, 9.

eius etiam ipse amator et desiderator Ambrosius, 147, 26.

deus dispositor temporum, 166, 13.

²² Quint. 8, 6, 30.

multo minus deus omnium benignissimus conditor et iustissimus ordinator, 140, 58.

Cf. also 23, 3; 29, 6; 35, 1; 37, 2; 55, 6, 8; 69, 1; 93, 49; 122, 1; 157, 12; 164, 5; 217, 11; 231, 6; 266, 3.

Seven cases of antonomasia and seven of epitheton use epithets from Scripture:

adversarius Christianorum (69, 1; cf. 1 Petr. 5, 8).

pastorum principi (231, 6; cf. 1 Petr. 5, 4).

unius boni pastoris (93, 49; cf. Joan. 10, 13-16).

membra Christi (112, 1; cf. Rom. 12, 5; 1 Cor. 12, 13).

princeps mundi (i. e. diabolus) (164, 5; cf. Joan. 14, 30).

doctor gentium (157, 12; 266, 3; cf. 1 Tim. 2, 7).

deus . . . lux mentium (155, 6; cf. 1 Joan. 1, 5).

sol ille iustitiae (55, 8; cf. Malac. 4, 2).

(Christo) . . . principi pastorum (29, 6; cf. 1 Petr. 5, 4).

famulo dei Moysei (167, 32; cf. Josue 1, 13; 2 Par. 1, 3; 2 Esdr. 1, 7, etc.).

David pius dei servus (87, 9; cf. Psal. 35, 1; Ezech. 34, 23, etc.).

diabolus . . . rector tenebrarum (217, 10; cf. Ephes. 6, 12).

diabolus princeps potestatis aeris (217, 10; cf. Ephes. 6, 12).

principibus tenebrarum (55, 6; cf. Ephes. 6, 12).

Tropi in pluribus verbis seu in oratione.

I. *Allegory* differs from metaphor in that the image suggested is extended and developed. This process may be carried to excess and the application become merely fantastic, but temperately used the allegory is an effective adjunct to style. Augustine makes such a use of it, employing it seldom but forcefully. The comparisons he uses are mostly those found in the range of metaphors, some being mere developments of scriptural expressions. The topics may be classified as follows:

- 1) Agriculture (2), winnowing of grain (Matth. 1, 30) (53, 6); grafting (185, 44).
- 2) Bees (15, 2).
- 3) Medical science (4), (93, 2; 102, 7; 188, 14, 93, 2).
- 4) Sheepfold (2), (76, 4; 185, 23).
- 5) Sea (2), 149, 34; 265, 8).
- 6) Military (3), (7, 9; 243, 1, 6).
- 7) Sun of justice (55, 8).

- 8) Theatre (120, 5).
- 9) Golden chalice (26, 6).
- 10) Architecture (243).

In Ep. 243 there is a remarkable extension of the parable of the man who started to build and fortify a tower, without having computed the cost (Luc. 14, 28). Augustine makes an elaborate allegory of this, applying it to a young man who wanted to lead a religious life, but was being severely tried by his family. This is the longest of the allegories in the Letters, but at no time does the application become strained or unnatural. Augustine handles this difficult figure exceptionally well.

Examples:

si calicem aureum invenisses in terra donares illum ecclesiae dei, accepisti a deo ingenium spiritaliter aureum et ministras inde libidinibus et in illi satanae propinas te ipsum! (26, 6.)

si enim quisquam inimicum suum periculosus febribus phreneticum factum currere in praeceps nonne tunc potius malum pro malo redderet si eum sic ire permetteret, quam si corripiendum ligandumque curaret? et tamen ei tunc molestissimus et adversissimus videretur quando utilissimus et misericordissimus extitisset; sed plane salute reparata tanto uberius ei gratias ageret quanto sibi eum minus pepercisset (93, 2).

The argument here is for the use of force to compel schismatics to return to the unity of the Church.

An unusual topic for Augustine is a reference to acrobatic feats in public spectacles:

nam et in theatris homines funiambulū mirantur, musicis delectantur in illo stupetur difficultas in his retinet pascatque iucunditas (120, 5).

Six examples of allegory are of scriptural origin:

- Ep. 53, 6, on the winnowing of grain (Matth. 13, 30).
- Ep. 55, 8, on the sun of justice (Malac. 4, 2).
- Ep. 185, 44, on the pruning and grafting of the vine (Joan. 15, 45).
- Ep. 243, 1, on the building of a tower (Luc. 14, 28-31).
- Ep. 76, 4, on the sheepfold (Matth. 15, 24; Joan. 21, 17).

Ep. 185, 23, on the mark impressed on all the soldiers of God's army (Apoc. 13, 61).

II. *Hyperbole*—a deliberate over- or understatement of the truth with no intent to deceive—is used but twice by Augustine in the Letters. Doubtless the serious nature of the topics of which he treats and the weight of his episcopal position did not allow him to descend often to this rhetorical device, never a very dignified one. One example occurs in the first letter of the collection, written while he was a layman.

indormiscent . . . ut nec caelesti tuba evigilent (1, 2). (Cf. Matth. 24, 31; 1 Cor. 15, 52).

puto quod ipse diabolus, si auctoritate iudicis quem ultro elegerat totiens vinceretur, non esset tam impudens ut in ea causa persisteret (89, 3).

III. *Irony*, called in Latin *illusio*²⁴ consists in saying the opposite to what one means, yet in such wise that the author conveys his intended meaning through his contrary terms. It is often combined with hyperbole and is used either to raise a laugh or to heap ridicule on the head of an opponent. The effect desired may be produced by praising what one intends to condemn, or vice versa, by questioning what is certain, exaggerating what is self-evident or by understating the truth. Augustine makes rather frequent use of this figure especially when he deals with the *Maximianists*, *Donatists* and other trouble-makers of northern Africa. It is also effective in his hands as a means of rebuke. He uses it carefully as befits so dangerous a weapon, dropping it as soon as he has scored his point, and he never descends to mere vituperation. A few of the more forceful examples follow:

subsanna pias voces . . . beatissimi Cypriani librum . . . condemnna, aude maiora, reprehende Apostolum Paulum (217, 3).

se videlicet fortissimo et praefidenti collo iugum mundi iugo Christi est iucundius (36, 5).

sed da veniam: erravi, quando te volui de ebrioso baptizante convincere; exciderat mihi cum Rogatista me habere rem, non cum qualicumque Donatista. Potes enim tu in tam paucis collegis tuis et in omnibus clericis tuis nullum in-

²⁴ Quint. 8, 6, 54.

venire forsitan ebriosum. Vos enim estis qui non ex totius orbis communione sed ex observatione praeceptorum omnium divinorum atque omnium sacramentorum tenetis catholicam fidem in quibus eam solis inventurus est, cum venerit filius hominis quando non inveniet fidem in terra, quia nec terra estis nec in terra sed caelestes in caelo habitatis! (93, 49).

an forte istae leges imperatoris vos non permittunt nostros episcopos convenire? (88, 10).

an forte Christus baptismo Joannis baptizabat? (44, 10).

Cf. also 26, 5; 28, 5; 34, 3; 36, 10; 44, 10; 56, 2; 88, 8, 10; 89, 4; 93, 22, 49; 102, 31; 108, 13, 18, 20; 118, 2, 3, 9, 9, 10; 138, 2, 16; 141, 3, 12; 190, 14, 35; 217, 3; 259, 3.

TABLE OF TROPES

Name	No. of times	
Metaphor	730	
Metonymy	13	
Synecdoche	3	
Antonomasia	13	Pages of text:
Epitheton	19	Vienna Corpus 2005.
Allegory	16	
Hyperbole	2	
Irony	29	

From this table it will be seen that Augustine does not make a lavish use of tropes and that he prefers those which give an oracular and almost epigrammatic turn to his style. He uses them almost entirely to make his ideas clear and to drive them home as forcefully as possible. He does not rely upon them for ornament; when he needs that he makes use of figures.

The scriptural element in the other tropes is quite as prominent as it is in the metaphor. Treating nearly always of theological or scriptural subjects, quoting long passages from the Bible, as he does, it is not astonishing that Augustine should clothe his thought so naturally in scriptural images and expressions.

CHAPTER II.

FIGURES OF RHETORIC.

The essential difference between trope and figure may be seen from the very terms themselves. Trope, as the name implies, consists in turning away from the usual term to adopt another, while figure, called by Cicero *forma*, by the Greeks *σχημα*, has to do with the inter-relations of words and their arrangement in the sentence.¹ As has been said above (p. 189), the ancients distinguished two sorts of figures: *figurae sententiarum* and *figurae verborum*. The German terms *Sinnfiguren* (thought-figures) and *Wortfiguren* (word-figures) give us a clear idea of the nature of each sort. The former depend on the general form in which the thought is cast, the latter on the words used or their exact position in the sentence, by changing which one may destroy the figure.

Augustine makes use of both sorts of figures in the Letters, but the *figurae verborum* are by far the more numerous. This is not surprising if we consider that the Figures of Rhetoric or Thought-figures are highly oratorical and are much more appropriate to speeches and sermons than to letters. In view of this fact, the number of those that occur may be considered high.

1) *Correctio* is defined by Cicero² as a rejection by the author of his own statement. Quintilian passes it over in silence as probably unimportant in comparison with other figures. Augustine uses it as a figure of emphasis, making first a deliberate understatement of his facts, then correcting himself by either strengthening his assertion or denying it. He has a sort of formula for this process, which takes one of seven forms:

vel potius (2).	immo etiam (4).
immo (13).	immo vero (5).
immo et (1).	immo non (2).
immo vero non (2).	

Vel potius is a rather mild corrective, *immo* a more vigorous one, while the addition of *et*, *etiam*, *vero*, *non*, or *vero non* strengthen still further the statement to which he wishes to call attention.

¹ Quint. 9, 1, 5. Volkmann, 392.

² De Or. 3, 53, 204.

Examples:

contra quae idola facilius templa vestra quam corda clauduntur,
vel potius idola non magis in templis quam in vestris cordi-
 bus includuntur (232, 1).

non invidemus, *immo* amplectimur, optamus, hortamur (185,
 46).

negare non ausi sunt, *immo et* gloriari ausi sunt (185, 6).

non amamus, *immo etiam* odimus (95, 1).

si quis autem dixerit quod gratiam bene operandi fides mereatur,
 negare non possumus, *immo vero* gratissime confitemur
 (186, 7).

vix mihi obtemperat, *immo non* obtemperat (27, 1).

alia quaestio est . . . *immo vero non* alia quaestio sed nulla
 quaestio est (28, 3).

Cf. also 26, 5; 82, 24; 91, 2; 108, 6; 110, 4; 112, 2; 118, 6;
 140, 43; 141, 8; 166, 6; 170, 10; 177, 16; 180, 2; 187, 24;
 190, 25; 220, 3; 254; 259, 3.

2) *Exclamatio* is a figure, according to Quintilian,³ only when it is feigned and artfully composed. Its purpose is, not to prove an argument, but to rouse certain feelings in the hearer or reader. In the hands of a skilled orator it is an effective weapon as well as a means of introducing life and variety into the form of expression. Augustine shows his good taste and true rhetorical feeling by not using it too often, thereby making a stronger appeal when he does use it. One hundred and twenty-nine is not an excessive number—less than one-third of the number of cases of interrogatio, with which it is sometimes combined. The feeling he most frequently expresses is indignant surprise or sarcasm; sometimes admiration or wonder.

Examples:

O virum spiritalem! O magnum ieiunatorem! O carnalium reprehensorem et non ventricultorem! (36, 11).

O quam multorum tecum pariter senatorum pariterque sanctae ecclesiae filiorum tale opus desideramus in Africa de quali tuo laetamur! (58, 3).

si enim movent ad fidem quae figurate tantum dicta non facta sunt, quanto magis movere debent quae figurate non tantum dicta sed facta sunt! (102, 33).

³ Inst. Or. 9, 2, 27.

This example is further strengthened by its combination with metathesis.

hoc scilicet in malis libeat! ita est prorsus! fumant adhuc ruinae incensae ecclesiae et in ea causa nos iocamur! (104, 17).

(combined with interrogatio) ubi si ministri desint, quantum exitium sequatur eas, qui de isto saeculo vel non regenerati exeunt vel ligati? quantus est etiam luctus fidelium suorum qui eos secum in vitae aeternae requiem non habebunt! quantus denique gemitus omnium et quorundam quanta blasphemia de absentia ministeriorum et ministrorum! (228, 8).

3) *Interrogatio*. The rhetorical question is one of the most commonly used of figures, and at the same time, one of the most effective. It consists in giving one's speech an interrogative turn, not for the sake of seeking information, but to lend greater emphasis to a statement or to give it a strong emotional coloring. Quintilian⁴ thus enumerates the uses to which it may be put:

- i. to drive home a point in an argument.
- ii. to deny something very forcibly.
- iii. to suggest doubt or impossibility.
- iv. to heap ridicule on an opponent.
- v. to arouse pity.
- vi. to excite admiration.
- vii. to arouse indignation.

Augustine makes a most lavish use of this figure, of which the examples repeat themselves to satiety. All of the above uses of it are well illustrated in the Letters; it is his favorite method of clinching an argument, and he seems to prefer the interrogative to the declarative form of denial. One of his most characteristic and effective devices is to reduce the argument of the opposing side to an absurdity by means of a double question, and he has no more successful way of expressing his indignation than by making an unanswerable query.

Examples:

huic tam sano rectoque consilio quisquis infrenis obtemperari noluisse, quid esset factururus aut quomodo aliquem absentium collegarum esset damnaturus, cum in potestate acta consilii non haberet contradicente primate? (43, 9).

⁴Inst. Or. 9, 2, 6.

numquid ideo negligenda est medicina quia nonnullorum est insanabilis pestilentia? (93, 3).

ubi enim nobis a spinis talibus securitas et requies praeparari vel praeberi potest, si adversus nos in tam sanctis nobisque carissimis cordibus nostris pullulare potuere? (125, 2).

quod ergo ad magisterium eius adtinet, quis nunc extremus idiota vel quae abiecta muliercula non credit animae immortalitatem vitamque post mortem futuram? (137, 12).

nonne inter haec verba ecce senuimus dum vita ducitur prius finienda quam corrigenda? (259, 2).

nam quid melius et animo geramus et ore promamus et calamo exprimamus quam 'deo gratias?' (41, 1).

quis est tam demens qui neget istis debuisse per iussa imperialia subveniri, ut de tanto everterentur malo, dum illi quos timebant, timere coguntur et eodem timore aut etiam ipsi corriguntur aut certe, cum se correctos esse confingunt, correctis parcunt a quibus antea timebantur? (185, 13).

Cf. also 78, 3; 82, 4, 6, 10; 87, 5; 88, 5; 89, 2; 91, 2; 92, 2, 3, 5, 6; 93, 3, 5, 6, 7; 100, 15; 102, 25; 125, 12; 127, 9; 128, 3; 130, 1; 134, 4; 137, 5, etc.

The instances of Interrogatio found in the Letters are distributed among the various uses as follows:

argument	denial	doubt	ridicule	pity	admiration	indignation	Total
100	135	57	59	27	17	77	472

4) *Litotes* is not included in Quintilian's enumeration of figures but is defined by Servius⁸ as "figura per contrarium significans." Augustine uses it fairly often but shows little variety in the choice of his negations. Of 45 examples, 27 have non parvus in some form, 8 have non mediocris or non mediocriter. Other expressions are non levis, non brevis, non pauci, non parum, non incongruenter, non minimam and two negatives with verbs. The effect of the figure is to intensify the statement made in the terms of its contrary, a cautious under-statement having frequently the force of an exaggeration. It also lends variety to the form of the truths advanced.

Examples:

non parvo scandalo erit ecclesiae nec immerito (36, 2).

⁸ Aen. 1, 387.

non mediocriter reprehensos nec de mediocribus quaestionibus (82, 23).

etiam an episcopis tibi haec exponi non incongruenter petas (118, 8).

non post levem animi perturbationem (63, 3).

sed nolendo credere infidelitatis crimine non carebant (186, 38).

qui codex non paucis diebus apud te fuit (57, 1).

Cf. also 10, 1; 22, 1, 6; 29, 11; 40, 1; 44, 1; 45, 1; 69, 2; 71, 6, 6, 8; 73, 8; 82, 32; 84, 2; 91, 8; 97, 3, 4; 100, 1; 101, 1; 102, 1; 108, 10; 130, 29; 130, 4; 139, 3; 140, 28; 145, 2; 167, 14; 169, 1; 151, 8; 155, 17; 157, 23; 166, 6; 167, 1; 177, 1; 187, 2; 188, 12; 188, 3; 205, 18; 237, 4; 246, 1; 250, 1; 266, 1.

5) *Praesumptio* or *prolepsis* is an argumentative figure in which the speaker or writer anticipates the objections of his opponent.* It is appropriate to any part of a speech but especially so to the prooemium. Augustine uses it fairly often but always effectively in the Letters, especially in those which are of a controversial nature. He usually prefaces each instance with the formula, *hic forsitan dicas* or *dicturus es*, or *alii dicant*, or some similar variation. One remarkable example introduces six successive objections, which must surely have left little for an adversary to say in rebuttal; and Letter 93 has no less than thirteen instances of it.

Examples:

hic forsitan dicas: 'quid enim?' et apud nos germanus meus ecclesiae non erit utilis aut propter aliud eum mecum habere desidero? (84, 2).

acutum autem aliquid videris dicere cum catholicae nomen non ex totius orbis communione interpretaris sed ex observatione praeceptorum omnium divinorum atque omnium sacramentorum quasi nos etiam si forte hinc sit appellata catholica quod totum veraciter teneat, cuius veritatis nonnullae particulae etiam in diversis inveniuntur haeresibus, huius nominis testimonio nitimur ad demonstrandam ecclesiam in omnibus gentibus et non promissis dei et tam multis tamque manifestis oraculis ipsius veritatis (93, 23).

hic tu oppositurus es exemplum iusti illius in diluvio qui cum domo sua solus liberari dignus inventus est (93, 27).

* Quint. 9, 2, 16.

Cf. also 54, 4; 75, 21; 84, 21; 87, 5; 93, 15, 18, 18, 18, 18, 18, 23, 26, 27, 44, 46, 47; 102, 14; 118, 5; 138, 9.

6) *Praetermissio*, called also *praeteritio*, *paralepsis*, *occultatio* or *omissio* is not mentioned by Quintilian, but is defined by Cornificius (4, 27, 37) as a figure in which we pass over or pretend not to know, or say that we are unwilling to mention something which we thereby assert with greater emphasis. It is an effect which would quickly diminish if it were used too often, and Augustine shows himself an accomplished rhetorician by his choice of the few occasions on which he elects to use it.

Examples:

ut enim omittam commemorare quanta magnitudo beluarum marinarum ab eis qui experti sunt iudicetur, venter quem costae illae muniebant quae Carthagine in publico fixae populo notae sunt, quot homines in spatio suo capere posset, quis non coniciat? (102, 31).

This is in answer to an objection to the probability of the Bible narrative of Jonas and the whale.

nam ut omittam quod mecum nosti quam sit trèmendum de per-
iurio divinum iudicium (125, 4).

non novimus quid de traditoribus quos numquam convincere,
numquam ostendere potuistis, non dico, quia vestri potius
in tali crimine detecti et confessi manifestantur, quid ad nos
pertinet de sarcinis alienis? (105, 16).

nam cum adverterint homines in hac re tam ingentem flammam
cordis tui, multi gaudebunt se invenisse occasionem ut ad
pauca 'euge, euge' tam potentem virum faciant amicum,
nolo dicere quia si non foveant vel si contrariam sententiam
proferant etiam formidare potuerunt inimicum inepte qui-
dem et stulte, sed tamen plerique homines ita sunt (238, 27).

7) *Prosopopoeia* or *fictio personarum* consists in so narrating an event that the characters in it speak for themselves. It is a figure which lends variety and vivacity to the discourse, but the words attributed by the author to his character must be appropriate. It is much better adapted to speeches than to compositions intended to be read and we should therefore not expect to find it in Augustine's Letters. The two examples which occur show him forgetting that he is not speaking from the pulpit.

fugitur unitas ut huc maritus illuc uxor conveniat, dicat ille: 'mecum tene unitatem quia ego sum vir tuus,' respondeat illa: 'ibi moror, ubi est pater meus,' ut in uno lecto dividant Christum, quos detesteremur si dividerent lectum (108, 17). nonne tibi videtur dixisse parricidaliter frendens: 'quid faciam ecclesiae quae me prohibet cadere matrem meam? inveni quid faciam: iniuriis quibus potest, etiam ipsa feriat; fiat in me aliquid, unde membra eius doleant; vadam mihi ad eos, qui noverunt exsufflare gratiam, in qua ibi natus sum, destruere formam quam in utero eius accepi; ambas matres meas saevis cruciatibus torqueam; quae me posterior peperit, efferat prior; ad huius dolorem spiritaliter moriar, ad illius caedem carnaliter vivam.' . . . ecce iam conscientia cruentus veste dealbatus perficit partem pollicitationis suae; restat pars altera, ut matris sanguinem bibat (34, 3).

This latter example is most skilfully designed to produce an effect of horror in Augustine's readers. No amount of statistical details of outrages committed by heretical sectaries—and these are not wanting in other letters—could give the impression of unnatural excess which the simply-drawn picture of the murderer planning his horrible deed makes upon us. Cicero himself could not have done better.

TABLE OF FIGURAE SENTENTIARUM

Name of Figure	No. of times	
Correctio	27	
Exclamatio	119	
Interrogatio	472	Pages of text
Litotes	45	2005
Praesumptio	34	
Praeteritio	9	
Prosopopoeia	2	
Total	708	

Augustine's use of the *figurae sententiarum* shows even more clearly than his use of tropes, his own reaction to his rhetorical training in the schools of the Neo-Sophistic. The quiet atmosphere and limited scope of personal correspondence would not naturally suggest themselves as a field for rhetorical flourish, or if they did, one might suspect the writer of poor taste or of a disregard for

the proprieties. The Letters of Augustine are, however, not the usual sort of personal correspondence, as has been pointed out (Intro., p. 15), and it is precisely in the Letters which are least like letters and most like sermons or dialectical treatises that the pages are most thickly strewn with figures. On the whole Augustine handles his figures cleverly,—there is nothing forced or crude in his introduction of them; they occur naturally and appropriately, lend real strength to his arguments, and are obviously not added as mere ornaments. When he expresses an emotion by means of an exclamation or a rhetorical question, the reader feels that it is not a feigned or falsified emotion and the form chosen for its expression does not detract from the sincerity of the sentiment expressed. This is quite an achievement, for the two figures named, by their pliant adaptability to a wide variety of uses, might readily lead an author into a sort of rhetorical hypocrisy, an easy trick of expressing the feelings he ought to have, or those, at least not incompatible with his subject. The artificiality of the sophistic training, with its insistence on mere form, must have had this effect on most of its disciples. That Augustine triumphs over it, in this particular usage, is probably due to the innate gravity of his character, the dignity of his episcopal office, and the extreme seriousness of the topics he treats.

Of the other figures of rhetoric, *correctio*, *litotes* and *praeteritio* might easily develop into a mannerism—the statistics of the table will show that they do not. In no case is the number of instances large in proportion to the text. This restraint is all the more remarkable because, as will be seen, there are other figures, in the use of which Augustine shows that he is not immune to all the excesses of neo-sophistic eloquence.

CHAPTER III.

FIGURES OF SPEECH.

Figurae verborum, word-figures, are produced by choosing certain words and so placing them in the sentence, that if the word-order were changed, or if the word on which the figure depends were exchanged for another, the figure would cease to exist. In this they differ from the sentence-figures which do not depend on word-order, and are even, within certain limits, independent of the choice of words. They are of three sorts according as they result from addition, subtraction or contrast. They are for the most part, highly artificial, much more so than sentence-figures, and therefore were enthusiastically adopted by the writers of the neo-sophistic school. They did not call for profound thought or brilliant imagination, but only for a sort of verbal dexterity, which could be acquired by any speaker through practice. Moreover, they were pleasing, being easily and immediately understood by an audience, and the Latin language lent itself with almost fatal facility to the making of them.¹

It may be seen from this that the abuse of word-figures could easily become a rhetorical vice. Cicero, with his unerring good taste, chose and used his figures cautiously, making each one the expression of some real emotion or sentiment, which he either felt himself or desired to arouse in his hearers. His successors were not all endowed with his fine feeling, and by the time Latin prose had felt the invasion of the rhetorical influence, some of these defects of style were plainly evident. The Christian Latin writers, most of whom had been trained in the methods of the Second Sophistic (cf. pp. 187, 188), naturally clothed their thought in highly-figured language. Often the figure serves the purpose of emphasizing the thought expressed, often, too, an arresting, epigrammatic or antithetical turn of speech impresses the mind of a reader or hearer, and imprints the truth conveyed by this means more indelibly on the memory. But quite as often, it must be confessed, the rhetorical ornament is nothing but ornament and

¹ In dealing with this class of figures, reference is made to rhetorical figures only, not to grammatical figures, viz.: attraction, ellipsis, anacoluthon, hendiadys, prolepsis, pleonasm, solecism.

defeats its own purpose by becoming the ordinary form of thought instead of its extraordinary form. An effect of monotony, even of flippancy or triviality is produced by this want of restraint.

Augustine cannot escape the charge of having used certain figures too lavishly in the Letters. He seems to have fallen a victim to his own facility in the handling of them. Some of them became a deep-rooted habit, as the antithetical figures, others he goes out of his way to introduce, probably because he liked the sound of them. His addiction to paronomasia carries him to undignified lengths and leads him into puns and other forms of word-jugglery which give us an unfavorable idea of his taste. However we must not forget that the literary canons of his day were quite different from ours and that what offends us was probably what pleased his contemporary readers most.

Of the three kinds of word-figures, he makes the greatest use of figures of repetition and figures of contrast. These give a redundancy to his language which not infrequently results in long, overloaded sentences and obscured rather than clarified ideas. In computing the rate of frequency, it must not be forgotten that they are by no means uniformly employed. Some Letters have none at all or very few, others are so elaborately figured that the reader is more dazzled by the brilliance of the writer than impressed by the truths he wishes to impart. Letter 150, for instance, is one intricate succession of figures, resembling an elaborately-wrought piece of embroidery; while in one paragraph of Letter 101, there are ten figures and two tropes.

I. *Figurae Verborum per Adiectionem.*

These figures are produced by some form of repetition—either by repeating the same word in special positions in the sentence, or by repeating the idea under a series of synonyms. The simplest form of repetition is that of a word or words at the beginning or end of successive phrases, clauses or sentences.

1) *Anaphora*² (epanaphora, repetitio) is the recurrence of the same word or words at the beginning of successive phrases, clauses or sentences. The repeated word must have the same form at each repetition. Augustine uses practically all the parts of speech in anaphora, with pronouns and adverbs ranking highest in point of numerical superiority; also he repeats two, three, four and even

² Cornificius, 4, 13, 19; Cicero de Or. 3, 54, 206.

more words. A highly complicated form of anaphora combines two sets of repetitions, alternating them, so that e. g. clauses 1, 3, 5 begin with one word or set of words, 2, 4, 6 with another. A few of the more remarkable examples follow:

i. Repetition of a single word.

a) *Adjectives.*

unde fiant ista *similia* formis, *similia* qualitatibus, *similia* motibus (159, 5).

multa de illo in scripturis secundum formam dei dicuntur, *multa* secundum formam servi (238, 10).

b) *Adverbs.*

merito infeliciter erratis, *merito*, si in unitatem catholicam non transitis, peritis (185, 43).

rursus ad eundem imperatorem venerunt, *rursus* non Caecilianum tantum . . . accusaverunt, *rursus* ab alio episcopali iudicio . . . appellaverunt (93, 13).

ibi me inspice, *ibi* non aliis de me crede sed mihi, *ibi* me adtende et vide (231, 6).

c) *Nouns.*

persona hominis mixtura est animae et corporis, *persona* autem Christi mixtura est dei et hominis (137, 11).

litterae illae, *litterae* fidei non fictae, *litterae* spei bonae, *litterae* purae caritatis (27, 3).

d) *Participles.*

contemptis nobis, *contemptis* promissionibus suis, *contemptis* tot ac tantis petitionibus et admonitionibus suis (151, 10).

e) *Prepositions.*

in conviviis ineundis, *in* matrimoniis tradendis et accipiendis, *in* emendo ac vendendo, *in* pactis et placitis, *in* salutationibus, *in* consensionibus, *in* conlocutionibus, *in* omnibus suis rebus negotiisque concordēs sint (108, 17).

post eorum sine dilatione damnationem, *post* terminatam quae ceteris data fuerat dilationem, *post* divulgatam forensi etiam strepitu apud tot consules accusationem (108, 5).

Pronouns.

haec vos de Christo concepit, *haec* martyrum sanguine par-

turivit, *haec* in sempiternam lucem peperit, *haec* fidei lacte nutrit . . . *haec* mater toto orbe diffusa (243, 8).

quis non dominus servum suum timere compulsus est? . . . *quis* eversori minari saltem audebat aut auctori, *quis* consumptorem apothecarium, *quis* quemlibet poterat exigere debitorem auxilium eorum defensionemque poscentem? (185, 15).

ille inrisus, *ille* crucifixus, *ille* derelictus hoc regnum acquirit (140, 66).

nemo est illo beatior, *nemo* potentior, *nemo* iustior (153, 8).

g) *Verbs.*

sicut se quisque interius *videt* viventem, *videt* volentem, *videt* quaerentem, *videt* scientem, *videt* nescientem? (153, 8147, 3).

parum ergo erat *damnassee* absentem, *damnassee* inauditum, *damnassee* sicut dicunt, innocentem (70, 2).

novit ubique totus esse et nulle contineri loco, *novit* venire non recedendo ubi erat, *novit* abire non deserendo quo venerat (137, 4).

ii. Repetition of two words.

Anaphora consisting of two words is not uncommon in the Letters, and the variety of combinations is wide: adverb and adverb; adverb and adjective; adverb and interjection; adverb and preposition; noun and adverb; noun and pronoun; preposition and pronoun; preposition and noun; pronoun and adverb; pronoun and noun; pronoun and pronoun; pronoun and verb; verb and adverb; verb and noun, verb and preposition, verb and pronoun. This double anaphora gives an effect of rapidity to the style, as well as an impression of strong feeling on the part of the writer.

Examples:

ecce iam doctissimus atque acutissimus diceris, *ecce iam* te laudibus in caelum Graeculus flatus adtollit (118, 11).

quis non intellegat, *quis non* sentiat, *quis non* videat eos in ea victos quorum inde communio separata est (144, 3).

quisquis hoc putat nimium sibi placet, *quisquis hoc* dicit omnibus displicet (228, 12).

huius corporis caput est Christus, *huius corporis* unitas nostro sacrificio commendatur (187, 20).

absit autem ut quisquam fidelis existimet tot milia servorum Christi . . . nullam habere virtutem . . . *absit autem* ut dicamus tot ac tantos fideles et pios homines dei non habere pietatem (167, 11).

iii. Repetition of three or more words.

in hac omnes sancti patres nostri et patriarchae et prophetae et apostoli placuerunt deo; *in hac omnes* veri martyres usque ad sanguinem contra diabolum certaverunt et, quia in eis non refriguit, nec defecit, ideo vicerunt; *in hac omnes* boni fideles cotidie proficiunt pervenire cupientes non ad regnum mortalium sed ad regnum caelorum (189, 3).

in scripturis didicimus Christum, *in scripturis didicimus* ecclesiam (105, 14).

qui possunt catholicorum praedicatorum sermonibus, *qui possunt catholicorum* principum legibus (185, 8).

nec mihi adrogare audeo ut domus mea melior sit quam arca Noe . . . aut *melior sit quam* domus Abrahae . . . aut *melior sit quam* domus Isaac . . . aut *melior sit quam* domus ipsius Jacob . . . aut *melior sit quam* domus David . . . aut *melior sit quam* cohabitatio apostoli Pauli . . . aut *melior sit quam* cohabitatio domini Christi, in qua undecim boni perfidum et furem Judam toleraverunt; aut *melior sit* postremo *quam* caelum unde angeli ceciderunt (78, 8).

This remarkable example contains four repetitions of five words, six repetitions of four words and seven repetitions of three words.

The intervening clauses, which for the most part consist of quotations from Scripture, are long enough to break the possible monotony of such frequent recurrence of the same formula.

inaniter igitur et perfunctorie potius quam veraciter pro eis deo fundimus preces, si ad eius non pertinet gratiam convertere ad fidem suam ipsi fidei contrarias hominum voluntates, *inaniter etiam et perfunctorie potius quam veraciter* magnas cum exultatione agimus deo gratias, quando aliqui eorum credunt si hoc in eis ipse non facit (217, 7).

This example is not quite perfect owing to the substitution of *etiam* for *igitur* in the second clause, but it is sufficiently noteworthy owing to the repetition of six words, of which three are adverbs of not altogether common use.

In Letter 237, 8 there is a double series, consisting one of seven the other of six words, the first repeated four times, the second three times. The first series is: *si hoc intellegendum est in isto hymno*, preceding in each case a line from a hymn much affected by the Priscillianists, as containing secret doctrines too high for ordinary men to know. A passage from Scripture follows the line of the hymn. The second series runs: *si quod ait in isto hymno*, followed in the same way by parallel passages from the Bible. The whole elaborate figure occupies a complete chapter and is a particularly forceful and incisive piece of argument.

iv. Alternate Repetitions.

Not content with the intricate forms of anaphora above described, Augustine has a still more ingenious variety in the Letters. Instead of making his repetitions in successive clauses, he uses two sets alternating them. This often gives an effect of antithesis added to the anaphora.

Examples:

cedat huic sententiae pietas Christianorum, *cui cessit* impietas Judaeorum; *cedat* humilitas obsequentium *cui cessit* superbia persequentium, *cedat* confessio fidelis *cui cessit* simulatio temptatoris (153, 11).

vos dicitis pati persecutionem et nos *ab armatis vestris* fustibus et ferro concidimur; *vos dicitis pati persecutionem* et nostrae domus *ab armatis vestris* compilando vastantur, *vos dicitis pati persecutionem* et nostri oculi *ab armatis vestris* calce et aceto extinguuntur (88, 8).

In Letter 130, 22 there is an alternating series of seven repetitions, one set consisting of *qui dicit* the other of *quid aliud dicit quam*; the first followed by various passages of Scripture, the second by the petitions of the Pater Noster. The juxtaposition effected by this double anaphora is more impressive and illuminating than any other form of explanation Augustine could have chosen.

A somewhat similar example occurs in Letter 135, 3, although the repetition is not quite so perfect as the above. The first clause: *agnoscunt nobiscum Christum in eo quod legitur* is followed by a Scripture quotation; the second *et nolunt agnoscere ecclesiam in eo quod* (post paululum) *sequitur*, forming an antithesis to the first, is likewise followed by a verse from the Psalms or a passage from

the Gospel. There are three repetitions, but the *post paululum* is not repeated in the second clause; while the first clause introduces *ipse dominus in evangelio* after *quod* in the third series.

v. The Number of Repetitions.

Besides varying in the number of words repeated the anaphora of the Letters shows a wide range in the number of repetitions made. The most common instance has the word or phrase occurring only twice, but three and four repetitions are not infrequent. The highest number is twelve, in an altogether remarkable example in Ep. 217, 16, where *scimus* introduces each of a long series of propositions. Where the same words are repeated so insistently, the figure is usually saved from monotony by the interposition of rather lengthy sentences or quotations. The effect is then one of merciless logic driving home its conclusions by repeated blows.

TABLE OF ANAPHORA IN THE LETTERS

Parts of Speech	1 word	2 words	3 words	4 words	6 words	alternate	No. of Repetition
Adjective	193	46	11	1	6	14	2—129
Adverb							3— 78
Verb							4— 29
Preposition							5— 11
Pronoun							6— 3
Participles							7— 4
Noun							8— 2
							12— 15
Totals						271	271

2) *Conversio*, antistrophe or epiphora^a is the opposite of anaphora, and is produced by a repetition of the same word or words at the end of successive phrases, clauses or sentences. This figure is not quite so forceful or spontaneous as anaphora and is much more likely to degenerate into monotony, because the same sound coming at the end of successive sentences remains in the ear much more persistently than the same sound at the opening of successive sentences. It is a rarer figure than anaphora, and although it is used a little more than half as often by Augustine in the Letters, the lower number is really a higher proportion because of its rarity elsewhere. Five parts of speech are represented, the verb and noun

^a Cic. de Or. 3, 54, 206; Cornif. 4, 13, 19.

having the ascendancy, as might be expected. A few cases occur of repetition of more than one word, the highest number being four; while the two cases of alternate repetitions are a sort of curiosity. The number of members included in the figure is consistently lower than those of anaphora—four is the limit of repetitions. A few of the more remarkable examples follow:

i. One Word.

a) *Nouns.*

respondetur fidem habere propter fidei *sacramentum*, et convertere se ad deum propter conversionis *sacramentum* (98, 9).
conscinditur unitas *Christi*, blasphematur hereditas *Christi*, exsufflatur baptismus *Christi* (43, 21).

non ergo gratiam dicamus esse *doctrinam*, sed agnoscamus gratiam quae facit prodesse *doctrinam*, quae gratia si desit, videmus etiam obesse *doctrinam* (217, 12).

b) *Adjectives.*

quo fit quidem omnium *reus*, sed gravius peccans vel in pluribus peccans magis *reus*, levius autem vel in paucioribus peccans minus *reus* (167, 17).

non a Patre *aliam*, et a Filio *aliam*, et a Spiritu Sancto *aliam* conditam esse creaturam (169, 5).

c) *Verbs.*

neque enim iste aut naturam precando volebat accipere in qua *conditus erat*, aut de naturali voluntatis arbitrio satagebat cum quo *conditus erat* (188, 12).

si Christum ipsum *tenetis*, ipsam ecclesiam quare non *tenetis*? si in ipsum Christum quem legitis et *videtis* . . . quare ecclesiam negatis quam et legitis et *videtis*? (105, 17).

ecclesia in illo *patiebatur*, quando pro ecclesia *patiebatur*, sicut etiam ipse in ecclesia *patiebatur* quando pro illo ecclesia *patiebatur* (140, 18).

d) *Pronouns.*

haec tecum sermocinatur fides *tua*, quoniam non fraudabitur spes *tua*, etsi nunc differatur caritas *tua* (263, 4).

quod ut fiat in *eis*, oratur pro *eis*, quamvis non oretur ab *eis* (217, 29).

non ut exhiberem faciem meam volo *vobis*, sed effunderem cor meum deo pro *vobis* (211, 2).

e) *Participle*.

aliter adiuuat nondum *inhabitans*, aliter *inhabitans* (194, 18).

ii. Two or More Words.

qui *unum sunt* et inseparabiliter *unum sunt*, et sempiternae *unum sunt* (238, 13).

neque enim si aequaliter sunt omnino sapientes, plus sapiunt *ambo quam singuli*, quem ad modum si aequaliter sint immortales non plus vivunt *ambo quam singuli*? (187, 11).

quo modo illa generatio uno delicto obligat, *quod est ex Adam*, ita ista regeneratio unum delictum solvit *quod est ex Adam* (157, 12).

iii. Alternate Repetitions.

quam profecto esurire ac sitire *ea nostra est* in hac peregrinatione *iustitia*, et qua postea saturari *ea nostra est* in aeternitate plena *iustitia* (120, 19).

TABLE OF CONVERSIO

No. of terms	noun	adj.	verb	pron.	part.	Total	No. of Repetitions	
1	39	11	90	21	1	162		
2						6	2	136
3						3	3	20
4						3	4	8
alternate						3		3
Totals						177		177

3) *Complexio* ⁴ or symploche is a combination of anaphora and conversio, in such wise that successive clauses or sentences have identical beginnings and endings. It is an extremely artificial figure, and open, even more than conversio, to the danger of monotony or triviality. Cicero made an effective use of it in some of his more vituperative orations, usually in the form of question and answer. The number of instances (22) in Augustine's Letters is unexpectedly large.

Examples:

nemo delet de caelo constitutionem dei, nemo delet de terra ecclesiam dei (43, 27).

⁴ Cornificius, 4, 14, 20.

discernit me fides mea, discernit me oratio mea, discernit me iustitia mea (214, 3).

qui sobria discretione eligit prudens est, qui nulla hinc afflictione avertitur fortis est, qui nulla alia delectatione temperans est, qui nulla elatione iustus est (155, 16).

neque propter paleam relinquimus aream domini, neque propter pisces malos rumpimus retia domini, neque propter haedos in fine segregandos deserimus gregem domini, neque propter vasa facta in contumeliam migramus de domo domini (93, 50).

This last example is raised from the commonplace and trite into which some of the instances fall, by the lively succession of metaphors, each one expressing the idea of the separation of the good from the bad at the end of the world. The division according to number of repetitions is as follows:

2 repetitions	10 examples.		
3	"	9	"
4	"	4	"

4) *Anadiplosis*⁸ or revocatio or epanastrophe, is another figure of repetition in which a sentence, clause, or line of poetry begins with the same word with which the preceding sentence, clause or line of poetry closed. It is more common in poetry than in prose, but is suitable to oratory, lending grace and a certain impetuosity to the style. Nine examples found in the Letters of Augustine is a large number for such a rare and unusual figure.

Examples:

qui iudicat sine misericordia, sine misericordia iudicetur (102, 7).
ori tuo pateant, pateant carmini tuo (26, 4).

hoc et gratiarum actio indicat quod oratio, oratio pro infidelibus, gratiarum actio pro fidelibus (217, 28).

Cf. also 28, 5; 49, 2; 98, 18; 104, 12; 140, 79; 153, 5.

5) *Kuklos*⁹ is the opposite of anadiplosis, confining its repetition within the limits of one sentence or clause, which must begin and end with the same word. It has about the same effect as that produced by anadiplosis, and the number of instances found in the Letters (10) is much greater than might have been expected.

⁸ Quintilian, 9, 3, 344. Cic. de Or. 3, 54, 206.

⁹ Quint. 9, 3, 34.

Examples:

unus ergo deus Pater et cum illo Filius unus deus (238, 18).

*clamet tertius provinciae Laurentius episcopus et prorsus huius
vocibus clamet* (209, 8).

rogo te, frater, pro te ipso te magis rogo (106).

Cf. also 82, 7; 98, 7, 2; 99, 2; 102, 32; 120, 13; 147, 3.

It will be observed that the five preceding figures of repetition are based on the recurrence of the same word or words in a particular position in the sentence. By repeating a word, either immediately or after the interposition of a few other words, still another figure of repetition, a less artificial and more spontaneous one, is produced. This figure is known as

6) *Geminatio* or *Conduplicatio*⁷ and requires that the repetition be intentional, otherwise it is not an embellishment but a defect. It can be most effectively applied to various purposes—to rousing indignation or sympathy, or to emphasizing a point by returning to it unexpectedly. Augustine finds abundant opportunity for using it in the Letters, and he secures variety by repeating different parts of speech, or different groups of words, or by making his repetitions at different intervals.

i) Repetitions of one word. The parts of speech repeated are adverbs, verbs and pronouns, with a special preference for verbs. Sometimes the repetition is further stressed by the introduction of *inquam*, *obsecro* or *quaeso*.

Examples:

quando ergo poteris . . . quando, inquam, poteris eorum concupiscentiam . . . pascere! (220, 6).

quaedam, sicut audieramus, quaedam vero aliter facta (62, 1).

hoc, hoc interfice verbo salutari, hoc perde matris ut in vitam aeternam invenias eam, hoc memento ut oderis in ea si diligis eam (243, 7).

reddite igitur quod vovistis . . . reddite, obsecro (127, 6).

quaere ab amico, quem hoc adhuc movet . . . quaere, obsecro te (143, 12).

absit a nobis ut sic sanctus dei et nobis carissimus defendatur, absit inquam (126, 12).

sume itaque, mi fili, sume vir bone, . . . sume inquam etiam libros (231, 6).

⁷ Cornif. 4, 28, 38.

ii) Repetitions of two or more words.

The largest number of words repeated is five, the most common, three. By some authors,^a this figure is called *epanalepsis* when more than one word is repeated.

Examples:

tibi dico . . . tibi, inquam, dico (10, 3).

bene est ergo quia aequo animo ferre non possum, quod si aequo animo ferrem, aequo animo ferendus non essem (27, 1).

amplector istam defensionem tuam . . . amplector, inquam, defensionem tuam (118, 17).

si verum est, quod miror, si verum est . . . si tamen ut dixi, verum est quod audiui (253).

proinde hoc opus est gratiae non naturae, opus est inquam gratiae (217, 11).

isto autem periculo non tantum nos, . . . non ergo nos tantum isto periculo (266, 3). (5 words repeated but not in the same order.)

his virtutibus divinitus impertitis per gratiam mediatoris dei . . . his, inquam virtutibus divinitus impertitis, et bona vita nunc agitur et . . . beata vita persolvitur (155, 16).

It is in general extremely rare in this figure to find the repeated word recurring more than twice—the name *geminatio* or *conduplicatio* implies a twofold repetition only—however there are four examples in the Letters in which the repetition is threefold. The additional repetition rather weakens than strengthens the figure.

TABLE OF GEMINATIO

	1 word	2 words	3 words	4 words	5 words	Total
No. of times	adv. 7					
	pron. 3					
	verb 15					
	25	3	7	1	1	37

Cf. also: 21, 2; 23, 3; 41, 1; 43, 6; 80, 1; 95, 3; 102, 10, etc.

7) A freer form of repetition than *geminatio* is exemplified in *polyptoton*^b or *traductio*, in which a word reappears in another

^a Freund, 5, 267.

^b Quint. 9, 3, 37.

inflectional form, that is in a different case, mood, tense or degree of comparison. As in the case of other figures of this sort, the repetition must be intentional, and must be designed to produce a certain effect. A particularly emphatic variety of it shows adjectives in the three degrees of comparison. It is a figure which would soon cheapen a style, if misused, and it may be said that Augustine does misuse it in the Letters. There are, it is true, instances in which he secures a fine rhetorical elevation of expression by this device, but there are other and much more numerous instances in which his sentences degenerate into a jingling formula because of it. The words repeated are chiefly: adjectives (58 times), nouns (64 times) and verbs (58 times).

Examples:

i) Repetitions of Adjectives.

non parti rerum partem suam praesentem praebet et *alteri parti, alteram partem, aequales aequalibus, minori vero minorem, maioriq[ue] maiorem* (187, 17).

felix es talis fideliter cogitando, amando *felicior*, et ideo eris *felicissima* consequendo (267).

scelerati omnes . . . quibus . . . volentibus ista commissa sunt, *sceleratiores* qui commiserunt, *sceleratissimi* qui immiserunt (91, 9).

The following shows clearly Augustine's abuse of this figure:

sic est deus . . . ut non sit qualitas *mundi* sed substantia creatrix *mundi* sine labore regens et sine onere continens *mundum*, non tamen per spatia locorum quasi mole diffusa ita ut in *dimidio mundi* corpore sit *dimidius* et in alio *dimidio dimidius* atque per *totum totus* sed in *solo solus* et in *sola terra solus* et in caelo et in terra *totus* et nullo contentus loco sed in se ipso ubique *totus* (187, 14).

ii) Repetitions of Nouns.

ut laudemur ab *hominibus*, id est finem recti nostri in *hominum* laudibus ponere et tamen propter ipsos *homines* quaerere laudes *hominum* (231, 4).

Verbum . . . per quod facta sunt *tempora tempus* eligit quo susciperet carnem, non *tempori* cessit ut verteretur in carnem (137, 10).

The two following have deteriorated into an almost meaningless jingle because the figure is exaggerated:

eadem scilicet cum frater refertur ad fratrem, amicus ad amicum,
vicinus ad vicinum, cognatus ad cognatum (170, 6).
ut cederet altare altari, gladius gladio, ignis igni, panis pani,
pecus pecori, sanguis sanguini (36, 24).

This latter one sounds almost like a school exercise in declension, while the following cacophony rivals Cicero's famous "O fortunatam natam me consule Romam!"

quae utique in fine sine fine habebitur (194, 19).

iii) Repetition of Verbs.

de nullo enim sanctorum dici *potuit* aut *potest* aut *poterit* (187, 40).

doctrina igitur constans *mutato* praecepto non *mutata* *mutavit* (138, 2).

si ergo nec *vituperari* nec *corripi* nisi *interrogatum* Spiritus Sanctus noluit, quanto sceleratius non *vituperati* aut *correpti* sed omnino damnati sunt qui de suis criminibus nihil absentes *interrogari* potuerunt (43, 11).

Triviality of expression marks the following:

nos non solum *dileximus* verum etiam *diligimus* sed aliter nunc *diligimus* aliter aliquando *dileximus* (186, 1).

ut et ipsum non *manducantem* *manducans* quisque non sperneret et ipse non *manducans* *manducantem* non iudicaret (36, 20).

Confusion and faulty diction have fallen upon this one:

nemo autem *diligit* proximum nisi *diligens* deum ut hoc quantum potest proximo impendat quem *diligit* tamquam se ipsum ut et ille *diligat* deum, quem si ipse non *diligit*, nec se nec proximum *diligit* (167, 16).

A modification of this figure known as *paragmenon* or *derivatio* is not included in Quintilian's enumeration, but is defined by Julius Rufinus. It consists in repeating a word in the form of a derivative, as e. g. an adverb from an adjective, or an adjective from a noun. It is used by Augustine in the Letters fairly often (65 times), and is sometimes combined with polyptoton, anaphora or conversio. It gives an oracular effect when used in short sentences.

Examples:

non *doctor perfectus* sed cum *docendis perficiendus* (266, 2).

deus *verus* et *verax veraciter* consoletur cor tuum (131).

incorporeas similitudines *corporum incorporaliter* commendat
memoriae (147, 38).

sed ut remissa *iniuria* quod *iniuriose* abstulit reddat (153, 22).

It is combined with polyptoton in:

ut fides praecedat *rationem rationabiliter* iussum est, nam si hoc
praeceptum *rationabile* non est, ergo *irationabile* est;
absit. Si igitur *rationabile* est ut magnam quandam quae
capi nondum potest fides antecedit *rationem*, procul dubio
quantulacumque *ratio* . . . antecedit *rationem* (120, 3).

8) *Synonymia* or congeries occurs when the same thought is repeated under slightly different terms. It is usually associated with either asyndeton or polysyndeton. Quintilian avows a difficulty in assigning its proper name to this figure,¹⁰ admitting that there are instances in which the accumulation of terms does not express the same idea, yet produces the same effect of vehemence. He finds some who give the name *plote* to this latter variety of the figure, while others call it *diallage*. On the whole he decides that it is better to call the figure *dissolutio*, which is the Latin equivalent for asyndeton. In this however the rhetorician overlooks the fact that the same phenomenon occurs in connection with polysyndeton, so that it is evident that the figure as such consists in the accumulation of terms and not in the presence or absence of conjunctions. In order to represent the use made of it by Augustine in the Letters, all the examples have been grouped together under the above name of congeries, with due observance of the distinctions of similar or dissimilar terms, of asyndetic or polysyndetic connection. It is one of Augustine's favorite figures, quite in line with the copiousness of his vocabulary and the generally pleonastic character of the African school to which he belongs. It may be said on the whole that he does not abuse it and that he shows considerable ingenuity in his methods of varying it.

i. Congeries of synonymous or nearly synonymous terms.

Examples:

finem certe iam sentis esse nugatorium, inanem, ventosum
(118, 5).

¹⁰ Inst. Or. 9, 3, 45-48.

quam sapiens ferre non debeat eamque fugiat, abrumpat, abiciat (155, 3).

qua diligentia, qua cautela, qua provisione . . . iudicavit (43, 20).

Occasionally the synonymous terms are arranged in an ascending scale of emphasis, which is highly effective.

Examples:

eatur, ambuletur, curratur in via domini (41, 1).

suggero, peto, obsecro, flagito (97, 3).

me miserum si ego non iubeo, si non cogo atque impero, si non rogo ac supplico (26, 4).

qui furtis, rapinis, calumniis, oppressionibus, invasionibus, abstulerit (153, 24).

ii. Congeries of non-synonymous terms.

Examples:

ita ut presbyteri expoliarentur, caederentur, debilitarentur, excaecarentur, occiderentur (209, 2).

vide illius derelictionis, tribulationis, deprecationis fructu, quid agatur, quid insinuetur, quid commendetur, quid inlustretur (140, 43).

tot locis pingitur, funditur, tunditur, sculpitur, scribitur, legitur, agitur, cantatur, saltatur, Juppiter adulteria tanta committens (91, 5).

solem, lunam, stellas, amnes, maria, montes, colles, urbes, parietes denique domus suae (147, 43).

iii. Congeries combined with other figures.

a) with anaphora:

dent tales provinciales, tales maritos, tales coniuges, tales parentes tales filios, tales dominos, tales servos, tales reges, tales iudices, tales denique debitorum ipsius fisci redditores et exactores (138, 15).

in conviviis ineundis, in matrimoniis tradendis et accipiendis, in emendo ac vendendo, in pactis et placitis, in salutationibus, in consensionibus, in conlocutionibus, in omnibus suis rebus negotiisque concordēs sint (108, 17).

b) with antithesis:

laudes, vituperationes, exhortationes, terrores, praemia, supplicia (246, 2).

impertiat, addat, auferat, detrahat, augeat, minuatve (138, 5).

c) with asyndeton:

arant, navigant, comparant, generant, militant, administrant
(199, 38).

piis, iustis, puris, castis, veris dictis (235, 2).

d) with polysyndeton:

ut et custodianur et augeantur et perficiantur et remunerentur
(69, 2).

quod vos de Afriis aut nostis aut creditis aut audistis aut fingitis
(87, 7).

The above examples will give a fair idea of the rapidity and vivacity of style secured by the use of this figure. It is especially adapted to descriptive passages, lends itself to the expression of various emotions, and does not conduce to monotony because of the wide range of possibilities it allows. Any part of speech may be so treated except conjunctions and prepositions, and there is no restriction of the inflectional forms which may be repeated.

TABLE OF CONGERIES

Synonymous	66	with asyndeton	108	nouns	63
Non-synonymous	86	" polysyndeton	14	adj.	16
		" anaphora	20	adv.	2
		remainder	10	verbs	58
				gerundive	56
				word-groups	7
<hr/>		<hr/>		<hr/>	
Total	152	Total	152	Total	152

9) *Climax* or *gradatio*. The range of this figure is necessarily limited, because of its artificial character and elaborate arrangement. The name climax, a ladder, or gradatio, a set of steps, describes as well as identifies it. It is a form of repetition in which the last term of the previous statement becomes the first of the succeeding one, and thus the thought or argument really mounts by steps. It is, says Quintilian²¹ a more affected figure and therefore should be used more rarely, an admonition which Augustine evidently heeded in the Letters, as he uses it not more than 21 times in all. He finds it especially useful in proving or disproving a statement which is not evident or not admissible at first sight, going back to

²¹ Inst. Or. 9, 3, 55.

a statement which is admissible or evident and leading by incontrovertible steps to his conclusion. The parts of speech on which he makes the figure turn are: nouns, 8 times; adjectives, twice; verbs, 10 times; adverbs, once.

Examples:

eo modo diceret: si flamma est et ardet, si ardet et urit, si urit ergo et virorum trium in fornacem ignis ab impio rege missorum corpora incendit (205, 4).

lex igitur adducit ad fidem, fides impetrat spiritum largiorem, diffundit spiritus caritatem, implet caritas legem (145, 3).

verumtamen in infantia speratur pueritia, et in pueritia speratur adolescentia et in adolescentia speratur iuventus et in iuventute speratur gravitas et in gravitate speratur senectus (213, 1).

quare Paulus . . . prostratus est ut excaecaretur, excaecatus ut mutaretur, mutatus ut mitteretur, missus ut qualia fecerat in errore talia pro veritate pateretur? (173, 3).

cum unius tui facti candore conspexi, conspexi et agnovi, agnovi et amavi (58, 1).

tam id faciunt quam vos desiderant, tam vos desiderant quam vos diligunt, tam diligunt quam estis boni (31, 9).

Cf. also: 40, 3; 108, 18; 127, 5; 130, 21; 137, 18; 140, 46; 153, 26; 155, 11; 157, 8, 10; 167, 10, 11; 192, 2; 194, 13; 205, 4, 4; 213, 1.

10) *Polysyndeton*, is so named because it abounds in conjunctions, repeating them without necessity before successive clauses. Both coördinating and subordinating conjunctions are so used, but the latter have a stronger emphasis and make for greater vigor and vivacity of style. Augustine uses this figure much less than we should expect (65 times in all) preferring its opposite, *asyndeton* or its cognate figure *anaphora*.

Examples:

hoc nos egimus et ostendimus et obtinuimus (141, 5).

nec ideo videbunt quia pauperes spiritu in hac vita fuerunt, quia mites, quia lugentes, quia esurientes et sitientes iustitiam, quia misericordes, quia pacifici, quia persecutionem passi propter iustitiam (147, 28).

si paupertas angit, si luctus maestificat, si dolor corporis inquietat, si contristat exilium, si ulla alia calamitas vexat (130, 4).

ne oderit hominem, ne malum pro malo retribuatur, ne nocendi inflammetur ardore, ne vindicta etiam lege debita pasci desiderat (104, 8).

II. *Figurae Verborum per Detractionem.*

Of these, which are by far the smallest group of figures of speech, only two are found in the Letters: asyndeton and zeugma.

1) *Asyndeton* or the absence of conjunctions, is as we have seen, closely connected with congeries, so closely indeed that it is a matter for dispute whether the effect of rapidity and energy imparted by the figure is due to the accumulation of terms or to the omission of connectives. As the polysyndetic examples of congeries are no less forceful than the asyndetic, the conclusion reached above in treating of congeries seems warranted. All the examples of asyndeton (108) found in the Letters are associated with congeries and as such have been classified and illustrated.

2) *Zeugma* or *adjunctio* consists in joining several clauses to one verb, expressing it with the first or the last, leaving it to be understood with the others. Augustine makes but slight use of it in the Letters, his tendency being rather to redundancy than to brevity of speech. Twenty-two examples only were found.

Examples:

cum . . . venerimus ex fide ad speciem, ab speculo ad faciem, ab aenigmate ad perspicuam veritatem (140, 66).

quia etsi non ad ecclesiae pacem, non ad Christi corporis unitatem, non ad sanctam et individuum caritatem . . . cogeris (173, 4).

non est in agro meo, non in auro, non in pecore, non in tectis et parietibus, non in meorum orbitatibus sed in carne mea est (140, 35).

nam si ibi omnes essent nullum esset vitium, si nullum vitium, nullum omnino peccatum (147, 10).

Cf. also: 33, 2; 43, 6; 105, 2; 118, 23; 137, 17; 138, 19; 140, 19, 35; 147, 25; 153, 2; 155, 13; 167, 13; 187, 16, 41; 243, 8.

III. *Figurae Verborum per Similitudinem.*

In addition to repetition and omission as a source of figures, there is a third, namely resemblance or its opposite, contrast.

Figures produced by resemblance are largely figures of sound and by their predominance betray the influence of the Neo-sophistic.

1) *Paronomasia* or *annominatio* is a kind of legitimized pun, produced by the juxtaposition of words differing from each other by a letter or a syllable. It is effected in four ways:

- a) by the addition of letters or syllables;
- b) by the removal of letters or syllables;
- c) by the exchange of prepositions in compounds;
- d) by the transposition or change of a letter or syllable at the beginning, in the middle or at the end of a word.

This figure is supposed to be much less frequent in Latin than in Greek,¹² but is used to excess by Augustine as well as by Apuleius. In the Letters, Augustine shows his strong predilection for it, using all the forms of it liberally and not always appropriately. The point of the figure lies in the similarity of sound with dissimilarity of meaning, almost always with an effect of triviality. Such verbal pyrotechnics may arouse the reader's interest, but they inevitably cheapen the writer's style and often invest a really profound idea with an air of flippancy. Augustine's abuse of this figure is one of his defects.

Examples:

a) *Paronomasia* produced by the addition of words or syllables. The most common form is the sequence of a compound after a simple word, either noun or verb.

faciat ergo quisque quod in ea ecclesia in quam venit, invenit (54, 6).

sicut enim non invenitur homo qui praeter Adam carnaliter generetur, sic non invenitur homo qui praeter Christum spiritaliter regeneretur (157, 11).

a deo sumpsi non a me praesumpsi (155, 5).

non quia verum iurare peccatum est, sed quia periurare immane peccatum est (47, 2).

et eum gaudebimus sive rectum sive correctum (177, 4).

fundam potius quam effundam (26, 3).

ego autem iudices veros et veritate severos magis intueor (143, 4).

A more elaborate form is effected by adding a letter to any syllable, changing the sound very little, but the sense entirely.

¹² Volkmann, 2, 480.

quoniam si quod lex *imperat*, fides *impetrat* (157, 8).
nec faciunt bonos vel malos *mores* nisi boni vel mali *amores*
(155, 13).

Amore is also played off against *ore* in Ep. 228, 10.

quia nec libera dicenda est quam diu est *vincentibus* et *vincienti-*
bus cupiditatibus subdita (145, 2).

aut temperaret frigus *aetatis* fervor *aestatis* (269).

Other combinations are: conlatis, conflatis (213, 2), eo, deo
(186, 10), oris, roboris (27, 6), oris, cordis (51, 2), veri-
tate, severitate (43, 23), amittit, admittit (43, 27) and
aversi, adversi (217, 29).

b) Paronomasia produced by subtraction of syllables. Whether a given example is to be regarded as addition or subtraction depends on the word-order. Any change involving simple and compound words might belong to either category, according to the position of the respective terms, and in fact the same words are found in some cases in both, e. g. *imperat* and *impetrat*, *otium* and *negotium*, *generatio* and *regeneratio*.

Examples.

ipse te pro eis orantem dignetur *exaudire* quem tu per eos lo-
quentem non dedignaris *audire* (41, 1).

quae hic *honorant* ibi *onerant* (23, 3).

quo nullum malum *admittatur* et ubi summum bonum numquam
amittatur (155, 3).

porro quia me tacuisse moleste tulisti *indignatio* ista *dignatio*
est (151, 1).

talis actio nec *frigitur negotio* nec *frigida est otio* (48, 3).

This is a double example combining classes 2 and 4.

ut et vos in nobis *negotiosi* et nos in vobis *otiosi* simus (48, 1).

non eorum mirantur *mortes* sed recordantur *mores* (185, 12).

(Cf. *mores*, *amores* above.)

c) Paronomasia produced by change of prepositions in compounds. This is the largest group of examples of paronomasia in the Letters, a form especially adapted to Latin, one characterized by Quintilian¹⁸ as an elegant device when used for the purpose of securing greater precision or emphasis. It must be admitted that Augustine does not always use it for that purpose, but more probably to give that similarity of sound at the close of his sentences

¹⁸ Inst. Or. 9, 3, 71.

which he so much affects. Many of the examples in this as in the other two groups are combined with homoioteleuton.

Examples:

homo quippe deo *accessit*, non deus a se *recessit* (137, 10).
 ut cetera ingenio quod mihi notissimum est *persequaris* et pietate
 sui maxime standum est *consequaris* (11, 4).

A striking example contains no less than five changes of prepositional prefix, with a distinctly depreciatory effect:

ut videas deum quem tibi videndum *distulit*, homini autem videndum *adtulit*, occidendum *obtulit*, imitandum *contulit*, credendum *transtulit* (140, 18).

A double instance:

dum non *addatur* quod *deerat* sed *prodatur* quod *inerat* (55, 7).
 non *diversam* viam . . . sed plane *perversam* (104, 12).
 porro autem in quo erat natura *communis* ab eius est nullus
immunis (186, 21).
aversio eius vitium eius et *conversio* eius virtus eius est (140, 56).

d) Paronomasia produced by the change of a letter or syllable, at the beginning, in the middle or at the end of a word. There is a more evident effect of punning in this sort of paronomasia, which is sometimes clever, but more often merely aggravating.

Examples:

utrum horum vis ut confirmem, *possem* si *nossem* (202A, 15).
 ut mente *agat* quod *amat* (196, 5).
 non ignominiose *cadenti* sed gloriose *cedenti* (69, 2).
 sed illis *patet*, istis *latet* (137, 7).
 non quam *voluit* sed quam *valuit*, occupavit (166, 17).
 facile videas et *modum* meum quem servandum putavi et *motum*
 eius quem non frustra timui (74).
 eos enim latentes *inlustris* *inlustras* *clarusque* *declaras* (231, 5).
 dum sum *parcus* in verbis nihil *parcas* mihi (12).
 his *salubriter* et *prava* corriguntur et *parva* nutriuntur (137, 18).
 The following composite example is further complicated by
 rhyme: vitiis alienis tribulari non implicari, *maerere* non
haerere, dolore *contrahi* non amore *adtrahi* (248, 1).

Other variations are: voluptatem voluntatem, sorte sorde, exortum exorsum, aperire operire, affectu aspectu, humus humor, monendo minando, eulogia alogia, paene plane, men-

tem ventrem, interna aeterna, inferioris interioris, violentiam valentiam, urbem orbem, correctum correptum.

These show the tendency to indulge in verbal trickery which beset even so serious a writer as Augustine, treating moreover of extremely profound and grave subjects. Whether it was the result of his rhetorical training or of his Punic origin, it was something he was unable,—if indeed he desired—to eradicate.

TABLE OF PARONOMASIA

Addition	72	}	Total	239
Subtraction	27		Pages	2005
Change of prefix	82			
Change of letter	58			

The number of instances is large for a figure of this sort.

2) *Homoioptoton* or *Similiter Cadens* is a figure caused by a similarity of inflection, so that nouns fall in the same cases, verbs in the same moods and tenses in successive members of the sentence. The order need not be the same in each clause, as the figure depends on the similarity of construction, not on the parallelism of arrangement. *Homoioptoton* is not as conspicuous a figure as *homoiopteleuton*, and is most frequently found in combination with other figures, such as anaphora, chiasmus, conversio, antithesis, paronomasia. It is one of the most common figures in the Letters, but not as common as *homoiopteleuton*. It occurs 584 times.

Examples:

non solum credendi firmissimo robore verum etiam intellegendi certissima veritate (120, 6).

haec si ratio quaeritur non erit mirabile,

si exemplum poscitur non erit singulare (137, 8).

hoc nec dici brevius, nec audiri laetius, nec intellegi grandius,

nec agi fructuosius (41, 1) (with polysyndeton).

ut aut ceteros deterreamus eorum imitari perversitatem,

aut ceteros optemus eorum imitari correctionem (91, 10).

aqua igitur exhibens forinsecus sacramentum gratiae,

et spiritus operans intrinsecus beneficium gratiae (98, 2)

(with conversio).

quae non terrena infirmitate deficiens corruptibili voluptate reficitur, sed caelesti firmitate persistens aeterna incorruptibilitate vegetatur (130, 7) (with antithesis).

si genera carnis . . . differunt inter se pro diversitatibus animantium et si corpora . . . differunt pro diversitatibus locorum, et si in locis sublimibus . . . differunt etiam ipsa claritatibus luminum, non mirum est quod in resurrectione mortuorum distabit meritorum (205, 7).

vivunt ut latrones, moriuntur ut Circumcelliones, honorantur ut martyres (88, 8) (with asyndeton).

latente maiestate divinitatis et carnis infirmitate apparente (155, 4) (with chiasmus and antithesis).

3) *Homoioptoton* or *Similiter desinens*¹⁴ carrying the parallelism of homoioptoton one step further, results in clauses or phrases ending in similar sounds, or, when the similarity is perfect, in rhyme. This figure, used very sparingly or avoided as a defect by the writers of the classical period, was one of the best-loved and most-practised tricks of style of the New Sophists. Apuleius¹⁵ was the first Latin writer to use it extensively. In the Letters of Augustine it is so frequent that it forms the very warp and woof of his sentence structure, and, added to antithesis, may be pointed out as the most striking characteristic of his style. Its effective manipulation calls for rather short, balanced clauses, word weighed against word, and construction against construction, the result being a cadence far removed from the intricate and resounding period of the Ciceronian type. The simplest form of it consists in a single rhyme in two successive clauses, but not content with this, Augustine often uses double or triple rhymes, or multiplies the rhyming clauses, or arranges them in pairs alternately, with an effect not unlike that of a stanza of English verse.

Examples:

i) Of Two Members:

incommutabiliter immortalem secundum aequalem patri divinitatem,
eundemque mutabilem atque mortalem secundum cognatam nobis infirmitatem (137, 12).

non ex virtute divinitatis,
sed ex infirmitate humanitatis,
non ex suae naturae permansione,
sed ex nostrae susceptione (238, 17).

¹⁴ Quint. 9, 3, 78.

¹⁵ Volkmann, 2, 484.

ut non solum verba eorum gestis tenerentur,
sed etiam manus subscribentium legerentur (141, 11).

ii) Of Three Members.

quid enim debet esse iucundius
vel infirmis gratia qua sanantur,
vel pigris gratia qua excitantur,
vel volentibus gratia qua iuvantur (186, 39).

aut remissionem peccatorum desiderabat,
qui potius continentiam ne peccaret optabat,
vel quid faciendum esset scire cupiebat (188, 12).

iii) Of Four or More Members.

familiam dominicam diligenter sobrieque tractantes,
adventum domini sui sitienter desiderantes,
vigilanter expectantes,
fideliter amantes (199, 52).

dicatur haec et prudentia quia prospectissime adhaerebit bono
quod non amittatur,
et fortitudo quia firmissime adhaerebit bono unde non avellatur,
et temperantia quia castissime adhaerebit bono ubi non corrumpatur,
et iustitia quia rectissime adhaerebit bono cui merito subiciatur
(155, 12).

pessimorum servorum . . . tabulae frangebantur,
extorta debitoribus chirographa reddebantur,
quicumque . . . illorum verborum contempserant . . . quod iubebant facere cogeantur,
innocentium qui eos offenderant domus aut deponebantur
ad solum aut ignibus cremebantur (185, 15).

redde quod accepisti,
quando contra veritatem stetisti,
iniquitati adfuisti,
iudicem fefellisti,
iustam causam oppressisti,
de falsitate vicisti (153, 25).

quo vestri causam miserunt,
apud quem iudices episcopos reprehenderunt,
ad quem a iudicibus episcopis appellaverunt,
quam taediosissime de Felice Aptungitano interpellaverunt,

a quo totiens convicti et confusi redierunt,
 et a pernicie furoris et animositatis non recesserunt,
 eamque vobis posteris suis hereditariam reliquerunt (155, 10).

A series of twelve members is found in Ep. 76, 2, with the following verbs: tradiderunt, dimiserunt, communicaverunt, convenerunt, damnaverunt, ordinaverunt, erexerunt, miserunt, obtemperaverunt, arguerunt, appellaverunt, permanserunt.

iv) Double Rhyme. There are several cases in which not only the final syllables or the final words rhyme together, but the last two or three words.

Examples:

ut non . . . assentantis adulatoris,
 certe . . . errantis laudatoris (188, 6).

sed sicut meliores sunt quos dirigit amor,
 ita plures sunt quos corrigit timor (185, 21).

ubi iam non sit moleste toleranda calamitas,
 nec laboriose frenanda cupiditas (137, 20).

si eam nec ornamentorum vanorum vinculis alligemus,
 nec curarum noxiarum sarcinis oneremus (127, 5).

eius tamen ecclesiam non divinarum litterarum auctoritate
 cognoscunt,
 sed humanarum calumniarum vanitate confingunt (185, 2).

v) Alternate Rhymes or Stanza-forms.

Form a, b, b, c, c, a.

quod omnes docti indoctique desiderant,	(a)
et multi errando,	(b)
ac superbiendo,	(b)
unde petatur,	(c)
et ubi accipiat,	(c)
ignorant.	(a) (155, 9).

Form a, b, b, b, a, a, a, c, c, c.

quae illi . . . in religione sinceritas,	(a)
in coniugio pudicitia,	(b)
in iudicio continentia,	(b)
erga inimicos patientia,	(b)
erga amicos affabilitas,	(a)
erga sanctos humilitas,	(a)

erga omnes caritas, (a)
 in beneficiis praestandis facilitas, (a)
 in petendis pudor, (c)
 in recte factis amor, (c)
 in peccatis dolor! (c) (151,8).

Form a, a, b, b, c, c.

tanto in peccato committendo maior, (a)
 quanto in diligendo deo et proximo minor, (a)
 et rursus tanto minor in peccati perpetrations, (b)
 quanto maior in dei et proximi dilectione, (b)
 et tunc perfectissimus in caritate, (c)
 quando nihil restat ex infirmitate. (c) (147,17).

Form a, a, b, b, b, c, d, c, d.

quantum decus honestatis, (a)
 qui splendor gratiae, quae cura pietatis, (a)
 quae in subveniundo misericordia, (b)
 in ignoscendo benivolentia, (b)
 in orando fiducia, (b)
 quod salubriter sciebat, (c)
 qua modestia loquebatur, (d)
 quod inutiliter nesciebat, (c)
 qua diligentia scrutabatur! (d) (151,8).

This last selection, part of the panegyric of Marcellinus, is almost lyrical in form, and shows Augustine at a high pitch of emotion. For an effect of this sort, the short rhyming cadences are peculiarly well-fitted, while the endless variety which may be obtained by changing the arrangement of rhymes, removes all possibility of monotony or triteness.

TABLE OF HOMOIOTELEUTON

		Rhymes consisting of:								
2 members		3	4	5	6	7	8	12	Double	Alternate
No. of										
cases	807	96	43	13	6	2	1	1	116	39
Total 1124, pages 2005.										

The statistics of this table and the examples cited above show clearly the effect of this figure on the style of Augustine's Letters. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that if it were removed, the

distinctive color and rhythm of the Letters would be destroyed. It is so inextricably woven into the sentence structure that the reader feels cheated when a period which started out in the customary way, suddenly changes its form and direction.

4) *Parison, Isocolon and Similar Figures.*

The parallelism of structure noted in homoiototon and homoioteleuton may be carried so far that successive clauses or phrases, besides corresponding in sound and grammatical construction, may also agree in length, that is in the number of syllables. According as this correspondence is more or less complete, the figure is called isocolon, parison or paramoion. Isocolon or compar,¹⁸ occurs when successive clauses have about the same number of syllables. This may of course happen accidentally in which case it will not be a figure, but when it is combined with antithesis or homoioteleuton, chiasmus or homoiototon, the similarity is evidently intentional. In the instances collected from Augustine's Letters, only those showing such intention have been considered. One hundred and forty-six instances of exact isocolon were found, of which 139 were paramoion, that is isocola in which there is complete correspondence of inflection, noun for noun and verb for verb.

Examples. Paramoion with Homoioteleuton.

nulla communione peccatorum maculati,
nullo contactu immunditiae coinquinati (108, 13).

etsi non ad auferendam cunctationem,
certe ad cavendam temeritatem (190, 2).

hoc versetur in corde,
quod profertur in voce (211, 7).

si ratio quaeritur non erit mirabile,
si exemplum poscitur non erit singulare (137, 8).

With Chiasmus.

impertiendo dominicam gratiam
non servilem iniuriam retinendo (205, 12).

latente maiestate divinitatis et carnis infirmitate apparente
(155, 4).

With Polysyndeton.

neque flagrantius percontantem,

¹⁸ Cornif. 4, 20, 27.

neque tranquillius audientem (19, 1).

With Antithesis.

non figurate aliud praetendunt et mystice aliud significant.

With Antithesis and Homoioteleuton.

non littera qua iubetur,

sed spiritu quo donatur (196, 6).

Adam ex quo subsistit generatio carnalis,

et Christus ex quo regeneratio spiritalis (157, 12).

A parallelism not quite complete in number of syllables but otherwise corresponding in structure is somewhat more frequent. Two hundred and thirty-seven examples in all were found, in which the difference in length of one clause over another is never more than two syllables. This form of the figure is known as *parison*. All the examples taken showed homoiototon, homoioteleuton or chiasmus. Many others might have been counted as possessing the same number of word-accent, but were rejected because the disparity in number of syllables was more than two.

Examples:

With Homoioteleuton.

non solum credendo firmissimo robore,

verum etiam intellegendi certissima veritate (120, 6).

aut inopiae est tacendo vitare,

aut arrogantiae contemnendo praeterire (186, 13).

nec ad hominem disputatorem ut quod non legit, legat,

sed ad deum salvatorem ut quod non valet, valeat (147, 29).

non quo poena formidatur, sed quo gratia conservatur (140, 60).

non te ergo exasperat vindicandi potestas,

cui lenitatem non excussit examinandi necessitas (133, 3).

With Chiasmus.

quanto enim sunt caritati meliora,

tanto sunt infirmitati praesentia (145, 2).

aut enim tacenda erat veritas,

aut eorum immanitas perferenda (185, 18).

5) *Comparison* differs from metaphor only in the greater formality caused by the use of an introductory word, which seems to

announce the figure and call attention to it. On this account it is less subtle and less vivid than the metaphor, and was never as much favored by Latin writers as the metaphor. Augustine uses it comparatively seldom (167 times) in the Letters, with a range of imagery corresponding in some respects to the trope, which it resembles. For introductory particles he has *tamquam* most often, with *velut*, *sicut*, and *quasi* as second choice; *quem ad modum* and *simillimum* once each.

Examples:

caritas enim quae tamquam nutrix fovet filios suos (139, 3).

quia sicut merito peccati tamquam stipendium redditur mors, ita merito iustitiae tamquam stipendium vita aeterna (194, 20).

sicut enim ad loca munitiora festinatius migrant qui ruinam domus vident contritis parietibus imminere, sic corda Christiana quanto magis sentiunt mundi huius ruinam . . . tanto magis debent bona . . . in thesaurum caelestem . . . transferre (122, 2; cf. Matth. 6, 20).

temporum spatia quae tamquam syllabae ac verba ad particulas huius saeculi pertinent; in hoc labentium rerum tamquam mirabili cantico vel brevius vel productius quam modulatio praecognita et praefinita deposcit praeterire permittit (156, 13).

*mihi videor inspexisse tamquam in speculo*¹⁷ *sermocinationis meae* (233).

tamquam in scopulos miserae servitutis inlisi a libero arbitrio naufragemus (55, 13).

The following uses an image not found in the metaphors of the Letters, i. e. the theatre:

qui vos tamquam in theatro vitae huius cum magno sui periculo spectant (73, 8).

This one gives us an extremely interesting sidelight on Augustine's idea of geography:

sicut in universo orbe terrarum quae tamquam omnium quodam modo maxima est insula quia et ipsam cingit oceanus (199, 47).

¹⁷ This may be an echo of Terence, *Adelphoe* (3, 3, 61; 3, 3, 74), "*incipere tamquam in speculum in vitas omnium iubeo*."

IMAGES USED IN COMPARISON

agriculture	11	fornication	2
architecture	10	friendship	2
animals	6	journey	3
body	11	leaven	1
companion	1	medicine	14
crafts, weaving, pottery	4	military	10
death	1	money, trade	5
fire, light	28	mirror	3
family	2	space	1
mind (a beggar)	1	sleep	3
music	3	slavery	2
natural phenomena	13	theatre	1
nail	1	theft	1
oracle	1	well	1
prison	7	weight	1
sea	4	writing	1
senses	2	Biblical	11
sheep-fold	4	from Vergil ²	1
school	1		
fish	1	Total	167
flood (Ark)	4		

Scriptural Comparisons used in the Letters.

i. Agriculture.

The useless branch (53, 1; 118, 4; 93, 40; 147, 10; 232, 3; cf. Joan. 15, 4).

The sower (149, 3; cf. Matth. 13, 3; Marc. 4, 3, 20; Luc. 85, 11).

The planter (147, 52; 194, 10; cf. 1 Cor. 3, 8).

The wine-press (111, 2; cf. Psal. 63, 3; Thren. 1, 15).

The olive-branch (155, 10; cf. Psal. 127, 3; 143, 12).

ii. Animals.

Horse and mule (185, 7; cf. Psal. 31, 9).

Dove and serpent (264, 2; cf. Matth. 10, 16).

iii. Architecture. House on a rock (194, 3; cf. Matth. 7, 24; Marc. 6, 48).

iv. Captivity (140, 55; cf. Jerem. 50, 9).

v. The chase (164, 3; cf. Psal. 24, 15).

vi. David and Absalom (2 Reg. 17, 18); (204, 2).

vii. Fish, good and bad (157, 39; cf. Matth. 13, 47).

²Verg. A. 368, 484, references to Entellus and Dares.

- viii. Flood and Ark of Noe (164, 16; 118, 20; 187, 38; cf. Gen. 8, 6, 12).
- ix. Fornication (spiritual) (259, 5; cf. Luc. 16, 19).
- x. Gideon and the fleece (177, 14; cf. Judic. 6, 37-40).
- xi. Gold in the furnace (189, 5; cf. Prov. 27, 21; Cap. 3, 6).
- xii. Lazarus raised from death (157, 15; cf. Joan. 11, 39).
 " and Dives (78, 6; cf. Luc. 16, 20).
- xiii. Leaven (108, 8; cf. Matth. 13, 33).
- xiv. Lighted lamps (140, 75; cf. Matth. 25, 1-8).
- xv. Light of the world (238, 24; cf. Joan. 8, 12).
- xvi. Manna (54, 4; cf. Deut. 8, 3; Psal. 77, 24; Joan. 6, 31).
- xvii. Oil of flattery (140, 74; cf. Psal. 140).
- xviii. Pearl of price (29, 2; cf. Matth. 20, 7).
- xix. Pilgrims (life) (199, 1; cf. 1 Petr. 2, 11).
- xx. Sheep-fold (35, 4; 105; cf. Matth. 15, 24).
- xxi. Slavery (scourge) (185, 22; cf. Psal. 88, 93).
- xxii. Thief in the night (death) (199, 9; cf. 1 Thess. 5, 2).
- xxiii. Tribute to Caesar (127, 6; cf. Matth. 22, 21; Marc. 12, 17; Luc. 20, 25).
- xxiv. Wayfarers compelled to come in (173, 10; cf. Luc. 14, 21).
- xxv. Wages of sin (194, 20; cf. Rom. 6, 23).

Figures produced by Contrast.

Of these the most important and most frequent is *antithesis*, *antitheton*, *contrapositum* or *contentio*. Ancient rhetoricians raised the question whether antithesis consisted in an opposition of terms or of thoughts or of both. It would seem however that to present a true rhetorical figure, the opposition should be complete;¹⁹ antithetical thoughts expressed in antithetical words. The antithesis may be more or less complete, according as it is expressed by one set of terms only, as e. g. two subjects or two predicates or two objects; or by two sets, as subject and predicate or noun and modifier, or by more than two sets of terms, in which case it may become an intricate parallelism of constructions as well as of terms; or finally the first set of contrasts may be amplified or repeated by succeeding series under different terms. All these forms are found in the Letters; moreover antithesis is frequently combined with *homoioteleuton*, *homioptoton* or *chiasmus*. Augustine has no more emphatic way of presenting his ideas than that of contrast, a form

¹⁹ Volkmann, 2, 487.

of expression especially adapted to Christian theology with its positive tenets and frequently paradoxical truths.

Examples:

a) Antithesis of one term:

superbos huius mundi christianis humilibus adversaturos ostendens consequenter dicit (140, 42).

comitante non ducente, pedisequa non praevia voluntate (186, 10).

imitentur eam multae famulae dominam, ignobiles nobilem, fragiliter excelsae, excelsius humilem (150).

talis actio . . . nec turbulenta nec marcida est nec audax nec fugax nec praeceps nec iacens (48, 3).

b) Antithesis of two terms.

non littera qua iubetur, sed spiritu quo donatur, non ergo meritis operantis hominis sed largientis gratia salvatoris (196, 6) (with homoioteleuton).

talem congregationem non generatio carnalis sed regeneratio spiritalis facit (187, 37).

utilius terrena opulentia tenetur humiliter quam superbe relinquitur (31, 6) (with chiasmus).

scleratis moribus caelestia deserentem, magicis artibus inferna quaerentem (42, 23); (with homioptoton, homoioteleuton and isocolon).

c) Antithesis of three or more terms.

alia quippe quaecumque iniquitas in malis operibus exercetur ut fiant, superbia vero etiam in bonis operibus insidiatur ut pereant (211, 6) (with homioptoton and homoioteleuton).

sed nec in terris amittit nisi malos,

nec in caelum admittit nisi bonos (43, 27)

(with homioptoton, homoioteleuton, paronomasia, parison).

latente maiestate divinitatis et carnis infirmitate apparente (155, 4) (with homioptoton and chiasmus).

illo enim timetur ne incidatur in tormentum supplicii,

isto autem ne amittatur gratia beneficii (140, 51).

quae non terrena infirmitate deficiens corruptibili voluptate reficitur,

sed caelesti firmitate persistens aeterna incorruptibilitate vegetatur (130, 7) (4 terms).

d) Antithesis repeated in successive clauses.

cum tectorum splendor adtenditur
 et labes non adtenditur animorum,
 cum theatrorum moles extruuntur
 et effodiuntur fundamenta virtutum, (chiasmus).
 cum gloriosa est effusionis insania,
 et opera misericordiae deridentur (138, 14).

sed plane semper et mali persecuti sunt bonos et boni persecuti
 sunt malos,

illi nocendo per iniustitiam,
 illi consulendo per disciplinam,
 illi immaniter,
 illi temperanter,
 illi servientes cupiditati,
 illi caritati (98, 9).

non fit per carnem sed per fidem,
 nec per legem sed per gratiam,
 nec per litteram sed per spiritum,
 nec carnis circumcisione sed cordis,
 nec in manifesto sed in abscondito,
 nec laude ex hominibus sed ex deo,
 sicut non carnalis sed spiritalis Abrahae filius,
 ita non carnalis sed spiritalis Judaeus,
 non carnalis sed spiritalis Israelita (196, 11).

Augustine handles this figure exceptionally well, finding it appropriate both for the truths he wished to express and the audience he wished to reach. The short antithetic phrases, following impetuously one upon the other were likely both to impress the minds of his hearers or readers, and, what was quite as important, to remain in their memories.

Besides the ordinary form of antithesis in which the contrasting terms are balanced either in parallel or chiastic arrangement, there are two special forms caused by the juxtaposition or the inversion of apparently contradictory terms. The first of these is *oxymoron*, a figure very rare among the classical writers, but a distinctive characteristic of the Sophistic school. Closely allied to it is *paradox*, so closely in fact that the difference between them is not clearly established by ancient rhetoricians. In each case there is an expression of thought in terms apparently contradictory, but

on closer examination, the statement proves to be true because of the difference in extension of the two terms. In oxymoron the contradiction is more immediately perceptible because the terms are closely connected grammatically, as e. g. a noun and its modifier, or a verb and its subject or object. Paradox, beloved of the Stoics, is expressed less concisely, with the verbal contrast less in evidence. Both are found in the Letters, as might be expected of Augustine's tendencies toward antithesis. The numbers are high for the naturally limited scope of such a figure. The subjects embrace such antagonisms as truth and error, knowledge and ignorance, freedom and slavery, pride and humility, time and eternity.

Examples: Oxymoron.

nihil est infelicius felicitate peccantium (138, 14).
 ad dei liberam servitutem . . . conversum (126, 7).
 imperitissima scientia (118, 23).
 est ergo in nobis, ut ita dicam, docta ignorantia (130, 28).
 benigna quadam asperitate (138, 14).
 senili quadam iuventute vicisti (170, 10).
 ad audiendum silentium narrationis eius, et videndam invisibilem formam eius (147, 53).
 sicut enim est aliquando misericordia puniens, ita et crudelitas parcens (153, 17).
 me ipse consolatur dolor (27, 1).
 Cf. also 29, 6; 31, 4; 55, 17; 102, 32; 110, 3; 118, 16; 124, 1; 134, 4; 137, 9; 147, 37; 155, 11; 159, 5; 169, 6; 185, 7, 45; 194, 32; 243, 5; 248, 1.

Paradox.

nemo legem sicut iste intellegit nisi qui non intellegit (36, 12).
 ut vivamus evangelicam vitam moriendo evangelicam mortem (95, 2).
 et haec est una sarcina qua eius baiulus non premitur sed levatur (127, 5).
 redditur (i. e. caritas) enim cum impenditur, debetur autem etiamsi reddita fuerit, quia nullum est tempus quando impendenda non sit, nec cum redditur amittitur, sed potius reddendo multiplicatur, habendo enim redditur non carendo et cum reddi non possit nisi habeatur nec haberi potest nisi reddatur, etiam cum redditur ab homine crescit in homine et tanto maior adquiritur quanto plurius redditur (192, 1).

Two somewhat similar passages similarly extol the value of **charity**, but paradox (and the reader's patience) could surely be pushed **no** further than in the above complicated piece of ingenious truth-telling under the guise of falsehood. (Cf. also 22, 12; 51, 5; 54, 4; 55, 17; 56, 2; 82, 21; 95, 2; 98, 3; 110, 1, 3; 118, 2; 124, 1; 120, 8; 127, 2, 6; 130, 2; 137, 8; 140, 59; 147, 53; 150; 190, 2; 231, 1; 232, 5; 242, 5.)

A second highly specialized form of antithesis, variously known as *commutatio*, *antimetabole*, *metathesis*, *anastrophe* or *synchrisis*, consists in so repeating two terms in two successive clauses that their respective functions are reversed and a contrast thereby results. This figure, requiring an agile mind and a ready flow of words, was likely to appeal to Augustine who possessed both these qualifications in an eminent degree. The Letters show that he resorted to it even more often than to oxymoron or paradox, and while some of the examples are undoubtedly clever and lend grace to the style, others are too evidently nothing but an exercise in verbal preciosity and merely cheapen a passage which might otherwise have dignity and weight.

Examples:

est plane ille summus deus vera iustitia,
vel ille verus deus summa iustitia (120, 19).
non eligant vitam finire ne doleant, sed dolere ne finiant (127, 2).
humiliter fidei et fideliter humili (36, 7).
venerabiliter desiderabili et desiderabiliter venerabili (149).
nemo scienter pius est vel pie sciens (194, 18).
vivatne homo bene ut sacris purgetur an sacris purgetur ut bene
vivat? (235, 2).
proinde sicut dilectionem iussi sunt terrentibus debere qui
timent,
ita dilectionem iussi sunt timentibus debere qui terrent (153, 19).

A double example, combined with homoioteleuton:

hic nec mansuetudo integritatem corrumpit,
nec integritas mansuetudini repugnavit,
ibi autem et furore timor tegebatur,
et timore furor incitabatur (43, 16).

With paradox:

quod non dicendo dicere conatus sum et dicendo non dicere
(232, 5).

ego proinde fateor me ex eorum numero esse conari qui proficiendo scribunt et scribendo proficiunt (143, 2).

(ecclesiae mansuetudo) quae membra Christi dispersa colligit, non collecta dispergit (93, 31).

cuius sine fine quietum opus erit laudare quod amat et amare quod laudat (140, 63).

Cf. also 47, 2; 73, 10; 88, 8; 93, 8, 9; 99, 3; 102, 15; 118, 14; 138, 6; 140, 4; 143, 2, 3; 147, 25; 149, sal.; 151, 1; 153, 19; 157, 10; 166, 1; 167, 9, 20; 170, 3, 5, 6; 185, 10; 186, 10, 32; 186, 4; 187, 10; 189, 6; 192, 1; 196, 11; 199, 5; 205, 10; 211, 1; 217, 3; 231, 2; 238, 2, 26; 239, 1.

Hyperbaton, variously catalogued as trope and figure, is certainly closer in structure to figures of speech than to tropes.²⁰ It consists in separating, for the sake of a more graceful arrangement, words which would grammatically belong together. In the hands of the rhetoricians, it had become a mannerism and an affectation. Augustine uses it so continually in the Letters that it is actually surprising to find a sentence which is free from it. Instead of being exceptional it had come to be his normal word-order. In 2005 pages, there are 3475 instances of it, some of them insignificant, it is true, but evidently intentional. The chief forms it takes are the following: separation of noun and modifier, of noun and participle, of preposition and object, of an antecedent and its modifier by means of a relative clause, of two parts of a subject by means of the predicate. At times Augustine makes hyperbaton a means of securing his ever-recurring homoioteleuton and parison, but there are other times in great abundance when he has very little excuse, either of rhythm or emphasis, for the violence he does to his sentences.

Examples:

istam quae inter nos agitur de dei gratia quaestionem (217, 17).

quod non ista dominica contineat et concludat oratio (130, 22).

porro diabolus et angeli eius tenebrae sunt infidelibus hominibus exteriores (140, 57).

servorum dei munere sanctitatis praeminentium, monachorum ad perfectionem mandatorum Christi rerum etiam suarum distributione currentium (126, 11).

This is a particularly violent example:

quonam se isti excusabant modo? (194, 23).

²⁰ Quint. 8, 6, 66.

The following has a hyperbaton within a hyperbaton, which adds much to the obscurity of the passage:

nec Persium tuum respicis insultantem tibi contorto versiculo
sed plane puerile caput si sensus adsit idoneo colapho contudentem (118, 3).

In the following hyperbaton is used for the sake of homoioteleuton:

post eorum sine dilatione damnationem,
post terminatam, quae ceteris data fuerat dilationem,
post divulgatam forensi etiam strepitu apud tot consules accusationem (108, 5).

Chiasmus, the last of the figures produced by contrast is a figure of arrangement, in which the order of words observed in the first clause is reversed in the second. It is frequently combined with isocolon, parison and antithesis. Examples of it have already been noted in connection with other figures, but a few more will show Augustine's way of treating it. It gives a distinction and elevation of style as well as an excellent means of varying word-order. It occurs 96 times.

Examples:

non per sacramenta Christi sed per daemonum inquinamenta (125, 3).

venit autem cum manifestatur et cum occultatur abscedit (137, 7).

impertiendo dominicam gratiam non servilem iniuriam retinendo (205, 12).

de praeterito doleat, caveat de futuro (211, 16).

suasione praecedente subsequente consensione (217, 4).

Cf. also 1, 3; 10, 2; 23, 3; 34, 2; 44, 8; 69, 1; 93, 50; 104, 8; 108, 9, 14, 17; 112, 2; 118, 8, 24; 120, 10; 125, 2; 126, 12; 130, 3, 4, 15, 17; 137, 16, 17; 138, 11; 140, 4, 6; 147, 29, etc.

TABLE OF ANTITHESIS

Antithesis	1 term	2 terms	3 terms	continued	total
	146	306	129	35	616
oxymoron					29
paradox					32
metathesis					64
chiasmus					89

Augustine's treatment of word-figures in the Letters betrays very obviously the effect of the sophistic influence on his style. Whatever makes for symmetry of phrase or emphasis of idea, he adopts with enthusiasm and uses, not infrequently, to excess; figures, which appear at rare intervals in the classical writers, so as to attract attention by their novelty, are almost a commonplace in his sentences. Antithesis, homoiptoton, homoioteleuton, parison have so entered into his style as to shape and color his very sentence structure, while paradox, oxymoron and metathesis show at intervals the sparkling brilliancy of wit which not even the gravity of his subjects could keep in check. To paraphrase one of his own comparisons (which he borrowed in his turn from Terence) one could study the principal figures of speech in his Letters as in a mirror—of rhetoric.

Other Rhetorical Devices.

A few other rhetorical embellishments, not exactly classified as figures, but resembling them in some respects, remain to be noted. The first of these is *Alliteration*, known to the ancients as homoiophoron or parhomoion. The name alliteration is a renaissance contribution to rhetorical terminology.²¹ It is produced by the recurrence of the same initial letter in successive words, and as an ornament due to sound, is more appropriate to poetry than to prose. However a moderate use of it lends a certain piquancy to style, which would quickly degenerate into flippancy if not restrained. Augustine makes use of it fairly frequently in the Letters (226 times), distributing the use of it in this wise: two similar sounds, 138; three similar sounds, 73; four or more similar sounds, 15.

Examples: *Two successive or nearly successive words.*

terror temporalium (23, 7).

pessime et perditie (130, 9).

supervacanea sollicitudine (140, 83).

ut ei vitae vacares in societate sanctorum (220, 12).

ut nullam inde posset probabilem reddere rationem, deinde convictus atque confessus (65, 1; successive alliteration).

cognita crimina damnassee dicunt (43, 12).

qui possint vota vestra sacra sonare (5).

²¹ Volkmann, 2, 515.

Three successive words.

semper ergo hanc a domino deo desideremus (130, 18).

sed pacifica permotus pietate deposuit (69, 1).

luculentissime illorum litterae laudaverunt (138, 14).

(Note also the internal recurrence of -l- increasing the alliteration.)

caritas a concupiscentiis carnalibus (167, 11).

pertinacissimus persecutoribus perduxerunt (185, 5).

(Here the whole syllable is repeated.)

Four or more successive words.

consolari cogitans copiosam congregationem (209, 2).

sua sacrilega sacra et simulacra (102, 20).

ne plura putrescant dum putribus parcitur (157, 22).

quod in corpore corruptibili anima constituta terrena quadam
contagione constringitur (131, 1).

conclusionibus quosdam quasi calculos (7, 4).

Occasionally Augustine was betrayed into cacophony like the following:

sauciato et semivivo in via (98, 6).

de illa vero Anna vidua vide (130, 29).

On the whole however he makes an artistic use of this dangerous ornament.

Sententiae, or aphoristic sayings in epigrammatic form, dropped now and again from Augustine's pen and gave a pleasant variety to his discourse. Eighteen of these were culled from the Letters, of which some by their aptness and force, compare favorably with any of the maxims, saws or proverbs of the sages. Here are a few of the best:

melius est enim minus egere quam plus habere (211, 9).

ibi enim est a vanitate remota laudatio ubi etiam vituperatio ab
offensione secuta est (112, 2).

felix est necessitas qui in meliora compellit (127, 8).

quam multa usitata calcantur quae considerata stupentur
(137, 10).

in talibus rebus tota ratio facti est potentia facientis (137, 8).

The following seems to carry an old proverb common to north Africa:

facilius quippe corniculas in Africa audieris quam in illis partibus hoc genus vocis (118, 9).

Cf. also: 108, 14; 126, 11; 127, 9; 130, 4; 137, 10; 143, 2; 151, 7; 153, 6; 185, 5; 192, 1; 204, 18.

Play on Words. In addition to the instances of paronomasia, there are certain very obvious puns to which the great bishop descended. Three of these play on proper names—a liberty we should not expect him to take. There is one on Brother Profuturus, who was manifestly doomed to be rallied on such a cognomen:

fratrem Profuturum quem . . . adiutorio tuo vere profuturum speramus (28, 1).

A second rather aptly plays upon a son of Nectarius, a youth named Paradoxus, who seems to have been studying philosophy:

tu vero, ne quaeso ista paradoxa Stoicorum sectanda doceas Paradoxum tuum, quem tibi optamus vera pietate ac felicitate grandescere (104, 15).

A third is upon the name of Lucilla, who by her intrigues with the heretics no doubt deserved even worse at Augustine's hands:

an quia Lucillam Caecilianus in Africa laesit, lucem Christi orbis amisit? (43, 25).

The puns on the verbs *iaci* and *capi* have been mentioned; other words so treated were:

intolerabile est istam appellare tolerantiam (27, 1).

esse sine te fortasse intolerabilius toleraretur (27, 7).

Both of these are forms of paragmenon.

gratiarum actionem non habemus veram dum veram non agnoscimus gratiam (217, 7).

(Here *gratiam* has its Christian sense of Grace.)

Criticising the poems of Licentius in Ep. 26, 4, Augustine plays first on the word *versus* thus:

si versus tuus momentis inordinatis perversus esset,

then preaches a little sermon on the necessity of taking more care of one's morals than of one's quantities, using the terms *incompositis moribus* . . . *incompositis syllabis*. There are 10 of these

puns in the Letters: not after all a great many for a man who probably had a tendency that way.

Cf. also 3, 5; 27, 3; 33, 5; 108, 10.

Dilemma, a form of argument, in which an adversary is forced to make a damaging admission on either side of the question in dispute, was an extremely useful weapon in the hands of polemic orators. Augustine was not likely to pass it by, battling as he was with every kind of heresy and schism. He wielded it skilfully and not too often, choosing his generalizations carefully, so that retort must have been difficult.

Most of the 24 examples of dilemma in the Letters are long, but the two following, brief and effective, give an idea of the sort of pungent dialectics it made possible:

si innocentes erant, quare sic damnati sunt? (i. e. the "traditores") si scelerati quare sic recepti sunt? si probaveris innocentes, cur non credamus a multo paucioribus maioribus vestris falso crimine traditionis innocentes potuisse damnari . . . si autem probaveris recte fuisse damnatos quae restat defensio cur in eodem episcopatu recepti sint? (51, 3).

aut certum est esse idolothytum aut certum est non esse aut ignoratur, si ergo certum est esse melius Christiana virtute respuitur; si autem vel non esse scitur vel ignoratur sine ullo conscientiae scrupulo in usum necessitatis adsumitur (47, 6).

The question here is whether a Christian traveller, dying of hunger, may eat food placed as an offering to idols or to the manes.

Cf. also: 51, 4; 70, 2; 73, 1; 82, 13, 21; 95, 5, 5; 118, 27, 29; 120, 17; 137, 6; 144, 3; 148, 3; 155, 3; 164, 19; 204, 8; 217, 8; 232, 2; 235, 2; 238, 25; 242, 3.

Reductio ad Absurdum is another device of oratory in which an objection or an argument is demolished by being exaggerated to the limits of the ridiculous. Like paradox and dilemma, it was a serviceable weapon to a rhetorician whose lance was ever in readiness for tilt or tourney; like them it could become a boomerang or a two-edged sword; but Augustine knew its strength as well as its weakness and used it temperately: 43 times in all was not excessive.

Examples:

aut si propterea sunt paria quia utraque delicta sunt, mures et elephanti pares erunt quia utraque animalia, muscae et aquilae quia utraque sunt volatilia (104, 14) (to prove that all sins are not equally grievous).

at enim qui unam virtutem habet omnes habet, et qui unam non habet nullam habet (167, 4).

si enim per se ipsum (i. e. deus) factus est, erat antequam fieret ut fieri per se posset, quod certe tanto absurdus dicitur quanto vanius cogitatur (242, 2).

Cf. also: 47, 4, 5, 5; 49, 3; 50; 51, 5, 12; 76, 2; 79; 87, 6; 89, 5; 92, 3, 5; 93, 12, 21, 26, 27, 42; 148, 11, 17; 102, 23, 26; 105, 12; 108, 13; 120, 19; 138, 5; 141, 12; 147, 45; 148, 11, 17; 164, 11, 13; 173A; 187, 25; 194, 42; 199, 19; 205, 4, 8; 238, 20, 21, 23; 242, 3, 3.

The limited scope of the Letters does not give opportunity for the display of many of the resources of dialectic, but from those he was able to use, we may form an idea of the powerful opponent Augustine was in his continual conflicts in defence of truth and orthodoxy.

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CONCLUSION

Of the elements which enter most largely into the formation of Augustine's style as seen in the Letters, three may be signalized as comprehending all the others: he was an African, he was a rhetorician and he was an ecclesiastic. Each of these influences contributed something quite definite. Acting on a brilliant imagination and a powerful intellect, held in check by a carefully-developed literary taste, they produced a complex, many-sided whole, equally removed from the untrammelled innovations of Tertullian and the cautious classicism of Lactantius.

The African element with its three tendencies toward archaism, colloquialism and neologism shows itself in the Letters in the last two of these especially. Archaisms are comparatively rare, even in the terminations which are regularly ante-classical, such as nouns in -tudo, verbals in -io, compounds in sub-, adverbs in -im etc. Of nouns the following found in the Letters are ante-classical forms which disappeared from classical Latin, but were revived in the post-classical period: senecta, cautela, valentia, fallacia, acrimonia, parsimonia, deliramentum, disparilitas, puerilitas, cantatio, dormitio, factor, pransor, precator, paenitudo, contractus, primatus, litigium, putor. Of adjectives there are only five: vagabundus, morticinus, morbosus, congruus, decrepitus; of verbs five: enodare, eradicare, murmurare, sublimare, cordatus; of adverbs six: adfatim, alternatim, serio, sempiternae, volupe, germanitus; of diminutives seven: apicula, facula, nigellus, pauculus, pauxillum, tantillum, tardiusculus; of compounds six: conduplicare, percupere, versipellis, mendaciloquus, multiloquium, vaniloquus; of foreign words one: symbolum; of comparatives, two: munitius, prolixius; of superlatives two: acceptissimus, mendacissimus.

Compared with the large number of post-classical and late words, archaisms may be seen to form an insignificant part of the vocabulary of the Letters.

The colloquial element is distinctly more important, not that many special words can be pointed out as being exclusively colloquial, but that certain suffixes and the freedom with which they were used are now recognized as characteristic of the *sermo plebeius*. Of individual words or expressions, we have a few interesting

specimens in the Letters: *bucca* and *buda* are two nouns foreign to the literary idiom, while in five instances Augustine explains that the expression he is about to use is colloquial:

quos *vulgo moriones* vocant (166, 17).

quam *vulgo quartam feriam* vocant (36, 30).

vulgo dicitur: crevit caput (33).

vulgares dicunt: malus choraula bonus symphoniacus est (60, 1)
(evidently a proverb).

vel iam *vulgo* usitato vocabulo *paganos* appellare consuevimus
(184A, 5).

The colloquial terminations found in the Letters are: nouns in -ntia, -io, -tura, -sura, -monia, -edo, -ities, -trix, -arium, -bulum, -mentum; adjectives in: -aneus, -arius, -bundus, -bilis, -icius, -ivus, -osus, -torius, -lentus; verbs in: -escere, for -ascere, in -ficare, frequentatives; adverbs in: -biliter; diminutives of all classes; compounds with con-, in-, per-, bi-prepositional compounds, non-prepositional compounds. Certain other formations which are recognized as plebeian are not represented in the vocabulary of the Letters; these are nouns in -etum, -go; verbs from nouns in -do, -go; adverbs in -ositer, compounds with sub.

A general plebeian tendency is the abundance of abstract nouns, although in Augustine this is also attributable to the fact of his being a Christian theologian. Another plebeian quality of his Latin in the Letters is the choice of long, sonorous words, often joined in pairs or made to rhyme.

A third characteristic of African Latinity: an unrestricted freedom of derivation, is even more marked in the Letters than the archaic and colloquial elements. This freedom gave the Latin of the post-classical period a positive advantage over classical Latin, which was obliged to resort to circumlocutions, more or less clumsy, to express its abstract ideas. In this respect Augustine was not content merely to use the neologisms of his predecessors in the African school, he added a goodly number of his own. There are in the Letters 78 ἀπαξ λεγόμενα and 48 words used by Augustine alone, but more than once. Of these contributions to the language, the majority are found in the groups of nouns in -io and -trix, adverbs in -ter and superlatives.

The tendencies of Africanism are however less emphatically marked in Augustine than in his predecessors. It was as if, having

given rise to a Christian Latin literature, these tendencies ceased to be African; circulating through the whole Latin world, mingling with other provincial influences, they lost their local character and are to be recognized chiefly, no longer as the whole, but as parts of the whole of what we call an author's Latinity. Moreover the previously rigorous attitude of disapproval of pagan literature with all its apparatus of vanities, which was the attitude of earlier Christian writers and preachers, had quite perceptibly altered by the fourth century. Christianity was then definitely and firmly established as the state religion and had no longer the same reason for anathematising the pagan classics, viz., that they had been made an instrument of propagation and defense of heathen worship. Consequently a sort of classical revival had come about, due partly to the political changes in the empire, but even more perhaps to the fact that the intellectual class, the last to submit, had become Christian and desired earnestly to devote the resources of their learning to the services of the new religion. This attitude, first visible in Minucius Felix, was consciously chosen as their own by Jerome and Augustine, with occasional misgivings, it is true, which they refuted by analogies drawn from the Bible. Of the two, Jerome showed more of the classical, while Augustine combined the two idioms in the proportion which was later to be accepted by scholasticism as the mould and form of the Christian philosophical and theological vocabulary.

In his vocabulary, in spite of the seemingly large number of exceptions, Augustine is decidedly classical in the Letters. In nearly every category of words studied, the classical forms exceeded the post-classical or late words, which are noted precisely because they are exceptions. He is not classical in the way in which he uses his words, in his pleonasms and repetitions, in his unnecessary abundance of modifiers, especially adverbs, in his general fluency and redundancy. These traits accord well with the semi-tropical nature of his Punic fatherland, flooded with brilliant sunshine; they reflect also the taste of the time for ostentation in dress and adornment, as well as for ingenuity and display in art and literature.

The ecclesiastical element is chiefly visible in the Letters in the number of Greek words and in the semantic changes undergone by many terms which were adapted to the uses of Christian apologetics. The number of Greek words which form a seemingly

inseparable part of the Christian Latinist's vocabulary is not really surprising—on the contrary, when one considers the history of early Christian literature, the marvel is that there are not more. Christian Latin Literature did not make its appearance until the end of the second century A. D. (cf. Intro. p. 1), which means that for two centuries, Greek was the only language used by apologists and commentators. This was inevitable at first, as the early converts were either Jews of the Dispersion whose language was Greek, or citizens of the Greek towns of Asia Minor. But Greek continued to be used, even when the Roman converts began to enter the fold, because it was still the language of the Mediterranean world, the language of commerce and of diplomacy, of science and of philosophy. Captive Greece had indeed taken captive her conqueror rude, even more in the days of the early empire when Rome was both *urbs* and *orbs*, than in the days of that Cato who, in Livy's words, "feared the more that these things may prove our conquerors not we theirs."¹

Emperors and litterateurs vied with each other in showing their mastery of the tongue of Homer and Aristotle; there was even some danger that Latin might cease outright to be used as a literary medium. Perhaps it is not too much to say that without the infusion of new life given to Latin by the Christian writers this process might very well have gone forward unchecked. In pagan hands Latin literature had lost touch with reality, and under the teachings of the sophists was becoming a means, not of expressing thought, but of displaying rhetorical skill. The Christian writers restored the true relationship, making the means of expression subsidiary to the ideas expressed. It was almost as tremendous an undertaking to mould pagan Latin to the uses of Christian thought as was that task of Ennius forcing an accentual tongue to the rhythm of the Greek hexameter, and at the same time creating a non-existent poetical diction. In each case it was a work beset with uncertainties, but in both cases the uncertainties were overcome. Tertullian, founder of Christian Latin literature, attacked this task as boldly as he did that of combating pagans and heretics; hesitating at first between Greek and Latin, even making the first draft of some of his works in Greek, he nevertheless definitely chose Latin as his medium and thereby hastened the decline of Greek predominance in the west. This decline was

¹ *Ab Urbe Condita* 30, 4.

consummated in the 4th century by Jerome and Rufinus, who made accessible to the Latin world all the best products of Greek Christian thought.

But this start of nearly two centuries, which Greek had over Latin in the field of Christian thought, was always a handicap to the Christian Latin writers. Certain terms and expressions had become so strongly attached to certain ideas, that there seemed to be no other words to replace them; words like: *ecclesia*, *diaconus*, *apostasia*, *apostolus*, *angelus*, *baptisma*, *episcopus*, *evangelium*, *haeresis*, *idolatria*, *martyr*, *propheta*, *schisma* were either incapable of translation into Latin or would not have conveyed the same ideas if they had been translated. Moreover the early Christians clung to the traditional with an insistence not to be moved by any appeals to the merely literary. An amusing instance of this occurs in one of Augustine's Letters, in which he tells Jerome, then undertaking his translation of the Scriptures, how a congregation refused to listen to a new version of Jonas (Jerome's own) and announced to their bishop that unless they could have the old version, which they had so often read and sung, they would not attend his church any more. As a result the bishop was obliged either to restore the old version or to remain without a congregation.² This affection for the old and established operated powerfully in fixing the ecclesiastical vocabulary and in enshrining therein the words which the earliest Christians had used.

In spite however of this admixture of Greek words, the vocabulary of the Christian Latin writers was Latin, not Greek, and it was Latin at a period of transition. Consequently many words were undergoing a change of meaning, a process which was undoubtedly quickened by the influence of Christianity. Two sorts of change are observable in this connection, one in which the external meaning of the word remains the same, while the concept for which it originally stood has changed. Such were the words of general religious significance, e. g. *deus*, *divinus*, *sacrificium*, common to both pagan and Christian religions but applied differently in each. The other sort of change involves a complete departure of the word from its former meaning, under one or other of the various influences which cause such variations in language. These are generalization, specialization, change from subjective to objective or vice versa, degeneration, euphemism, exaggeration,

² Ep. 71, 5.

interchange of abstract and concrete, of figurative and literal, of material and moral or spiritual. These may all be reduced to the two processes of extension and restriction of meaning.

In general, in the Letters, Augustine takes his vocabulary as he finds it, giving his words the meaning current at the time. Once in awhile he uses the same word in its older, classical meaning as well as in the later one, e. g. *aedificatio* may mean either building or edification. In a few cases he gives a new meaning to a word himself, which either remains peculiar to him, or is adopted by his successors, e. g. *abscessus* = death, *sacramentum* = symbol, *susceptio* = Incarnation, *collatio* = Church-council, *condiscipulus* = fellow-priest, *reconciliare* = to relieve from ecclesiastical censure.

Other changes of meaning found in the Letters occur in groups of words, which came to be consecrated expressions, e. g. *apostolica sedes*, the Holy See, *libri sancti*, the Holy Scriptures, *regnum caelorum*, heaven; *saecula saeculorum*, forever, etc. Augustine also reflects the tendencies of his time in the confusion of meaning evident in his use of certain pronouns, particles and prepositions.

The influence of rhetoric on the style of the Letters is chiefly seen in Augustine's use of tropes and figures. He had been trained in the schools of the neo-sophistic and might, had he not been a Christian, have fallen into the clever futilities and elegant diletantism of the pagan rhetors. That he should manifest evident traces of their methods and mannerisms is only to be expected, when we recall how deeply the whole of contemporary pagan literature was steeped in the puerilities of the new Sophism: opulence of ornamentation, fantastic imagery, bizarre comparisons, dialectic hair-splitting, far-fetched ingenuities of description.

Augustine's own good taste, no doubt, preserved him from some of these excesses, but a stronger counterpoise was found in the influence of the Holy Scriptures and in the passionate earnestness awakened in him at the time of his conversion, by the realization of the true relations of man and God, of the nature of the soul and its destiny. These influences did not obliterate his sophistic tendencies—nothing could do that—but they modified them strongly. This is especially perceptible in his use of metaphor. Certain classes of images have been recognized as definitely sophistic, these are the arena, the sea, military science, the theatre, the race-course.⁸ Augustine avoids some of these altogether in the Letters,

⁸ Campbell, 109.

and uses the others in a non-sophistic way. On the other hand, the imagery of Scripture forms an impressive proportion of his metaphors, which are occasionally used in a sophistic way, that is, by presenting one idea under a succession of images. His favorite series is that of wheat and chaff, grain and cockle, good and bad fish, sheep and goats, vessels of wrath and vessels of election. The sophistic influence is not especially predominant in the metaphors of the Letters, nor indeed in any of the other tropes, which occur but seldom.

It is in his use of figures that Augustine's rhetorical tendencies may be most conspicuously traced. Of the *figurae sententiarum*, figures of rhetoric, he prefers those whose effect is rather to arouse the emotions than to appeal to the intellect. Thus he almost overdoes the rhetorical question and exclamation, but this may have been because he knew the sort of audience he had to reach. He generally selects his figures of rhetoric carefully, not allowing their effect to become stale through custom.

In the matter of figures of speech, however, there is a far different criticism to be made of Augustine's Letters. Here the sophistic influence ranges almost unchecked, as if after restraining himself in one direction, the writer was unconsciously making compensation in another. The so-called Gorgianic figures: antithesis, parison, paramoion, isocolon are of the very essence of his style. Symmetry of phrase had replaced the periodic structure of the classical writers almost entirely, a symmetry which had become so artificial that it was a sort of formula of construction: subject balanced against subject, predicate against predicate, modifier against modifier. This makes often for redundancy and unnecessary qualifying terms, just as the desire to establish a contrast leads him to place in antithesis words or ideas that are not really antithetical.

Added to these are the figures of sound: anaphora, conversio, paronomasia, homoioteleuton, which give a strange rhyming effect, such as had been sedulously avoided in classical times. These are perhaps part of the natural music of the Latin tongue, of which we discover fragmentary strains in the scant relics of pre-Hellenic Latin, but which was ruthlessly banished when the Greek hexameter became the model for Latin poetry and the period for Latin prose. The teachings of the neo-sophistic found Latin an instrument which needed very little manipulation to fit it for the rhythms to which it was so much addicted, and this facility was bound to be abused by the indiscriminating.

Augustine undoubtedly failed to discriminate in his use of paronomasia, a rather pretty figure, giving pleasure by its unexpected cleverness, but hardly appropriate to a serious style. It is apt to become a mere trick of punning, more likely to annoy the reader than to amuse him unless it comes upon him as a surprise. This it seldom does in the Letters, after the first few times—given a word like *referre* in the first clause, one half-unconsciously looks for *praeferre* or *inferre* or *deferre* or *perferre* in the second, feeling aggravated if it does appear and frustrated if it does not.

Metathesis is another figure of the same sort—an ingenious device, aptly described by the French expression *jeu d'esprit*, effective in proportion to its rarity, never particularly dignified. Its frequency shows how inveterate the sophistic habits were and how difficult it was for a man whose style had been shaped by them to express himself without them. It is not that any of these figures are forced or labored, on the contrary, the very ease with which they slip out shows the hold they had on the writer's mental processes.

Figures of repetition: *anaphora*, *conversio* (also figures of sound), *complexio*, *paragmenon*, *geminatio*, *anadiplosis*, *kuklos*, *climax* are also strong evidence of the influence on Augustine's style of his rhetorical habits. These figures which give both amplitude and animation must have been especially congenial to his naturally ardent temperament. It is this which redeems them from the artificiality they might otherwise betray, for in these Augustine gives an impression of earnestness and sincerity quite at variance with the sophistic unreality of the figures of sound.

Finally there are the argumentative figures, especially adapted to the court-room or the special pleader. These are *correctio*, *dubitatio*, *anticipatio*, *praeteritio*, *prosopopoeia*—weapons all of them, not ornaments, handled as such by Augustine with irreproachable skill, a powerful aid to him in his ceaseless war on heresy and schism.

The style of the Letters is by no means uniform. It seems to vary according to the subject treated and the person addressed. Letters of a polemical nature are usually highly rhetorical, elaborately figured, intricately symmetrical. So also are those in which a difficult doctrine is set forth, as if the profundity of the subject called for a complexity of treatment. Some of these letters sound remarkably like sermons (e. g. Ep. 130, 151). Purely explanatory

letters, on the other hand, are usually simple and straightforward in style as are those addressed to superiors (e. g. Ep. 102, 147). It cannot be said that there is any perceptible difference between earlier and later letters, any development of style, or change of form. Both early and late letters show the same characteristics in vocabulary and rhetoric. Evidently by the time his correspondence began, Augustine's mental habits had become settled and were subject to no further literary influences.

In a comparison which he makes between Jerome and Augustine, Villemain⁴ condemns the latter's Latin as possessing "all the defects of a language spoiled by affectation and barbarism." This is most emphatically not true of the Letters. In vocabulary, as we have seen, Augustine was quite conservatively classical; in two respects at least—the use of diminutives and of Greek words—he is more classical than Jerome, who is praised in the same passage as retaining to a large extent the purity of the language which he had spoken at Rome in his youth. Judged by the few letters of his which are included in Augustine's correspondence, Jerome is more classical in his sentence structure, which merely shows that he was not so deeply imbued with the prevailing rhetoric as Augustine was.

Augustine's Latinity as revealed in the Letters, is a most interesting product of his time, showing clearly all the forces which were acting on the language at that period of its development: archaism, colloquialism, freedom of derivation, influx of foreign words, reaction to classicism, sophistic rhetoric. It might be aptly compared to a mosaic, not one of the gaudy, brilliant-colored mosaics of bewildering design beloved of decorators under the later empire, but a cool flowing arabesque, such as might be found in houses of wealth during the better period of Roman art, where against a well-chosen, inconspicuous background, stands forth a bold but graceful pattern, proclaiming at once the good taste of the designer and the artistic sensibilities of those for whom it was created.

⁴ Ibid. 350.

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VOL. IV

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A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE CATHOLIC SISTERS COLLEGE OF THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY
OF AMERICA, IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

SISTER MARY COLUMKILLE COLBERT, M. A.

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PREFACE.

The purpose of this dissertation is to present a complete survey of the syntactical phenomena occurring in St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* which stamp it as a product of ecclesiastical Latin. Accordingly, note will be taken not only of clearly defined divergencies from classical Latin, but also of such constructions as actually appear even in the Golden Age but which are used to a greater extent or with a slightly different connotation. We are well aware of that philological truth, that the language of one period is in itself no better than the language of another; that the changes which occur in the syntax of any language are largely a matter of psychology, due in the main to the new surroundings in which a writer is living and to the new ideas which he finds himself called upon to express. Accordingly we have no such aim as to show the poor or the good qualities of the syntax of the *De Civitate Dei*. We are merely taking account of certain characteristics appearing in it, with a view to contributing something to a much larger work on the Latinity of St. Augustine's writings as a whole.

In order to avoid all inexact and unbalanced impressions, statistics will be given wherever possible showing the exact extent of any peculiarity. Comparisons will also be made, according as available information permits, to the syntactical usage of other representative authors of ecclesiastical Latin.

The general order of treatment is that followed by the *Lateinische Grammatik* of Stolz-Schmalz. The text of the *De Civitate Dei* which has been used is that of B. Dombart in the Teubner series.

To Dr. Roy Joseph Deferrari, Head of the Departments of Greek and Latin at the Catholic University of America, at whose suggestion the study was undertaken and under whose direction this monograph has been written, the author wishes to acknowledge her indebtedness and to express her grateful appreciation of the assistance and encouragement given throughout the work. Acknowledgment is also made to Dr. Romanus Butin, S. M., and Rev. J. P. Christopher, both of the Catholic University of America, for having read the manuscript and having offered many valuable suggestions.

SISTER MARY COLUMKILLE.

Feast of the Annunciation,
March 25, 1923.

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INTRODUCTION.

ECCELESIASTICAL LATIN.

To arrive at a satisfactory understanding of ecclesiastical Latin we must consider its source in the original language of Latium known as the *prisca Latinitas*. From this was derived the *sermo plebeius*, which is neither the parent nor descendent of classic Latin but one of two concurrent streams which originated from the pristine language of the Romans.

With the earliest development of a national literature a differentiation began between the cultured and the popular speech. In the third century B. C., Ennius with other writers, and later the members of the literary aristocracy of the Scipionic circle, undertook to enrich the language with Greek embellishments. The attempt was encouraged by the literary coteries of Rome, and, under the combined influence of the political and intellectual aristocracy, classical Latin which reached its zenith in Cicero was developed. At the same time, along divergent lines grew the other branch of the Latin language, the *sermo plebeius*, developing according to the natural laws of a living language. In as far as the classical Latin was more and more highly and artificially developed, in so far did the chasm between the two grow greater. Nevertheless, the exigencies of daily life brought the political and literary elements of Roman life into constant and continual touch with the uneducated masses, and from the reciprocal influence resulted a third idiom, a medley of the two, viz., the *sermo urbanus*, which became in the time of Cicero synonymous with the highest type of excellence in Latin speech. After classical Latin had reached its culmination and had come to an early end, the *sermo urbanus* found its way into literature, where blended with the provincialisms from Spain, Gaul and Africa, it produced nothing worthy of the name of classic after the writings of Seneca.

It was the *sermo plebeius* which was carried into the conquered provinces chiefly by the conquering soldiers as well as by others attracted to the colonies for one reason or another. Through the non-military element, this *sermo plebeius* received a classic or archaic touch, but it retained within itself the germ of life, changing constantly and developing without restraint. Thus in this

process of development we see in the *sermo plebeius* two opposing features, a conservatism for the old and a receptivity for the new. These are of primary importance in accounting for the growth of the local variations in provincial Latin.

With the spread of Christianity, Christian writers, of whom many were trained in the rhetorical schools flourishing in the provinces, had acquired a knowledge of the spoken language; and thus the basis of their writings was the *sermo plebeius* which had been carried by the Romans into all the conquered provinces.

At first sight it may seem strange that Christian writing did not begin at Rome. This may be accounted for from the fact that Christianity was strongly persecuted in the capital. Furthermore the Christian community at Rome was Greek-speaking. After the civil wars, when the old Roman families died out, Greek had become the language of the educated classes, and the most famous Latin writers of this age are to be found not in Italy but in Spain and Africa. By this time Latin had ceased to be national. It had become the language of the Empire. St. Paul wrote to the Roman church in Greek; St. Clement, when addressing the Corinthians, wrote in Greek; and we find Greek in the earliest inscriptions of the Catacombs. Not until the end of the second century was Latin used in the Roman church.

About this time ecclesiastical Latin came into existence. Its precise date is a matter of conjecture. Some maintain that Tertullian is the father of ecclesiastical Latin, but it is an accepted fact that the first Christian writing in Latin is a translation of the Bible which existed before the time of Tertullian. When, where and by whom this translation was made are questions which the writers of the period itself were unable to determine. Augustine himself admits the uncertainty of the translators and the times, "Qui scripturas ex Hebraea lingua in Graecam verterunt numerari possunt, Latini autem interpretes nullo modo. Ut enim cuique primis fidei temporibus in manus venit codex Graecus et aliquantulum facultatis sibi utriusque linguae habere videbatur, ausus est interpretari" (De Doctrina Christiana II, 11).

The following were the influencing factors in the formation and development of ecclesiastical Latin.

I. *The colloquial language.* Colloquial Latin had for its basic content the *sermo plebeius*, which is not a resultant of classic Latin, but a descendent of the *prisca Latinitas*, a fact which accounts for the archaisms so prevalent in ecclesiastical Latin. The

degree of archaism present in the idioms of the separate Roman provinces can almost determine their date of conquest.

II. *The Scriptures.* In the refutations of their opponents, the Latin Fathers sought arguments from that fundamental document, the Bible. Their intimate acquaintance with the Scriptures is clearly evident in their writings. Thus the Hebrew and Greek idioms in which the Latin Scriptures abound must have, in spite of conscious efforts in opposition, influenced their thought and writing.

III. *Classical Latin.* The influence of classical Latin as taught in the schools of rhetoric which the Fathers attended, almost unconsciously adorns their style.

To these influences we may add that of Tertullian, an original writer with an independent type of genius.

In general there abounds in ecclesiastical Latin a simplicity of style, an absence of artificiality, a naïvety of structure, a carelessness of grammatical rules, but a positive effort toward directness and ready intelligibility. Augustine expressly says, "*Saepe enim et verba non Latina dico, ut vos intellegatis; melius est reprehendant nos grammatici quam non intellegant populi*" (Ps. CXXXVIII, 20).

The essential differences between the syntax of ecclesiastical and classical Latin as thus far determined by the research in the Latinity of the period are the following: a more frequent use of abstract terms; case usage applied with less precision; adjectives lavishly used instead of substantives; a confusion in the use of pronouns; change of meaning in adverbs; the neglect of classical precision in tense; the subjunctive used for the indicative and vice versa; the substitution of *quia*, *quod* and *quoniam* with a finite mood for the accusative and infinitive in indirect statements; the extension of the *quod* construction to clauses where an *ut* substantive clause would be used in classical Latin; the infinitive to express purpose; a more extensive use of the participle; the use of a periphrasis especially with forms of *esse* and *habere*, equivalent to a periphrastic conjugation; prepositions with nouns used instead of simple cases; changes in meaning and an extension in the use of prepositions; and changes in meaning and an extension in the use of conjunctions.

The differences are by no means slight. In fact a thorough appreciation of the same is of fundamental importance for an

accurate understanding of the great literary legacy of the Fathers. Much has already been done in the study of ecclesiastical Latin, but much more remains to be completed before anything like a comprehensive grammar of ecclesiastical Latin can be written. It is hoped that the present study of the syntax of the greatest masterpiece of ecclesiastical Latin, the *De Civitate Dei* of St. Augustine, will contribute something towards this end.

CHAPTER I—SUBSTANTIVES.

Various modifications of substantives, including the frequent use of certain rare classical forms, occur in ecclesiastical Latin. In the D. C. D. of Augustine we find the following modifications:

I. SUBSTANTIVES USED ADJECTIVELY.

Substantives denoting agency in *tor* and *sor* with the feminine endings in *trix* and *strix* are used with the function of adjectives by the writers of the Classical period. The authors of the Empire extended this usage and in their works we find such expressions as, sed *advenas* Italiae cultores, Livy, XXI, 30, 8; *advenas* reges, IV, 3, 13; exercitum *alienigenam*, XXVIII, 42, 10; hostis *alienigena*, XIX, 10, 5; *indigenas* Fauni, Verg. Aen. VIII, 314; *pueri servi*, Val. Max. VIII, 1, 12; *puerum* histrionem, I, 1, 16.

Some have even used substantives for neuter adjectives. The following instances may be cited: *indigena vino*, Pl. n. h. XIV, 6, 8, 72, *minium*, *adulterum*, 33, 7, 37.

This usage, viz. substantives used adjectively, occurs with much freedom in the writers¹ of the Christian period; but only to a limited extent in Augustine. In the D. C. D. the following passages occur, thus: Et haec non ab *alienigenis* hostibus, I, 5. . . nisi raptae illae laceratis crinibus emicarent . . . non armis *victricibus*, sed supplici pietate sedarent, III, 13.

Ita Roma extitit *victrix* ea clade etiam in certamine extremo, III, 14.

unde rixa numinum et Venus *victrix*, et rapta Helena et Troia deleta, III, 25.

in illius autem incarnatione natura humana erat, sed iusta, non *peccatrix* erat, X, 24.

quae sapientia perpetrari vetat, ac per hoc opus habere *moderatrice* mente atque ratione, XIV, 19.

quoniam rex Aegyptius Ptolomaeus eos ad hoc opus asciverat, ipsam veritatem gentibus *alienigenis* invidisse, XV, 13.

¹ Bayard, 271; Goelzer (1), 379; Goelzer (2), 644; Regnier, 89; Gabarrou, 145.

Neque enim sibi ipsi sunt veritas, sed *creatrix* participes Veritatis ad illam moventur, XVI, 6.

Sive ergo per iuvenecam significata sit plebs posita sub iugo legis, per capram eadem plebs *peccatrix* futura, XVI, 24.

et multis cladibus afflicta est ab *alienigenis* regibus ipsisque Romanis, XVIII, 45.

ex *homine* virgine, XVIII, 46.

Verum tamen pertinebat ad *consultores* deos vitae bonae praecepta non occultare populis cultoribus suis, II, 4.

intuentes alternante conspectu hinc meretriciam pompam, illinc *virginem* deam, II, 26.

At illae sine duce *homine* atque rectore ad Hebraeos viam pertinaciter gradientes, . . . X, 17.

II. GENDER.

Augustine adheres strictly to the careful distinction observed by classical writers in the use of gender, and herein he differs greatly from Gregory² and Jerome.³ He is careful even to observe the shades of meaning expressed by the different genders of *locus* recognized in classical times. In classical Latin *locus* is used in the masculine when referring to a particular place, but when a series of connected places is in question the neuter is used. Instances of this fine distinction occur in the D. C. D. thus:

Electus est videlicet *locus* tantae deae sacratus, I, 4.

Cf. also VIII, 23; IV, 29; IX, 12, 13, 17; XI, 28; XIV, 2; passim.

Locus is used to designate a series of connected places in the following:

qui contra omnem consuetudinem gestorum ante bellorum ad *loca* sancta confugientes Christianae religionis, . . . V, 23.

Cf. also I, 1, 2; II, 6; XV, 9; XVIII, 3, 20, 21; XX, 15, 22.

III. NUMBER.

The writers of the Classical period vary in the use of the singular and plural of certain collective, abstract and concrete nouns. For example, in classical Latin *sordes* regularly appears in the plural, *capillus* and *crinis* are used as collective nouns in the singular.

² Bonnet, 503.

³ Goelzer (1), 293.

We find *sordes* used in the singular by Cicero,⁴ Plautus⁵ and Horace.⁶ *Capillus* appears once in the plural in Cicero.⁷ The writers of the Empire used *capillus* frequently in the plural. In Vergil we read, *Sanguine turpantem comptos de morte capillos*, Aen. X, 832; in Horace, *Hunc et in comitis Curium capillis*, Carm. I, 12, 41. We also find *crinis* in the plural in Vergil, thus:

Crinibus Iliades possis peplumque ferebant, Aen. I, 480; as well as in Cicero⁸ and Catullus.⁹

The following irregularities, rare in classical Latin, occur in the D. C. D.

1. Concrete terms.

(a) Singular for plural.

In the classical and pre-classical periods *altare* is used only in the plural. Augustine uses *altare* ten times in the singular, thus:

Sed cur et Fides dea credita est et accepit etiam ipsa templum et altare? IV, 20.

Quod etiam sacramento altaris fidelibus noto frequentat ecclesia, X, 6.

Deinde aedificato ibi altari et invocato Deo, . . . XVI, 19.
ut serviret altari, XVII, 5.

veniebant homines ad templum vel altare Dei, XVII, 6.

A quibus tantum prima coepta fundamina et altare constructum est, XVIII, 26.

Alioquin nec ad altare Dei fieret, . . . XX, 9.

cuius corporis sacramentum fideles communicantes de altari sumere consuerunt, XXI, 25.

deinde abscondens aliquid de altari florum, XXII, 8.

eius est altare cor nostrum, X, 3.

It occurs eight times in the plural, thus:

ab Urbis altaribus tam multos ac minutos deos tamquam muscas abegerunt, II, 22.

verum etiam inter ipsa deorum altaria fundebatur, III, 31.

⁴ P. Plane. 3, 7; ad. Att. 1, 16, 11.

⁵ Poen. 1, 2, 102.

⁶ Ep. I, 2, 53.

⁷ Pis. 15.

⁸ Verr. 2, 3, 33.

⁹ 64, 391.

quae tamen extra in aedibus propriis *altaria*, meruerunt, IV, 20.
si forte aliorum aedibus vel *altaribus* iam fuisset locus occupatus,
IV, 23.

verum etiam sacra, sacerdotia, tabernaculum sive templum, *altaria*,
sacrificia, VII, 32.

quibus templa *altaria*, sacrificia sacerdotes instituendo atque prae-
bendo summum verum Deum . . . offenderet, III, 12.

templis *altaribus*, sacrificiis sacerdotibus . . . inserviant, XVIII,
18.

nec ibi erigimus *altaria*, XXII, 10.

In classical Latin *sordes* is used only in the plural. In the
D. C. D. Augustine uses it once in the singular and three times
in the plural, thus:

Tunc enim puri atque integri ab omni *sorde* ac labe peccati . . .
offerebant, XX, 26.

cuius amor purgat a *sordibus* avaritiae, hoc est ab amore pecuniae!
VII, 12.

et mundanis *sordibus* expiatus mundus perveniat ad Deum, VII,
26.

Nisi forte sic eos dicendum est emundari a *sordibus* et eliquari
quodam modo, XX, 25.

In the Latin historians,¹⁰ the singular is used to designate any
particular collective idea such as people, army etc., as the *Populus*
Romanus of Caesar and Livy. This usage is very frequent in
Christian writers. Numerous examples occur in the D. C. D.

Cf. *Multitudo*, I, 15; XII, 28; XVI, 4, etc.

Hostis, III, 19; XVII, 13; I, 10, etc.

Populus Hebraeus, V, 21; VII, 32.

Turba, III, 17; IV, 11; VI, 9, etc.

Vulgus, I, 22; IV, 9; XIV, 2, etc.

Augustine himself indirectly lays down the rule illustrating the
use of a singular term for a plural. Nam nimia disponebatur
altitudo, quae dicta est usque in caelum, sive unius turris eius,
quam praecipuam moliebantur inter alias, sive omnium turrium,
quae per numerum singularem ita significatae sunt, ut dicitur
miles et intelleguntur milia militum, XVI, 4.

¹⁰ Schmalz, 606 (e).

(β) Plural for singular.

Contrary to classical usage, the writers of the Empire used *capillus* and *crinis* in the plural, and these words are so used also in the Christian period.¹¹ In the D. C. D. *capillus* occurs seven times in the singular, always under Biblical influence, thus:

quorum *capillus* capitis non peribit, I, 12.

quantum *capilli* occupant, XIV, 24.

capillus capitis non peribit, XXII, 12.

qui dixit nec *capillum* capitis esse periturum, XXII, 14.

cum ipse nec *capillum* periturum esse promiserit, XXII, 15.

cum *capillus* hominis perire non possit, XXII, 20.

sed *capillus* in eo capitis non peribit, XXII, 21.

It occurs in the plural six times, thus:

hanc vim in nostro corpore permanere dicit in ossa, ungues, *capillos*, VII, 23.

qui usque in hesternum diem madidis *capillis* facie dealbata, VII, 26.

Sunt quae Iunoni ac Minervae *capillos* disponant, . . . VI, 10.

qui eis etiam de *capillorum* suorum integritate securitatem dedit, XIII, 20.

Quid iam respondeam de *capillis* atque unguibus? XXII, 19.

Quamvis et de ipsis *capillis* possit inquiri, XXII, 12.

Crinis occurs in the plural once in the D. C. D. thus:

nisi raptæ illae laceratis *crinibus* emicarent, . . . III, 13.

(γ) Agreement of a single verb with several subjects.

The following are representative examples of a series of subjects as used with a single verb in the D. C. D., none of which are contrary to classical Latinity.

sicuti sunt fornicationes, immunditiae, luxuria, ebrietates, comisationes, XIV, 2.

At vero gens illa, ille populus, illa civitas, illa res publica, illi Israelitae, quibus credita sunt eloquia Dei . . . confuderunt, XVIII, 41.

2. Abstract terms.

A marked preference for concrete expressions is characteristic of classical Latin. A gradually increasing use of abstract terms, how-

¹¹ Goelzer (2), 261.

ever, is seen in the development of the language until in the writings of the Christian authors we at once realize that one of the chief characteristics of that period is a fearless usage of abstract expressions. We note the following in the D. C. D.

(a) Verbal nouns in *tus* and *sus*.

The plural of verbal nouns in *tus* and *sus*¹² appears in the nominative and accusative cases in classical Latin and seldom occurs in other cases. Augustine, like the writers¹³ of the Christian period, introduced the plural in all cases, thus: *affectus* IX, 4; *effectuum* V, 2; *nisibus* XXII, 13; *affectos* XII, 6; *passibus* XVIII, 18; *lapsibus* XII, 14; *accessibus* IV, 4; *anfractibus* XII, 14; *decessibus* V, 6; *conceptibus* XII, 24; *eiulatus* XXII, 8.

Cf. also II, 26; IV, 8; IX, 1; X, 14; XI, 7; XII, 6, 14, 24, 26; XIII, 10; XIV, 9, 12, 24; XV, 3; XVI, 29; XVIII, 54, 18; XXI, 6; XXII, 13, *passim*.

(β) Abstract nouns used for participles.¹⁴

et tanta hinc et inde cognati cruoris *effusione* vicisse Roma gaudebat, III, 14.

Sarra quippe sterilis erat et *desperatione* prolis, . . . XV, 3.

Quod ergo in *confessione* ac *professione* tenet omnis ecclesia, . . . XX, 1.

Cf. also II, 14; X, 7; XVII, 7; XVIII, 32; XX, 5; XXI, 25; XXII, 30, *passim*.

(γ) Abstract nouns used for adverbs.¹⁵

de dono Dei *cum tremore* exultasse, I, 28.

Quaeso ab humano impetremus affectu, ut femina sponsum suum a fratre suo peremptum sine crimine flevit, si viri hostes a se victos etiam *cum laude* flevissent, III, 14.

ubi et monstrosos partus *cum horrore* et *inrisione* commemorant, XXII, 12.

ut mentem legentis exerceant, et pauca in eo sunt, ex quorum manifestatione indagentur cetera *cum labore*, XX, 17.

Cf. also VIII, 23; XI, 31; XII, 9; XX, 9, 19; XXII, 8, 11, 12, *passim*.

IV. CASES.

Elsewhere we have treated in detail the various influences which tended to bring about the change evident in the Latin language

¹² Schmalz, 603.

¹³ Bayard, 206.

¹⁴ Regnier, 91.

¹⁵ Schmalz, 603.

from the Classical to the Christian periods. In no phase of this development does the change appear so strikingly as in the substantive, and especially in its modifications of case usage.

In the D. C. D. the nominative and the vocative present no irregularity.

1. *Accusative.*

(a) With verbs.

Through the accusative case, the case of the direct object, the substantive is brought into a certain relationship with the verb, which relation is determined by the character of the verb and the dependent substantive. In classical Latinity this relation was restricted within narrow limits; and as time went on, intransitive verbs tended more and more to become transitive. In the Silver Age and Ecclesiastical period we have such verbs taking the accusative as *cavere*, *consulere*, *includere*, *interdicere*, *latere*, *persuadere*, *supplicare*, *mendicare*, *ridere*, *indulgere*. These verbs were likewise used transitively in the pre-classical period.¹⁶ In the D. C. D. we find the following:

Oblivisci which takes the genitive of the person in classical Latin occurs here with the accusative of the person, thus:

quia non eos *obliviscente*, sed potius miserante Domino et ipsi post hoc opprobrium credituri sunt, XVII, 12.

Credere takes the dative with persons in classical Latin. It occurs with *in* and the accusative¹⁷ in the D. C. D.

Fungi takes the ablative in classical Latin. It occurs with the accusative in the D. C. D., thus:

Samuel simul *officium functus* sacerdotis et iudicis, XVII, 4.

Benedicere takes the dative in classical Latin in the sense of *to praise*. Four instances occur in the D. C. D. where *benedicere*, meaning *to bless*, takes the accusative. This is the common ecclesiastical usage.

Ac per hoc cum in Aegypto moriturus Israel *suos filios benediceret*, XVI, 41.

Quos cum *benediceret* Iacob, XVI, 42.

¹⁶ Goelzer (2), 59.

¹⁷ For *credere* with the accusative and the preposition *in*, cf. Chapter VIII on Prepositions.

quod protulit Melchisedich, quando *benedixit* Abraham, XVII, 17. cum moriturus filios suos et nepotes ex Ioseph *benedixisset* Christumque apertissime prophetasset, XVIII, 6.

(β) Appositional accusative.

Augustine uses an appositional accusative with the preposition *in*. The construction seems to be akin to the accusative with the preposition *in* or *ad* with verbs of motion, thus:

Cum autem Deus iubet seque iubere sine ullis ambagibus intimat, quis *oboedientiam in crimen* vocet? I, 26.

2. *Genitive.*

As the accusative case is closely connected with the verb in most of its relations, so in a similar manner is the genitive connected with the substantive. In the D. C. D. a greater number of irregularities center around the genitive than around any of the other oblique cases. These irregularities are:

(α) Genitive of quality.

The substantive¹⁸ on which the genitive depends is sometimes omitted by Christian writers.¹⁹ Bayard calls this the elliptical genitive. Schmalz classifies it under the genitive of quality.

Four passages with *huius modi* occur in the D. C. D. in which this omission appears, thus:

si haec atque huius modi, quae habet historia, IV, 2.

haec ergo atque huius modi nequaquam illis, X, 16.

Haec atque huius modi Deo parva sunt, X, 18.

Haec atque huius modi mihi cogitanti non videtur, XVIII, 52.

A considerable amount of freedom is permitted even in classical Latin when there is a question of the genitive or ablative of quality. The genitive is usually used when the idea of quality is embodied in number, measure, time, space or class. Strictly speaking the ablative is used when treating of form and appearance, of characteristics of dress or person. In ecclesiastical Latin, however, the genitive tends to supplant the ablative in this construction, as may be seen from the following examples:

Egregius Romani nominis Marcus Marcellus, I, 6.

¹⁸ Schmalz, 363.

¹⁹ Bayard, 210; Gabarrou, 100.

Nam vir clarissimus Flaccianus . . . homo facillimae facundiae multaeque doctrinae, XVIII, 23.

(β) Partitive Genitive.

The partitive genitive is employed four times depending on *medius* used substantively, where in classical Latin *medius* as an adjective would agree with the noun. This, however, is clearly due to the influence of neighboring quotations from Scripture.

de *medio ecclesiae*, . . . XX, 19.

de *medio Babylonis* . . . XVIII, 18.

aut in *medio duarum latronum*, aut in *medio Moysi et Heliae* . . . XVIII, 32.

in *medio inimicorum suorum* . . . XVII, 17.

The partitive genitive instead of *e* or *ex* and the ablative is used with numerals in the following examples:

unus illorum septem, VIII, 2.

itemque *alter filiorum Sem* genuit . . . XVI, 3.

Cf. also XVI, 41; XVIII, 9, 42; passim.

(γ) Objective and Subjective Genitive.

In classical Latin the genitive of the personal pronoun (not the possessive) is used regularly as the objective genitive. To denote possession, however, the possessive pronoun and not the possessive genitive of a pronoun is almost universal until after Tacitus.²⁰

For the regular objective genitive, cf. I, 10; X, 16; XIV, 13, 28; XV, 17; XVI, 29.

A single example occurs of this irregular use of possessive genitive of the pronoun.

quam totam implet praesentia *sui*, I, 12.

(δ) Genitive with nouns in *tor*.

On almost every page of the D. C. D. we meet with verbal nouns in *tor* used with the genitive. This construction was already in use in the pre-classical period. In the Golden Age, we still find it used among the representative authors of that period, although there is a marked preference among them for a relative clause.²¹ Thus Cicero, instead of saying *fabricator*, prefers to say *pictores*

²⁰ Lane 1234, 1262; Goelzer (2), 95; Bayard, 209.

²¹ Schmalz, 607.

et ii, qui signa fabricantur. In the D. C. D. we find the following:

vera autem iustitia non est nisi in ea re publica, cuius conditor rectorque Christus est, II, 21.

profecto eo modo, quo sunt peccatores, etiam praevaricatores legis illius, XVI, 27.

non arbitremur habere animam Deum, cum sit conditor animae, XVII, 5.

Cf. also II, 18; IV, 33; V, 26; VI, 4; VIII, 23; X, 23, 28; XI, 25; XII, 27; XIII, 14; XV, 9; XVI, 43; XVII, 5; XVIII, 36; XIX, 13; XX, 28; XXI, 14; XXII, 24; *passim*.

(e) Hebrew Genitive.

Among the many forces functioning indirectly at this period, and eventually affecting the constructions of the language, the translation of the Bible from the Hebrew through Greek into Latin exerted no small influence. The Hebrew Genitive, so called by Bayard,²² is composed of the genitive of a substantive (usually feminine) depending on another substantive²³ as *terra sanctitatis*. It passed into ecclesiastical Latin and appears abundantly in the works of the period.²⁴ The following are from the D. C. D.:

qui Christianis feminis in captivitate compressis alieni ab omni cogitatione sanctitatis insultant, I, 19.

studemus accendere sive ad virginalem integritatem sive ad continentiam vidualem sive ad ipsam tori conjugalis fidem, I, 27.

quae fictio non mentientis, nisi profundum mysterium veritatis? XVI, 37.

Cf. also I, 9, 12, 21, 25, 27; II, 18, 29; III, 28; IV, 5; V, 6, 12; VIII, 10; X, 8, 19; XIV, 17; XVI, 37; XVII, 4, 5; XVIII, 18, 53; XX, 3, 6, 19; XXI, 18, 24; *passim*.

(f) Genitive with adjectives.

Felix occurs with the genitive for the first time in the poets of the Imperial Epoch.²⁵ Through the influence of the syntax of the poets it appears in the prose writers of the period. One instance occurs of *felix* and the genitive in the D. C. D. thus:

²² Bayard, 210.

²³ Schmalz, 362, An. 2.

²⁴ Goelzer (1), 323; Goelzer (2), 100; Regnier, 41.

²⁵ Riemann and Goelzer, 167.

Metellus enim Romanorum laudatissimus, qui habuit quinque filios consulares, etiam rerum temporalium felix fuit, II, 23.

3. Dative.

The function of the dative case in classical Latin is to indicate that to or for which anything is done. In later periods, its use was extended, especially with verbs to indicate many other kinds of relationship. In this respect the D. C. D. of Augustine, unlike the works of other Christian writers, does not differ in a very marked degree from classical Latinity. The irregularities found in the D. C. D. are the following:

(a) Dative after verbs.

Without doubt it is by analogy with verbs like *redire*²⁶ etc. that other verbs such as *reddere*, *restituere* etc. take the dative, not of the person, but of the state to which a person or thing returns.

Reddere with the dative of *the state to which* occurs in the three following passages from the D. C. D.:

et suae potestati reddi potuerunt, X, 26.

Redditi sunt animo eius, XXII, 8.

quam ferebat, super eam proiecisset, reddita est vitae, XXII, 8.

(β) Dative with adjectives.

In Plautus and Terence *similis* takes the genitive; but in general from Ennius on the dative as well as the genitive is used. In classical Latin *similis* is said to take the genitive for a general or comprehensive likeness and the dative for a conditional or partial likeness.²⁷

Augustine uses the dative with *similis* about five times as often as the genitive, and in these examples it is usually difficult to discover any real distinction of meaning.

ne fiant *similes earum muliercularum*, quas commemorat apostolus,
. . . II, 1.

non sane iusti, sed *daemonum similes*, ea, quae vana esse noverant,
IV, 32.

qui etiam ludis talibus delectentur, *simile* sit furoris, VI, 9.

qui est in corpore humano, *simillimus* est immortalis animi, VII, 5.

²⁶ Bonnet, 539; Gabarrou, 104.

²⁷ Riemann and Goelzer, 161; Kühner, 448h, 449, A. S.

Hi et ceteri *similes eorum* id solum cogitare potuerunt, VIII, 5.
 ut ponerent in Deo spem suam, *similes illius*, . . . XV, 23.
 ut novissima Antichristi persecutio *similis* videatur *undecimae
 plagae*, XVIII, 52.
 quod eis etsi non certum, tamen *veri simile* videbatur, XIX, 1.
 vel etiam pervicacia *simillima insaniae* id, XX, 1.

Similis with the dative.

ei similis de qua scriptum est, II, 5.
 ut *similiores eis* sunt, V, 1.
 ut mimicae *scurrilitati* videatur esse *simillimum*, VI, 1.
 Cf. also II, 1; III, 19; V, 62; VI, 1, 8, 9, 10; VII, 5, 7, 23;
 VIII, 5, 17; IX, 17, 20; X, 8, 11; XI, 26; XII, 26; XIV, 2,
 3, 4, 20, 22, 24; XV, 7, 10, 23; XVI, 8; XVII, 9; XVIII,
 17, 52; XX, 3, 23; XXI, 5, 10; XXII, 8, 23, 28, 29.

4. Ablative.

The ablative case is used especially with verbs and their participles, or with adjectives. It may be described as an adverbial case, because a noun in the ablative generally qualifies a verb, adjective or adverb in the same way as an adverb does.

Among the many uses of the ablative in the D. C. D., irregularities occur which are only slightly known in classical Latin as compared with their frequent occurrence in ecclesiastical Latin.

(a) Ablative with adjectives.

Plenus with the genitive is the regular rule in Cicero and Caesar.²⁸ *Plenus* was used in classical Latin with the ablative, and appears frequently in the writers of the Empire and thence on through the Christian period. With no apparent preference, Augustine in the D. C. D. uses *plenus* with the genitive and the ablative at will. Twenty-one passages with *plenus* and the ablative occur, thus:

ut ipsum perferat mundum per omnes horas *temptationibus
 plenum*, I, 27.

Civitas regis magni, *gratio plena*, XVII, 4.

Nempe una est terra, quam *plenam* quidem videmus *animalibus
 suis*, VII, 23.

²⁸ Schmalz, 383.

quanto minus credendum est illis litteris, quas *plenas fabulosis* velut antiquitatibus . . . XII, 11.

si omnia quattuor elementa *suis animalibus plena* sunt, VIII, 17.

Cf. also XI, 10; XV, 16; XVII, 4, 8; XIX, 5, 8, 20; XX, 1, 2; XXI, 7, 14; XXII, 1, 4, 8, 22, 30.

Thirteen passages occur with *plenus* and the genitive, thus:

sollicitudinis autem *plena* sunt coepta, VII, 7.

quae falsissima est et *plenissima erroris*, IX, 18.

indignitatis et *turpitudinis plena*, VI, 7.

Neque enim in hoc tam praeclaro opere et *tantae plenissimo dignitatis* audent . . . IV, 8.

quas omnes partes quattuor *animarum* esse *plenas*, VII, 6.

Cf. also VIII, 26; X, 11, 22; XI, 23; XII, 21; XVI, 31; XIX, 8, 23.

Reus is used in pre-classical writers with the genitive. Later on, *reus* like *plenus*, appears with the ablative. Classical writers, however, prefer the genitive.²⁹

In the D. C. D. Augustine uses *reus* seven times. In five passages it is construed with the genitive and in two with the ablative, thus:

(a) With the genitive.

verum etiam *suae mortis reus* finivit hanc vitam, I, 17.

Porro si falsi testimonii non minus *reus*, est qui de se ipso falsum fatetur, I, 20.

nulla civitatis *suae lege reus* est *homicidii*, immo, nisi fecerit, *reus* est *imperii deserti* atque contempti, I, 26.

Ne itaque *reus* esset *tanti sacramenti* in Saule violati, XVII, 6.

(β) With the ablative.³⁰

ut *capitali crimine reus* fieret, si quis eam fuisse hominem diceret, XVIII, 3. (Non-classical.)

cum *homicidii crimine* *reus* fieret, XVIII, 10. (Classical.)

(γ) Ablative of time.

Duration of time and extent of space are usually expressed in classical Latin with the accusative case.

²⁹ Riemann and Goelzer, 166.

³⁰ For the genitive of the charge may be substituted in classical Latin *nomine* or *crimine* with the genitive or with the ablative and *de*.

Four passages embodying the idea of duration of time occur in the D. C. D., where Augustine uses the ablative for the accusative, thus:

qui per ipsum . . . *paucis diebus* vitae suae cursim raptimque transierunt, IV, 5.

Quantum enim pertinet ad hanc vitam mortalium, quae *paucis diebus* ducitur et finitur, V, 17.

Utrum autem etiam *illis ultimis tribus annis et mensibus sex*, XX, 8.

Haec persecutio novissima, . . . *tribus annis et sex mensibus* erit, XX, 13.

CHAPTER II—ADJECTIVES.

The twofold process according to Schmalz,¹ of making nouns out of adjectives is; first, by unconsciously investing an adjective with the idea of a substantive which is not expressed, (this idea may be that of a person or thing or some other idea less general); second, through the conscious ellipsis of a substantive of a more limited meaning. In the first case the idea of the substantive is vague and the thought is embodied in the quality, usually a calling, profession and the like, expressed by the adjective, as *consularis*, *amicus*, *bonus*; while in the second, owing to the structure of the phrase and the restricted idea of the substantive which is generally of a concrete nature, ellipsis is consciously admitted and the adjective functions as a noun, as *fera* where *bestia* could be easily understood.

The use of adjectives as substantives in the Classical period was in general restricted. Writers confined themselves to the following usages:

For persons:

The singular of an adjective as *iustus*, *fidelis*, is seldom met with. The use in the plural as *docti*, *sapientes*, is frequent, especially in the nominative. The other cases were rarely allowed to assume a substantival character.

For things:

In the nominative and accusative cases, the neuter singular of the second declension tends to express an idea rather in the abstract, as *honestum*, *verum*; while the plural in the same cases lends itself to a more concrete expression, as *honesti*, *vera*.

Prepositional phrases:

Prepositions in combination with the accusative and ablative singular of neuter adjectives of the second and third declensions occur, as *ad extremum*, *de cetero*, *in proclivi*.

In Sallust there is a marked tendency toward the use of adjectives as substantives. The writers of the Empire and of the Chris-

¹ Schmalz, 608.

tian period waive aside all limitations, and treat adjectives as substantives without restriction of any kind.

Among the Christian writers Cyprian,² Arnobius,³ Jerome⁴ and Avitus⁵ as well as Augustine manifest an absolute freedom in this usage. The following examples are from the D. C. D.:

1. For persons in the singular and plural, nominative and accusative cases.

Sic evaserunt *multi*, qui nunc Christianis temporibus detrahunt et mala, I, 1.

Nam *bonus* temporalibus nec bonis extollitur nec malis frangitur; *malus* autem ideo huiusce modi infelicitate punitur, I, 8.

nam hoc quoque in libris suis habent eorum *docti* atque *sapientes*, IV, 10.

Quo modo ergo bona est, quae sine ullo iudicio venit et ad *bonos* et ad *malos*? IV, 18.

scaenicus autem ludendo potius delectaret, VI, 11.

constat inter *historicos* graves, XVIII, 8.

Ecce hic dixit *fideles* suos in iudicium non venire, XX, 5.

Sed quod dixi scriptum a Varrone, licet eorum sit *historicus* idemque doctissimus, XXI, 8.

Ac per hoc haeretici et *schismatici* ab huius unitate corporis separate possunt idem percipere sacramentum, XXI, 25.

Cf. also I, 1; II, 2, 25; III, 6, 7; IV, 2, 11; V, 12, 26; VI, 1; VIII, 26; IX, 8; X, 10; XV, 1, 23; XVIII, 51; XX, 19. *passim*.

2. For things in the singular and plural nominative and accusative cases.

quia et ipsi vidimus *talìa* ac talibus numinibus exhiberi, IV, 1.

Sed si virtus non nisi ad *ingeniosum* posset venire, IV, 21.

Verum tamen qui omnia *mala* animae ex corpore putant accidisse, XIV, 3.

Voluntas quippe, inquiunt, appetit *bonum*, . . . cautio devitat *malum*, XIV, 8.

alternaverunt *prospera* et *adversa* bellorum, XVI, 43.

quae ille *plura* commemoravit et *brevia*, XVIII, 23.

ubi erit Deus *omnia* in omnibus, XIX, 20.

² Bayard, 271.

³ Gabarrou, 147.

⁴ Goelzer (1), 108.

⁵ Goelzer (2), 646.

3. In other cases.

isto compendio possent in illo uno *omnibus* supplicare . . . IV, 11.

Jovem igitur de *omnibus* rogarent, IV, 17.

De *supervacuis* non magna causa, IV, 27.

Sed non te audiunt, daemones sunt, prava docent, *turpibus* gaudent,
IV, 27.

ab auribus *omnium* repellendi sunt, V, 1.

non deberent inspectis *natalium* constellationibus de valetudine
aliquid dicere, V, 5.

De *talibus* enim, qui propter hoc boni aliquid facere videntur,
V, 15.

sed eam potius quantum valuit ab *haereticorum* perniciosissima
pravitate defendit, V, 18.

et quod minus ferre *bonorum* possit aspectus, V, 20.

sed ipsi soli et lunae aut cuicumque *caelestium* homo vitio cuilibet
obnoxius minas eosque territat falso, X, 11.

sed ipsis *caelestibus* et siderea luce fulgentibus, X, 11.

atque in *infidelibus* claudus, XVI, 39.

unus e septem *sapientibus*, XVIII, 14.

quae nunc in sanctis *fidelibus* est diffusa per terras, XX, 21.

Deus erit omnia in *omnibus*! XXII, 29.

Cf. also I, 16; III, 12, 18, 26, 30; IV, 11, 17; V, 26; VIII, 2, 10;
IX, 4, 11; XV, 1, 23; XVII, 23; XXI, 5, 6, 25; passim.

4. Prepositional phrases.

susurrans *in occulto* verba institiae ad decipiendos etiam paucos
bonos, II, 26.

quae suos agros non haberet, *de publico* viveret, V, 17.

Non opus est multa percurrere, cum res *in aperto* sit, VII, 1.

quam creavit *ex nihilo*, XIV, 11.

quid est nisi aut *in medio* duorum testamentorum, aut *in medio*
duorum latronum, aut *in medio* Moysi et Heliae cum illo in
monte sermocinantium? XVIII, 32.

Cf. also VII, 1; IX, 13; XI, 4; XII, 5, 16; XIV, 11, 13; XVII,
4; XVIII, 52; XX, 19; passim.

Augustine, conforming to a usage not uncommon in his time,
but seldom found in classical Latin* uses the comparative and

*Schmalz, 609; Goelzer (2), 649.

superlative of adjectives in both numbers and all cases as substantives. From the D. C. D. are the following:

quae praetermissi essent, multo *numerosioribus* praeberetur, IV, 11.
Sed quia peius esset, ut iniuriosi *iustioribus* dominarentur, IV, 15.
Si enim a *maioribus* illi sunt appellat superstitiosi, IV, 30.
Multo sunt autem *tolerabiliores*, qui vel siderea fata constituunt,
V, 9.

in forma Dei supra angelos mansit; idem in *inferioribus* via vitae,
qui in *superioribus* vita, IX, 15.

Quaerit enim cur tamquam *melioribus* invocatis quasi *peioribus*
imperetur, X, 11.

quod septuaginta interpretes in *plurimis*, XV, 14.

Sed ad *manifestiora* veniamus . . . XIX, 23.

Non itaque pergo per *plurima*, XXI, 5.

eorumque paucos discipulos suos faciunt *plurimorumque* doctores,
XXI, 6.

Cf. also II, 26; III, 12; IV, 5, 8, 11, 26, 24; VI, 10; X, 23; XII,
22; XIV, 8; XVIII, 8, 33, 37; *passim*.

II. ADJECTIVES FOR GENITIVES OF POSSESSION.

Instances occur in classical Latin, even in Cicero, of adjectives taking the place of genitives either when they express the subject of the action in the noun on which they depend as Cic. ad Att. 6, 17, erratum *fabrile*; or as the equivalent of the genitive of possession, as Ter. Andr. 602, *erilem* filium. In the D. C. D. as in all ecclesiastical Latin such adjectives appear with far greater frequency, thus:

quibus baptizatos adloquendo studemus accendere sivi ad *virginalem* integritatem sive ad continentiam *vidualem* . . .
I, 27.

si earum quoque aliquas *barbarica* libido compressit, I, 28.

Sciebatur *virginali* numini quid placeret, II, 26.

in utero *virginali* domum sibi aedificasse corpus humanum et huic,
XVII, 20.

in novis evangelium et *apostolicae* litterae, XX, 4.

Currus vero eius . . . *angelica* ministeria non inconvenienter accipimus, XX, 21.

Cf. also I, 25; II, 13; III, 30; V, 6, 11, 18; VII, 26; X, 3, 16;
XIV, 3, 11; XV, 26; XVII, 18, 20; *passim*.

III. DEGREES OF COMPARISON.

The value of the suffixes is not fully appreciated in the Christian period. This is due no doubt to the irregularities prevalent in the popular language of the day and unconsciously taken over into the writings of the period. However, Augustine, unlike many Christian writers,¹ has shown a marked care in his use of the suffixes forming the degrees of comparison. Very few irregularities appear in the D. C. D.

In one passage *magis* is used with a positive for a comparative, thus:

Quis adversus eos contentiosior, animosior, et *magis aemulus* atque *invidus* invenitur? XIV, 3.

In another place the comparative is used for either a positive or superlative, thus:

cum patre suo qui translatus fuerat aliquantum fuisse atque ibi, donec diluvium praeteriret, vixisse arbitrantur, nolentes derogare fidem codicibus, quos in auctoritatem *celebriorem* suscepit ecclesia, XV, 11.

In thirteen passages Augustine joins a positive and superlative, and in one, a positive and comparative, an irregularity which according to Schmalz² appears only in late Latin.

ut videlicet poeta *magnus* omniumque *praeclarissimus* atque *optimus* teneris ebibitus animis non facile oblivione possit aboleri, I, 3.

qui nostro Deo conditori *sanctae* et *gloriosissimae* civitates deos suos praeferunt, X, 18.

quod *perversissimae* atque *impiae* vanitatis est, XI, 34.

Cf. also XII, 27; XIV, 13; XV, 1, 10; XVII, 3; XVIII, 24; XIX, 23; XX, 5, 9; XXII, 14.

Octava generatio habet quidem nonnullam diversitatem, sed *minorem* ac *dissimilem* ceteris, XV, 10.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS EXCEPTIONAL USES OF ADJECTIVES.

With the exception of a few stereotyped expressions such as *plurimam salutem*, *ad multam noctem*, *plurima exercitatio*, etc.

¹ Goelzer (1), 399; Goelzer (2), 657; Gabarrou, 150.

² Schmalz, 616.

found in classical Latin, the singular of the adjectives *multus*, *paucus*, *plurimus*, *omnis*, *singulus*, is not used with substantives in a plural sense. Schmalz* cites Tertullian and Orosius as exponents of the use of this syntactical phenomenon.

In the D. C. D. the following occur which are classical:

Iste ergo *multus error* et incredulitas non animadvertentium ad cultum religionemque divinam invenit artem, VIII, 24.

et tamen si causas artis huius nos diceremus *multum errorem* hominum, VIII, 24.

Qui cum ei *protectionem mercedemque* promitteret valde *multam*, XVI, 23.

Ita perficit Christus *multam multitudinem* dulcedinis suae sperantibus in eum, XXI, 24.

Numerals.

Classical Latin requires, in the case of compound numbers from twenty-one to ninety-seven inclusive, that the smaller number with *et* precede the larger, or that the larger number precede the smaller without *et*, as *unus et viginte* or *viginti unus*.

With the exception of a few cases where there is a violation of the rule given above, Augustine in the D. C. D. is quite regular in his use of numerals. The following are the variations which occur:

triginti et novem anni in tam longa pace transacti sunt regnante Numa, III, 9.

Bellum Punicum primum per *viginti et tres* annos peractum est, V, 22.

Quadraginta et unum libros scripsit antiquitatum, VI, 3.

qui cum *octoginta et unum* vixisset, VIII, 11.

Menses quippe illi triduani *viginti et septem* dies habere non poterant, XV, 14.

Augustine makes frequent use of the correlatives *unus—alter* for *alter—alter* to denote either division of a group. This irregularity occurs in about fifty-five passages in the D. C. D., thus:

An Veneres duae sunt, *una* virgo, *altera* mulier? IV, 10.

a quibus solos duos deos coli, *unum* bonum, *alterum* malum, V, 21.

* Schmalz, 612.

ubi dederunt Marte et Orco, *uni* effectori mortium *alteri* receptori,
VII, 3.

duo philosophorum genera traduntur: *unum* Italicum ex ea parte
Italiae . . . *alterum* Ionicum in eis terris, VIII. 2.

Cf. also I, 19, 24; IV, 3, 10; V, 4; VI, 3, 7, 9; VII, 3, 7, 11;
VIII, 2, 3, 4; IX, 13; X, 5, 32; XI, 33; XII, 1, 6, 13; XIII,
21; XIV, 1, 4, 13, 28; XV, 1, 2, 8, 15, 20, 21, 26; XVI, 1,
17, 25, 40; XVII, 2, 3, 4, 20; XVIII, 1, 28, 44; XIX, 3;
XXI, 1, 4, 26; XXII, 5, 8, 24, 30.

CHAPTER III—PRONOUNS.

Among the characteristics which differentiate ecclesiastical from classical Latin, the peculiarities pertaining to the use of the pronouns are perhaps the most pronounced. In some cases the writers of the Christian epoch, more especially those of Africa, have disregarded in part not only the fine shades of meaning always observed by classical writers, but at times have even confused the fundamental meaning of one pronoun with that of another. Thus the reflexive pronouns are now used interchangeably with demonstratives, now with intensives, as in Arnobius: *qui (Christus) iustissimis viris . . . ac diligentibus sese (= ipsum) . . . apparet*. I, 46, and in Cyprian: *Factus est autem Cornelius episcopus de sacerdotum antiquorum et bonorum virorum collegio (consensu) cum nemo ante se (= eum) factus esset*, 629, 21.

It is not chiefly among the reflexives, however, as in the examples above that the striking irregularities occur in the D.C.D. of Augustine. While some such appear, the variations from classical norms abound more in the demonstratives. Augustine seems to use the demonstratives, especially those of the first, second and third persons promiscuously. In making contrasts between two persons or things, one may find the classical usage *hic . . . ille*, but much more frequently *hic . . . iste*, or *ille . . . ille* or *ille . . . iste*.

These irregularities are due no doubt to the inevitable change which took place in the language when influenced by the Greek and Semitic languages, directly or indirectly, through the translations of the Bible.

I. PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

Like all Latin writers, Augustine uses the personal pronouns only where it is necessary to emphasize the idea of the person. In speaking of himself he uses the first person plural; as . . . *de qua loqui instituimus*, I, 1 etc., a usage employed by writers of all periods of the language. It is scarcely possible, owing to the distinct and precise meaning assigned to each, that a confusion should arise in the use of the personal pronouns.

II. RELATIVE PRONOUNS.

The relative pronouns like the personal offer little difficulty. Goelzer¹ when treating of the syntax of the pronouns in Avitus, classifies the indefinites with the pure relatives. As our classification conforms to that of Schmalz, we shall retain the treatment of the indefinites for a special section (v) of this chapter.

III. REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS.

The idea of reciprocity in classical Latin is expressed by the reflexive phrases *inter nos*, *inter vos*, *inter se*. Later on, however, in the Augustan age we find Livy joining the adverb *invicem* to *inter se*; thus: *Invicem inter se gratantes*, 9, 43, 17. Soon the reflexive phrase was omitted and the reciprocal relation was expressed by *invicem*; as *Ut invicem ardentius diligamus*, Plin. ep. 7, 20, 7. Schmalz² says that *inter se* was not lost to the language, but was used by the authors who followed classical traditions. Augustine uses both forms in the D. C. D.

Inter se occurs in ninety-four passages in the D. C. D., thus:

Etiam ipse de particulis inter se similibus, VIII, 2.

nos ergo has duas societates angelicas inter se disparet atque contrarias, XI, 33.

Pugnant ergo inter se mali et mali, XV, 5.

Cf. also II, 25; III, 14; IV, 7, 27; V, 1, 2, 3, 4, 6; VI, 5, 6; VII, 4, 11; VIII, 2, 3, 14; IX, 1, 2, 7, 9, 14, 23; XI, 34; XII, 9, 14, 17, 19, 22, 23; XIII, 16; XIV, 4, 10, 12, 18, 26; XV, 13, 15, 16; XVI, 8, 20, 24, 36; XVII, 7, 11, 21, 23; XVIII, 1, 2, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45, 51; XIX, 3, 7, 14, 23, 28; XX, 5, 29; XXI, 6, 8; XXII, 24, 27, 28; *passim*.

Invicem occurs in twenty passages, thus:

Perplexae quippe sunt istae duae civitates in hoc saeculo invicemque permixtae, I, 35.

quas in hoc saeculo perplexas diximus invicemque permixtas, X, 32.

Nam si duo sibimet invicem fiant obviam neque praeterire, XIX, 7.

Cf. also IV, 2; XI, 1; XII, 21; XIV, 8, 22, 28; XV, 4, 6; XVI, 6; XVIII, 7, 13, 17; XIX, 13, 17; XXII, 24, 27, 29.

Alterutrum expressing reciprocal relations is used for the first³

¹ Goelzer (2), 667.

² Schmalz, 620.

³ Schmalz, 620.

time in Lucius Annaeus Florus, 183, 19 R, *manu alter utrum tenentes*. Among the writers of the Christian period we find it in Jerome,⁴ Avitus.⁵ In the D. C. D., *alterutrum* occurs as a reciprocal pronoun in the two following passages:

Iam vero Punicis bellis, cum inter utrumque imperium victoria diu anceps atque incerta penderet populique duo praevalidi impetus in alterutrum fortissimos et opulentissimos agerent, III, 18.

ubi partium studia non contionum dissensionibus variisque vocibus in alterutrum, III, 23.

IV. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS.

Classical Latinity defines precisely the use of *is*, *hic*, *iste* and *ille*. *Hic*⁶ and *is* are distinguished one from the other in that *hic* always signifies an object present. It is the demonstrative of the first person. *Is* represents an object already mentioned or about to be mentioned. *Iste* is the pronoun of the second person. It points out something near, belonging or imputed to the person addressed. It is used in addressing opponents, and is thus frequent in contemptuous expressions. *Ille* points out what is more or less remote in place, time or thought. It is the demonstrative of the third person. These distinctions carefully observed by classical writers were uniformly disregarded by Christian writers.

Irregularities in the syntax of the demonstrative pronouns found in the D. C. D. are as follows:

In expressions of contrast *iste—ille*, *ille—ille* and *ille—iste* are used for *hic—ille* and *ille—hic* in the three following passages:

Quis ergo est locus bonorum daemonum, qui supra homines, infra deos istis praebeant adiutorium, illis ministerium? IX, 13.

et sceleratarum concatenatione causarum a bello Mariano atque Sullano ad bella Sertorii et Catilinae (quorum a Sulla fuerat ille proscriptus, ille nutritus), III, 30.

Pax cum bello de crudelitate certavit et vicit. Illud enim prostravit armatos, ista nudatos, III, 28.

The following passages are worthy of note, where Augustine in referring three times to two of the gods by means of the demon-

⁴ Goelzer (1), 412.

⁵ Goelzer (2), 663.

⁶ Schmalz, 621.

stratives, uses the combinations *ille . . . ista*, *ille . . . haec* and then the non-classical usage *ille . . . ista* again.

Huic monstro nec Iani monstrositas comparatur. *Ille* in simulacris habebat solam deformitatem, *ista* in sacris deformem crudelitatem; *ille* membra in lapidibus addita, *haec* in hominibus perdita. *Hoc* dedecus tot Iovis ipsius et tanta stupra non vincunt. *Ille* inter femineas corruptelas uno Ganymede coelum infamavit; *ista* tot mollibus professis et publicis et inquinavit terram et caelo fecit iniuriam, VII, 26.

In discussing *theologia mythica*, Augustine uses *illa . . . haec* six consecutive times and completes the enumeration with *illa . . . ista*, thus:

Nec fabulosa igitur nec civili theologia sempiternam quisquam adipiscitur vitam. *Illa* enim de diis turpia fingendo seminat, *haec* favendo metit; *illa* mendacia spargit, *haec* colligit; *illa* res divinas falsis criminibus insectatur, *haec* eorum criminum ludos in divinis rebus amplectitur; *illa* de diis nefanda figmenta hominum carminibus personat, *haec* ea deorum ipsorum festivitatis consecrat; facinora et flagitia numinum *illa* cantat, *haec* amat; *illa* prodit aut fingit, *haec* autem aut adtestatur veris aut oblectatur et falsis. Ambae turpes ambaeque damnabiles; sed *illa*, quae theatra est, publicam turpitudinem profitetur; *ista*, quae urbana est, illius turpitudine ornatur, VI, 6.

In the following passage the reverse takes place. Referring to two societies of angels Augustine uses *illam . . . istam* four consecutive times and concludes the series with a passage which contains a double use of the principle according to classical Latin:

nos tamen has duas angelicas societates, . . . *illam* in caelis caelorum habitantem, *istam* deiectam in hoc infimo aereo caelo tumultuantem; *illam* luminosa pietate tranquillam, *istam* tenebrosis cupiditatibus turbulentam; *illam* Dei nutu clementer subvenientem, iuste ulcipientem, *istam* suo fastu subdendi et nocendi libidine exaestuantem; *illam*, ut quantum vult consulat, Dei bonitati ministram, *istam*, ne quantum vult noceat, Dei potestate frenatam; *illam* huic inluentem, ut nolens prosit persecutionibus suis, *hanc illi* invidentem, cum peregrinos colligit suos, XI, 33.

Cf. also I, 28; II, 11, 14; VI, 1, 2; VII, 4; VIII, 1, 2, 13, 21, 26; IX, 2, 4, 15, 22; X, 15; XII, 1; XIII, 4, 8; XIV, 8, 13; XV, 2; XVIII, 28, 41, 43; XIX, 28; XX, 1; XXI, 11; XXII, 4, 6, 11, 24.

In the following passage *hic*, *is* and *iste* are used with scarcely any difference in meaning:

Hic motus, *hi* affectus de amore boni et de sancta caritate venientes si vitia vocanda sunt, sinamus, ut *ea*, quae vere vitia sunt, virtutes vocentur. Sed cum rectam rationem sequantur *istae* affectiones, quando ubi oportet adhibentur, XIV, 9.

Ille is used for *is* in the two following passages:

et ideo potest a litteratis eius defensoribus dici non esse apud inferos inter *illos*, I, 19.

qui nec fuerunt umquam nec futuri sunt desertores, inter quos et *illos*, qui aeternam lucem deserentes tenebrae facti sunt, XI, 28.

Iste, as has been said above, was used to refer to the second person. Hence it should be confined to cases of address, especially in colloquial expressions. Cicero always uses *iste* with this force. It is found only once in Caesar¹ and then in the passage of an oration embodied in his narrative.

The earliest evidence of a weakening of this force appears in Apuleius.² In the Christian writers we find it equivalent almost to a definite article. Cf. Min. Felix, 18, 11, *iste* sermo; Cyprian. De Hab. Virg. 15p, *isto* in loco; Commodian, 1, 25, 19, *isto* libello; Ambrose, 1, 8, 32F, nobis excursus *iste* processit; Sulpicius Severus, Chron. 1, 2, 1, voluminis *istius*; Tertullian, De Idol, 19p, in *isto* capitulo. Similar meanings of *iste* occur in about thirty-two passages of the D. C. D., thus:

Quapropter in decem *istis* libris, etsi minus quam nonnullorum de nobis expectabat intentio, X, 32.

primumque dicam, quem ad modum exordia duarum *istarum* civitatum in angelorum diversitate praecesserint, XI, 1.

Nam ubi tenebrae inculpabiles sunt, inter quas et lucem *istam* his oculis conspicuam luminaria caeli dividunt, XI, 20.

¹ B. G. 7, 77.

² Koziol, 78.

Cf. also I, 8, 13; VI, 15; XI, 1, 33; XV, 1, 27; XVI, 4, 15, 21, 24, 26, 28, 35, 36, 38; XVII, 1, 4, 5, 7, 16; XVIII, 28; XIX, 5, 26; XX, 15.

V. INDEFINITE PRONOUNS.

1. *quisquam, aliquis, ullus.*

Quisquam meaning a "single one," "any one at all," and *ullus* meaning "any" are used chiefly in negative sentences in classical Latin. In ecclesiastical Latin *quisquam* occurs frequently in affirmative sentences. It also appears with *si, nisi, ne* and *num* instead of *quis*. These forms appear very frequently in Avitus* and likewise in Augustine. In the D. C. D. *quisquam* occurs fifty-eight times in negatives and forty-five in affirmative sentences.

(a) *si* with *quisquam* instead of *quis*.

Si duas quisquam nutrices adhiberet infanti, VI, 9.

Quod si quisquam dicit, non ex omnium sed ex malorum daemonum numero esse, XI, 7.

ac si quisquam velit videre tenebras vel audire silentium, XII, 7.

Cf. also XI, 5; XII, 7, 16; XIV, 3; XVI, 27; XIX, 12; XXI, 5, 10; XXII, 20.

The five following passages, two containing *non quisquam* for *nemo*; one, *non quicquam* for *nihil*; and two, *non ullus* for *nullus* occur in the D. C. D.

Non tamen quisquam putare debet aut frustra haec esse conscripta, XV, 27.

Non enim Domino quisquam quicquam rectum voveret, XVII, 4.
non quo quicquam bonis quandoque morituris tale genus mortis faciat aliquid, XV, 24.

non gustus faucium, non ullus corporeus tactus accedit, XI, 27.

Cur enim esset ulla poena in quibus non essent ulla punienda? XIII, 3.

(β) *Si* with *aliquis* instead of *quis*.

Aliquis, the indefinite pronoun of an affirmative proposition, occurs in about four hundred and seventy passages in the D. C. D., fifty-one of which are used in negative sentences.

*Goelzer (2), 666.

Verum *si aliquis* audeat, vincit nempe istos, XXI, 17.

In classical Latin *aliquis* for *ullus* is not ordinarily used with the preposition *sine*. Eight instances of this irregularity appear in the D. C. D., thus:

quod fieri fortasse *sine carnis aliqua* voluptate non potuit, I, 16.
velut ipsius Romae filiam, sed *sine aliquo* daemonum templo simulacroque concessit, V, 25.

quod tempus *sine aliqua* mobili mutabilitate non est, XI, 6.

Cf. also XII, 21, 22; XVI, 2; XIX, 13; XXII, 24.

Two passages containing *aliquis* . . . *aliquis* for *alius* . . . *alius* occur, thus:

Huc accedebat, quod, ut sunt alterna bellorum, *aliquae* parentum ferro amiserunt viros, *aliquae* utrorumque ferro et parentes et viros, III, 13.

quod *aliqui* alienant a Dei voluntate, *aliqui* ex illa etiam hoc pendere confirmant, V, 1.

2. *Quispiam*.

*Quispiam*¹⁰ in pre-classical Latin differed very little from *aliquis* but it was more extensively used. Cicero does not use it as frequently in negative sentences as *quisquam*. It is seldom used in the Imperial epoch. Sidonius Apollinaris, a contemporary of Augustine revived its use. It occurs in seven passages in the D. C. D., in three of which it replaces *quis*, thus:

(a) *nisi* or *si* with *quispiam* for *quis*.

Nisi forte quispiam sic defendat istos deos, III, 15.

nisi forte quispiam ex ipsa numerositate annorum nobis ingerat quaestionem, XV, 9.

Exempli gratia, velut si *quispiam*, quod hic scriptum est, XV, 26.

3. *Quicumque*.

Quicumque, at different periods in the development of the language, weakens as an indefinite relative pronoun, and assumes a very strong adjectival force. Schmalz¹¹ cites Cicero as using it rarely.

¹⁰ Schmalz, 625.

¹¹ Schmalz, 627.

Forty-four out of one hundred and four passages in which it is used in the D. C. D. have the adjectival use thus:

quaecumque tales viri in suis litteris multorum deorum ludibria posuerunt, IV, 31.

et *quaecumque* turpia geruntur in theatro, VIII, 5.

quibus potius sit credendum, respondeant Platonicis, respondeant *quicumque* philosophi, X, 16.

Cf. also IV, 23; X, 3; XVI, 8; XXI, 26; XXII, 8; passim.

4. *Quisquis* and *quisque*.

Quisquis, with the very general meaning "whoever," has no limitations in classical Latin; while *quisque* meaning "each," "each by himself," is applied to a group of more than two. *Quisque* is also used with pronouns (immediately following them), ordinals and *unus*. In the Ecclesiastical period *quisque* and *quisquis* are often used synonymously. The following examples are especially to be noted:

(a) *Quisque* for *quisquam*.

Transeuntium quippe intentio ipsa mutatur de vetere ad novum, ut iam non *quisque* intendat accipere carnalem, sed spiritalem felicitatem, XVII, 7.

post aliquot dies quod audierunt mente retineant et vix *quisque* reperiat illorum, XXII, 8.

(β) *Si quisque* for *si quis*.

An vero tam insulsa perversitas cor evertit et a consideratione veritatis avertit, ut, *si se quisque* interimere debet, I, 27.

5. *Uterque*.

In the Classical period *uterque* meaning "each" is used of two individuals and its plural *utrique* for two sets or parties. Augustine adheres strictly to this distinction.

Cf. I, 8, 28; II, 11, 14; III, 13, 14; VI, 6; IX, 4, 13; XII, 1; XIV, 26; XV, 10, 13; XVII, 4, 44; XVIII, 43; XIX, 4, 17.

Classical usage¹² does not allow the combination *uterque uterque*. The joining of *alius alium*, *alter alteri*, and *uter utri* in the combination of double questions is regular as: *Ut diiudicari posset*,

¹² Schmalz, 627.

uter utri anteferendus videretur, Caes. B. G. 5, 44, 14. No doubt the doubling process of these pronouns was extended to *uterque*. One passage with this irregularity occurs in the D. C. D., thus:

An *uterque utrumque* implet, IV, 10.

VI. PRONOMINAL ADJECTIVES.

1. *Tantus, quantus, tot, quot*.

The meanings of the pronominal adjectives *tot*, "so many," *quot*, "how many," *tantus*, "so great" and *quantus*, "how great" were strictly followed by the writers of the Classical period. As early as Propertius,¹³ however, a variation in the meaning of the pronominal adjectives appears, and we see the plural of *quantus* being used for *quot*.

Down through the Empire and in the Ecclesiastical period, the change in meaning was gradually extended, and we find Augustine, in his Sermons, Letters and D. C. D. frequently using *tam magnus* for *tantus*, *quam multi* for *quot* and *tam multus* for *tot*, thus:

(a) *Tam magnus* for *tantus*.

Merito certe laudant virtutem *tam magna* infelicitate maiorem, I, 15.

quo Roma *tam magna* facta est, IV, 9.

et ex illorum numero erat, cuius *tam magnam* divinamque sententiam . . . X, 25.

quod a nullo coepit . . . sed *tam magna* spatia, quanta illa summa comprehendit annorum, XII, 13.

Cf. also IV, 13, 15; X, 21; XII, 21; XIII, 17; XV, 14; XVI, 18; XVII, 13, 18; XIX, 7, 23; XX, 28, 30; XXII, 6, 7, 12, 24, 25; passim.

(β) *Quam multi* for *quot*.

Vides quanta hinc dici et *quam multa* possent, III, 13.

illa itidem ingens pestilentia, quamdiu saeviit, *quam multos* peremit! III, 17.

quam multa ad hostem oppida defecerunt, *quam multa* capta et oppressa! III, 19.

Cf. also IV, 11; VI, 2; XIV, 15; XV, 27; XXII, 8, 11, 24; passim.

(γ) *Tam multi* for *tot*.

¹³ Schmalz, 620.

iam praesidibus atque tutoribus vix post *tam multos* annos ab Urbi condita . . . III, 9.

qui *tam multa* legit, ut aliquid ei scribere vacuissse miremur; *tam multa* scripsit, VI, 2.

Cf. also III, 12, 13, 15, 17, 29; IV, 13, 20, 25; V, 2, 6; VII, 35; X, 3, 8, 19, 32; XII, 21; XV, 5, 8, 12, 13, 14, 20, 27; XVII, 8, 13; XVIII, 13, 22; XIX, 1; XX, 2, 20, 24; XXI, 7, 12, 18; XXII, 3, 5, 7, 8, 12; *passim*.

Alter and Alius.

Alter is related to *alius* as the comparative is to the superlative. *Alter* meaning "the other" or "one of two" and *alius* meaning "other" or "another," where more than two are thought of, are both used as substantives and adjectives in classical Latin. The writers of the Classical period except in a few instances in Caesar¹⁴ and Cicero¹⁵ were very careful to keep the meaning of these two words sharply defined. In colloquial Latin, however, a confusion arose. *Alius* is used for *alter* and *alter* for *alius*. This usage extended to the literature, and we find it frequently in Augustine and in other ecclesiastical writers.¹⁶

The following are from the D. C. D.:

(a) *Alius* for *alter*.

Numquid hoc dicitur, quia uno ambulante *alius* sedebat, et *alio* dormiente *alius* vigilabat, et *alio* loquente tacebat *alius*, V, 4.

At enim *alius* est ille, *alius* iste, quamvis eodem nomine nuncupentur, VIII, 26.

ex eis duo filii Abrahæ, unus de ancilla, *alius* de libera, XIII, 21.

Cf. also III, 14; IV, 3; XI, 33.

(β) *Alter* for *alius*.

sed quam quæque pars habet vitam a ceteris separatim, si præter *alteram* irasci *altera* potest, IV, 11.

cum omnes occupati sint officiis et operibus propriis, nec *alter* inruat in *alterius*? IV, 13.

quod tria genera theologiae dicit esse, id est rationes quæ de diis explicatur, eorumque unum mythicon (appellari), *alterum* physicon, tertium civile? VI, 5.

Cf. also XV, 16; XVI, 3, 38; XVIII, 36; XIX, 2; XX, 5.

¹⁴ B. G. 1, 1, 1.

¹⁵ Brut. 325.

¹⁶ Schmalz, 629; Goelzer (1), 417; Goelzer (2), 673; Bonnet, 278.

CHAPTER IV—ADVERBS.

The fundamental function of the adverb is to modify verbs, adjectives and more rarely other adverbs.

In all the periods of the language this function is largely stationary. Slight variations from classical Latin which occur in the Christian period are: a more frequent and extended use of adverbs, and certain changes in their meaning. This was brought about by the greater need felt for expressing new shades of meaning.

Frequently *unde* is used for *igitur* as in Jerome, *unde obsecro te ignoscas tarditate meae* . . . Ep. 99, 2; *adhuc* for *etiam tum*, as in Arnobius, *adhuc parvi nutricum sub alimonia constituti*, VII, 42; *undique* for *apud omnes* as in Avitus, *Satis undique constat vitali indicio praecedere saepe timorem*, IV, 353; and so on. Augustine in the D.C.D. in common with other writers¹ of the period shows similar examples.

I. ADVERBS OF PLACE.

Frequently in ecclesiastical Latin *unde* is used with the value of *quo modo*. The point of view evidently changed from that of source to one of manner. In the following twenty passages Augustine uses *unde* for *quo modo*, thus:

Unde ergo stetit Minervae simulacrum? III, 8.

unde hoc accidere potuit, cum eorum conceptus diversum tempus habere non possit? V, 5.

Hoc autem malum esse unde demonstrant? XXII, 25.

unde dicebat, si non prophetabat, XVII, 4.

quod unde fieri potest . . . hoc est ipsam voluntatem malam? XII, 6.

Unde enim apud Vergilium pius Aeneas laudabiliter dolet hostem etiam sua peremptum manu? Unde Marcellus Syracusanam civitatem recolens eius paulo ante culmen et gloriam sub manus suas subito concidisse communem cogitans condicionem fiendo miseratus est? III, 14.

Cf. also III, 2, 17; IV, 20; V, 5; XII, 6; XIV, 4, 8, 18; XIX, 5, 8; XXI, 3; XXII, 5, 8, 29.

¹ Goelzer (1), 424; Goelzer (2), 681; Gabarron, 164; Bayard, 272.

Augustine, in his use of demonstrative adverbs, conforms to classical Latinity more frequently than when using the corresponding pronouns.³ Instances of this regularity in the D. C. D. are to be found in I, 4, 28; II, 26; VII, 17 etc.

In the two following passages Augustine deviates from classical usage:

Illuc . . . spolia portabantur, . . . huc . . . reportatum est. *Ibi* (= illic) amissa, *hic* servata libertas; *ibi* (= illic) clausa, *hic* interdicta captivitas; *ibi* possidendi a dominantibus hostibus premebantur, huc liberandi a miserantibus ducebantur, I, 4.

Uterque quidem de semine Abrahae; sed illum genuit demonstrans consuetudo naturam, illum vero dedit promissio significans gratiam; *ibi* (= illic) humanus usus ostenditur, *hic* divinum beneficium commendatur, XV, 2.

II. ADVERBS OF TIME.

In classical prose *adhuc* means "to this moment," "up to this time." In the poets and even in Cicero we meet *adhuc* with the value of *etiam tum*, thus: *Nemo adhuc docuerat*, Acad. 2, 2. Augustine uses *adhuc* in the sense of *etiam tum* in the following passages of the D. C. D.:

Haec Cicero fatebatur, longe quidem post mortem Africani, quem in suis libris fecit de re publica disputare, *adhuc* tamen ante adventum Christi, II, 21.

adhuc tamen ante adventum Christi, II, 21.

Adhuc autem meliorem partium civilium Sulla dux fuit, *adhuc* armis rem publicam recuperare moliebatur, III, 7.

Deinde in illo populo cum *adhuc* nemo regnaret, XVII, 4.

Cf. also IV, 23; VII, 23; IX, 5; XVII, 7, 8; XVIII, 3, 6, 7, 10, 15; XIX, 3, 4, 6, 13, 22; XX, 2, 29; XXI, 4, 13; XXII, 8, 27; *passim*.

III. ADVERBS OF MANNER.

Ceterum means "for the rest," "otherwise," in classical Latin. It took over the restrictive sense of "but" in the Imperial epoch. Augustine uses it in this sense in the D. C. D. in the twelve following passages:

³ Cf. Chapter III on Pronouns.

ad vocem anseris cito redierunt, ut saltem Capitolinum collem, qui remanserat, tuerentur; *ceterum* ad alia defendenda serius sunt redire commoniti, III, 8.

Ceterum quis ferat dici atque contendere deos illos, VI, 1.

Ceterum absit a mente Christiana, I, 25.

Ceterum qui futuri sint pro meritis praemiorum etiam gradus honorem atque gloriarum, XXII, 30.

Ceterum eos, qui putant minaciter potius veraciter dictum, XXI, 24.

Cf. also II, 20; X, 11; XII, 4, 10; XX, 26.

Scilicet in classical Latin means "certainly," "naturally." Later on it was used with the meaning of *id est*, as in Jerome, hic locus in Genesi multo aliter invenitur, quod *scilicet* Abraham emerit . . . speluncam duplicem, Ep. 57, 10; and in Arnobius, medietas ergo quaedam et animarum anceps ambiguaque natura locum philosophiae peperit et causam cur appeteretur invenit, dum periculum *scilicet* ex malis iste formidat admissis, alter concipit spes bonas, II, 31.

In the D. C. D. Augustine uses *scilicet* to mean *id est* in the following passages.

unde intellegitur totam eius theologian, eam ipsam *scilicet* naturalem, cui plurimum tribuit, VII, 5.

quoniam acutissimi homines atque doctissimi, a quibus ista conscripta sunt, ambas improbandas intellegebant, et illam *scilicet* fabulosam et istam civilem, VI, 8.

Haec igitur duo incredibilia, resurrectionem *scilicet* nostri corporis in aeternum et rem tam incredibilem mundum esse crediturum, XXII, 5.

Abdias . . . omnium brevissimus prophetarum, adversus Idumaeam loquitur, gentem *scilicet* Esau, XVIII, 31.

Cf. also I, 27, 30; III, 28; V, 12; X, 6, 16; XI, 1, 29, 30; XIII, 10, 21; XIV, 20; XV, 17, 20, 22, 23; XVI, 32, 41; XVII, 7; XX, 6; passim.

IV. ADVERBS OF QUANTITY.

Magis in classical Latin means "more." It is the comparative of action or quality. In ecclesiastical Latin it is used to a great extent for *potius* which also means "more," and "rather" or "sooner." *Magis* attributes a higher degree to one of the objects compared, whereas *potius* actually prefers it.

In the D. C. D. Augustine uses *magis* for *potius* in the following passages:

Proinde ista omnia, (id est) curatio funeris, conditio sepulturae, pompa exequiarum, *magis* sunt vivorum solacia quam subsidia mortuorum, I, 12.

Talis enim ab eis Lucretia *magis* credita est, quae se nullo adulterino potuerit maculare consensu, I, 19.

quamvis et ea ipsa plerique *magis* naturae corporalibus causis quam operibus divinae mentis adsignent, XII, 24.

Cf. also I, 22; II, 13, 20, 23, 25, 27; III, 15; V, 9; VII, 26; XIV, 7; XV, 27; XVII, 4; XX, 24; passim.

Valde in classical Latin means, "intensely," "greatly," "exceedingly." Frequently in Christian Latin⁸ it is used to intensify a comparative and often to accompany a superlative.

In two passages in the D. C. D. Augustine uses *valde* in an unusual sense. In the first, *valde* is used with a positive for a superlative; and in the second a superlative is intensified still more by means of *valde*, thus:

Qui cum ei protectionem mercedemque promitteret *valde* multam, XVI, 23.

Sunt enim inter se *valde* proximi patres et filii, XX, 29.

V. ADVERBS OF MODALITY.

1. *Interrogative Adverbs.*

In classical Latin the particles *ne* and *num* not *utrum* are used to introduce a single indirect question. A confusion arising between the particles used for alternative questions led to the use of *utrum* for *ne* or *num*. Thus in Jerome we read, in potestate nostra est, *utrum* velimus esse perfecte, Matth. III, 19, 21. In the D. C. D. we find the following passages containing single indirect questions introduced by *utrum* instead of *ne* or *num*:

Utrum autem boni Patris et boni Filii Spiritus sanctus, quia communis ambobus est, recte bonitas dici *possit* amborum, non *audeo* temerariam praecipitare sententiam, XI, 24.

quaero *utrum* in aliqua natura fuerit, XII, 6.

⁸Schmalz, 613.

satis diximus; de amore autem, quo amantur, *utrum* et ipse amor ametur, non dictum est, XI, 28.

cum quaeritur *utrum sit* nocens, XIX, 6.

Hoc quippe in saeculo isto prorsus latet, quia et qui videtur stare, *utrum sit* casurus, et qui videtur iacere, *utrum sit* surrecturus, incertum est, XX, 7.

Unde merito quaeritur, *utrum* recte fecerint Saguntini, XXII, 6.

Cf. also I, 9, 21, 22, 26; III, 4, 12; IV, 3, 23; VI, 1, 2, 9; VII, 3, 5, 23; VIII, 3, 10, 11, 24; IX, 1, 4, 5, 7, 14; XII, 16, 21; XIII, 3, 16, 22, 23; XIV, 7, 8, 22; XV, 15, 16, 22, 23; XVI, 8; XVIII, 38, 43; XX, 8; XXI, 3; XXII, 2, 6, 8, 12, 24, 29; passim.

In alternative questions asking which of two things is true, *utrum . . an, ne . . . an*, or *an* is used in classical Latin. Instead of these combinations we find *utrum . . . aut*, and *utrum . . . vel* as follows in the D. C. D.:

Sed *utrum potuerit* Venus ex concubitu Anchisae Aenean parere *vel* Mars ex concubitu filiae Numitoris Romulum gignere, in medio relinquamus, III, 5.

Nec ad causam, quam nunc agimus, interest, *utrum* hoc fieri Romulus iusserit *aut* Romulus fecerit, III, 6.

The interrogative adverbs *cur* and *quare* are frequently replaced in ecclesiastical Latin by *ut quid*. Thus in Jerome we read, *Ut quid mihi ieiunatis?* Ep. 22, 37. The following is a total list of the passages from the D. C. D. containing *ut quid* for *cur* or *quare*:

vel eis quos diligunt prosunt, *ut quid* coluntur, *ut quid* tanto studio colendi requiruntur? II, 23.

Ut quid ergo constituit Romanis deos Ianum, Iovem, Martem, Picum, Faunum, Tiberinum, Herculem et si quos alios? *Ut quid* Titus Tatius addidit Saturnum, Opem, Solem, Lunam, Vulcanum, Lucem et quoscumque alias addidit, inter quos etiam deam Cluacinam, Felicitate neglecta? *Ut quid* Numa tot deos et tot deas sine ista? IV, 23.

Cf. also I, 18; IV, 18, 19; V, 18; VII, 22; XVIII, 30; XXII, 24.

2. Negative Adverbs.

(a) *ne* for *non*.

In classical Latin the negative particle with the hortatory and jussive subjunctive is usually *ne*.

Three passages occur in the D. C. D., one containing a hortatory subjunctive and two containing jussive subjunctives with *non* for *ne*, thus:

Quae cum ita sint, *non tribuamus* dandi regni atque imperii potestatem nisi Deo vero, . . . V, 21.

si fabulis non credunt, *non obtendant* Troiana periuria, III, 2.

Ignoscant autem qui haec legunt et cuncta illa noverunt, et de his quae fortasse firmiora me praetermisisse vel intellegunt vel existimant, *non querantur*, XVII, 19.

(β) *nec* . . . *quidem* for *ne* . . . *quidem*.

One passage occurs with *nec* for *ne*—*quidem*, thus:

Non solum enim non erit tale, quale nunc est in quavis optima valetudine, sed *nec tale quidem* quale fuit in primis hominibus ante peccatum, XIII, 20.

(γ) *aut* . . . *vel* for *aut* . . . *aut*.

In classical Latin *aut* . . . *aut* excludes one of two ideas. In the following passage either the fire did not know Metellus or the goddess of the fire was present, hence *aut* . . . *aut* should be used.

Neque enim *vel* ipsum ignis agnovit, *aut* vero erat ibi numen, quod non etiam si fuisset, fugisset, III, 18.

Augustine, in the D. C. D., without changing the meaning of the adverbs *tantummodo* — “only,” *utique* — “certainly,” *omnino* — “altogether,” “entirely,” *propterea* — “therefore,” “on that account,” seems to have a peculiar fondness for their use. Their frequent recurrence and their occasional use in a meaning more emphatic than is usual in classical Latin is a special characteristic of Augustine’s style.

CHAPTER V—VOICE AND TENSE.

I. VOICE OF THE VERB.

The functions of the active and passive voice of the verb, as found in classical Latin, have, in general, been preserved intact in the Ecclesiastical period of Latin literature.

1. *Use of the Passive Voice.*

In the ecclesiastical Latin we find the passive system much more frequently used than it was in classical times. The frequent use by Christian writers of the impersonal passive forms is a definite proof of the vitality of the passive conjugation during the Ecclesiastical period.

The following are representative passages from Augustine's D. C. D.:

Hoc si aegre *ferendum est*, omnibus, qui in hanc vitam procreati sunt, utique commune est, I, 11.

Quid autem interest, quo mortis genere vita ista finiatur, quando ille, cui *finitur*, iterum mori non cogitur? I, 11.

Advertendum est igitur duas res promissas abraham, XVI, 16.

et cum in Iudaea atque Samaria plurimi credidissent, et in alias gentes *itum est*, XVIII, 50.

Inde ad me *curritur*, XXII, 8.

Cf. also I, 13, 19, 20, 21; III, 5; IV, 18; VII, 19, 24, 33; VIII, 15, 23, 25; IX, 4; XIV, 10; XV, 18; XVI, 10; XVII, 6; XX, 20; XXII, 8.

Sometimes we find a passive infinitive in the D. C. D. where we would expect a substantive clause of result, especially after *facere*, thus:

ut illum primo *faceret* mirabiliter *vinci* (= ut *vinceretur*) V, 23.
qui se colendos pro ipsis mortuis, quos deos *putari* (= ut *putarentur*) *fecerant*, VII, 35.

ubi et Romanos et Graecos et Aegyptios, qui de sapientiae nomine gloriati sunt, fecit *intellegi* (= ut Romanos et Graecos *intellegeremus*), VIII, 10.

Cf. also XV, 1; XVI, 5, 32; XVIII, 25; XXI, 25; XXII, 8.

Especially frequently does the passive infinitive occur with impersonal verbs, thus:

quod in eos belli iure *feri licuisset*, II, 2.

magis interpretibus ut possunt seu volunt dubia coniectantibus
credi solet, III, 17.

solet enim et una res duobus nominibus *appellari*, IV, 18.

Cf. also II, 27; V, 9; VI, 6; XI, 25; XV, 3, 27; XX, 20, 30;
XXII, 8; *passim*.

2. Transitive verbs taken absolutely.

As a general rule, transitive verbs in Latin are followed by their direct complements in the accusative case. It happens in all languages that a transitive verb may be used intransitively, and then we consider the action signified by the verb as independent of an object on which it might be exercised directly. Thus in Latin are *amare*, *potare*, *facere* etc. sometimes used. We say these verbs are used absolutely. By no means is this usage extended to all transitive verbs, but in the writers of the Christian period this usage is somewhat extended. For example, in Jerome we see: *postquam epistolam tuae sancitatis accepi, confestim, accito notario, ut acciperet impetravi*, Ep. 36, 1; in Avitus, *Librantis pondere verbi*, I, 14; in Arnobius, *quibus ex causis pili nigrorem ingenitum ponant neque omnes pariter sed paulatim adiciendo*, II, 7.

The following occur in the D. C. D.:

qui nolunt *advertere* de quanta . . . liberet, IV, 31. Cf. also V, 7;
VII, 1, 29; XIII, 24; XIX, 1; XX, 13; XXI, 26; XXII, 30.

Suscepit enim Philus ipse disputationem eorum, qui sentirent sine iniustitia geri non posse rem publicam, *purgans* praecipue, ne hoc ipse sentire crederetur, II, 21.

sed ad Iohannem in Aegypti eremo constitutum . . . *misit* atque ab eo nuntium victoriae certissimum accepit, V, 26.

Nec *movere* debet ad hoc non credendum, XVII, 14.

3. Deponent verbs used in a passive sense.

The confusion which arose from deponents being used passively already existed in classical Latin. We find in Cicero the participle of the deponent verb *metiri* used as a passive, thus: *Mensa spatia conficere*, N. D. 227.

Deponents used passively are found in Jerome,¹ Avitus,² Arnobius³ and Cyprian.⁴

One passage in the D. C. D. occurs containing a deponent used in a passive sense, thus:

et ligna eius omnes utiles disciplinas et lignorum fructus mores
piorum et lignum vitae ipsam bonorum omnium matrem sapi-
entiam et lignum scientiae boni et mali *transgressi* mandati
experimentum, XIII, 21.

In several instances we find Augustine deviating from classical usage in the forms of *coepe* and *desinere*. Regularly the passives of *coepe* and *desinere* are used with a passive infinitive. In the D. C. D. the following active forms with passive infinitives occur: illa atque illa insula *incoli coeperit*, XII, 10.

hoc est esse in morte, ex quo in illo *agi coeperit* ipsa mors, XIII, 10.
quod *promitti coepit* his verbis, XVI, 16.

quod usque adeo *feri iam desierat* . . . XVIII, 24.

Cf. also XVII, 8; XVIII, 6, 16, 20, 25; XX, 8.

II. TENSES.

1. *Tenses in independent clauses.*

In ecclesiastical Latin, the tenses in general retained the original value which they had in the Classical period. Certain variations in usage, however, crept from colloquial Latin into the literature of all periods. Very frequently we note the present taking the place of the future. This usage⁵ appears in a greater or less degree in all writers. Thus we read in Caesar, *tuemini castra, ego reliquas portas circumeo et castrorum praesidia confirmo*, B. C. 3, 94, 6; in Cicero, *quid me auctor es? advolone an maneo?* Ad. att. 40, 2; in Avitus, *Talis in argento non fulget gratia*, I, 252. We also find the perfect infinitive used for the present, the pluperfect tense for the perfect or imperfect, frequent irregularity of tense sequence, and often in the compound tenses, *fui, fuero, fueram* used for *sum, ero, eram*. The latter phenomenon is due to the

¹ Goelzer (1), 351.

² Goelzer (2), 20.

³ Gabarron, 128.

⁴ Bayard, 220.

⁵ Schmalz, 484.

fact that the perfect passive participle has come to be felt merely as a passive participle without any connotation of time. The temporal idea accordingly has to be expressed in the auxiliary.

The frequency of the above variations from classical norms may be seen in Gregory,⁶ Cyprian,⁷ Avitus,⁸ Arnobius,⁹ Prudentius¹⁰ etc.

In the D. C. D. the following variations from classical Latin appear:

(α) Future perfect tense for the simple future.

In the Pre-classical period, especially in Plautus and Terence, the future perfect is frequently used for a simple future, thus: Bene merente bene profuerit, Plautus, Capt., 315.

Occasionally we find it even in the Classical period. In Caesar we read: Ego certe meum officium rei publicae praestitero, B. G. 4, 23, 3; and in Cicero, Tu invita mulieres ego accivero pueros, Att. 5, 1, 3. A revival of this usage is found in the Imperial epoch, and it occurs frequently in Christian Latin. We find many occurrences of its use in the D. C. D., thus:

Quis hoc *negaverit*? II, 4.

Dixerit aliquis; Itane tu ista credis? III, 4.

Et cetera, quae sequuntur in verbis praenuntiantis Dei, nullus *dubitaverit* ad Israeliticum populum pertinere, XVI, 24.

Cf. also V, 19, 24; VII, 6; XII, 16; XV, 13; XVII, 15; XVIII, 1, 35; XIX, 1; XX, 1, 30; XXI, 1; passim.

(β) Perfect infinitive for present.

We find the perfect infinitive *fuisse*, in the D. C. D. used for the present in compound tenses where we would expect to find *esse*.

quae dementia est existimare his tutoribus Roman sapienter *fuisse commissam* et nisi eos amisisset non potuisse vastari? I, 3.

ut hoc miserae Troiae facerent eamque Graecis diruendam exurendamque relinquerent, adulterio Paridis *fuisse commotos*, III, 15.

⁶ Bonnet, 634.

⁷ Bayard, 225.

⁸ Goelzer (2), 22.

⁹ Gabarron, 134.

¹⁰ Lease, 12.

in templo in lecto in convivio inopinate atque impie *fuisse trucidatum!* III, 22.

Cf. also I, 3; V, 5; VIII, 5; X, 32; XI, 6; XII, 14, 22, 28; XIII, 3; XV, 11, 12, 17, 27; XVI, 15; XVII, 5, 17; XX, 19; XXI, 8; passim.

(γ) Pluperfect used for the perfect or imperfect.

A marked feature of the influence of colloquial Latin on the literature of the Christian period is the use of the pluperfect tense for either the perfect or imperfect, and this is evident not only in the active but especially in the passive. Schmalz¹¹ says that Caesar and Cicero avoided this usage, although we find it in rare instances even there, e. g., qui tum oppido praefuerat, G. B. 2, 6, 4.

Augustine in the D. C. D. is very free with this use of the pluperfect, thus:

Verum ista opportunius alio loco diligenter copioseque tractanda sunt, nunc, quod *institueram* de ingratis hominibus dicere, I, 3.

Promiseram etiam me demonstraturum, IV, 2.

Cf. also IV, 2, 29; XVI, 10; XXII, 8, passim.

non iam vitiosam, sicut pridie *fuera*t disputatum, II, 21.

qui pro defuncto Lucretio *suffectus* *fuera*t, III, 16.

Cur enim similiter eodemque tempore . . . sicut *nati* *fuera*nt, quia utique simul nasci ambo non poterant? V, 5.

Cf. also II, 2, 19, 21; III, 7, 9, 13, 14, 17, 18, 22, 25, 28, 30; IV, 20, 29; V, 12, 23, 26; VIII, 11; X, 17, 21, 32; XI, 4; XIII, 20, 24; XIV, 11, 15, 27; XV, 6, 8, 11, 15, 23; XVI, 1, 35, 43; XVII, 2, 5, 8, 13, 21, 44; XVIII, 1, 2; XX, 18; XXI, 27; XXII, 8, 24.

In the perfect passive subjunctive, Augustine with a similar freedom, substitutes the forms *fuera*m and *fuissem* for *sim* and *essem*, thus:

adfectionem vero eius, quamcumque iste tempore superbia deliciaeque eorum *perpessae* *fuera*nt, II, 19.

quae forma militi *visa* *fuera*t, II, 24.

antequam eorum sacrificia *prohibita* *fuissem*, IV, 2.

Cf. also I, 36; IV, 2; VI, 2; VII, 1; X, 17, 21, 25; XI, 5; XII, 10; XIII, 2, 12, 23; XIV, 8; XV, 7, 16, 20, 21; XVI, 11;

¹¹ Schmalz, 487.

XVII, 4; XVIII, 2; XIX, 6, 9, 11; XX, 7, 14, 25, 26; XXI, 16, 17, 18, 24, 25, 27.

2. *Tense in dependent clauses.*

The time of dependent subordinate clauses which take the subjunctive is usually relative, that is, it is either contemporaneous, antecedent or subsequent to the tense of the independent clause. This is what is commonly known as the law of "sequence of tenses."

In classical Latin, the present or perfect subjunctive, or a future participle with *sim*, is used in sentences subordinate to a present, future, definite perfect and future perfect indicative. The imperfect, pluperfect or future participle with *essem* is used in sentences subordinate to an imperfect, historical perfect and pluperfect indicative.

In the writings of all periods of the language we find variations from the above usage. However, such variations are very rare in classical Latin.

Augustine, with the writers of the Christian period, has numerous deviations from this rule, more perhaps than in any other phase of syntax.

The following are irregularities found in the D. C. D.:

quos *dicunt*, ut hoc miserae Troiae *facerent* eamque Graecis . . .
III, 15.

Et ne ipsi quoque sine coniugibus *remanerent*, *additur* Neptuno Salacia, Plutoni Proserpina, IV, 10.

in Italiae compitis quaedam *dicit* sacra Liberi celebrata cum tanta licentia turpitudinis, ut in eius honorem pudenda virilia *colerentur*, VII, 21.

Qui profecto incontaminabilis Deus *absit* ut contaminationem *timeret* . . . IX, 17.

Cf. also I, 2, 10, 20, 28; II, 3, 5, 6, 16; III, 6, 7, 9, 12, 13, 14, 24, 29; IV, 23; V, 12, 14, 16, 18; VI, 3; VIII, 10, 11; IX, 15; X, 10, 23, 30; XI, 15; XIII, 9; XIV, 2, 5, 10; XV, 13, 17; XVI, 1, 4, 15; XVII, 7; XVIII, 9, 27; XIX, 15; XXII, 8; *passim*.

CHAPTER VI—MOODS.

The attitude of mind toward a fact, command, or wish is manifested in language by means of mood. This is the function assigned to mood by the Greeks. The Romans had the Greek conception of mood, with this difference, that the Latin subjunctive performs the two functions which the Greeks assigned to the optative and subjunctive respectively.

From the viewpoint of syntax, the infinitive functions as a verbal noun. In the development of the language, however, it received tense forms and certain modal characteristics, and is often used as a substitute for finite moods.

In the periods of the Latin language subsequent to and even preceding the Classical Age, variations in mood usage existed. It is towards the end of the Augustan period that the confusion in moods began to be very evident, due chiefly to a change in the attitude of mind of the people.

Among the variations of the use of mood in the Ecclesiastical period may be mentioned the use of the indicative for the subjunctive in indirect questions.¹ Classical usage adheres strictly to the subjunctive, although in the colloquial Latin of that time the indicative was used. Once even in Cicero's letters we find the indicative in an indirect question instead of the subjunctive, thus: *Vides, propinquitas quid habet*, Att. 13, 18; also in Plautus, *Most.* 829, *Specta, quam acte dormiunt*; and in Propertius; 2, 16, 29, *Aspice, quid Eriphyla invenit*.

In the Ecclesiastical period the indicative in indirect questions appears frequently, but even here it by no means displaces entirely the classical use of the subjunctive.

Other deviations from classical Latin, as found in Christian writers, are: the use of the indicative for the subjunctive in clauses of characteristic, and in subordinate clauses in indirect statements; the indicative or subjunctive with *quod*, *quia* and *quoniam* after *verba sentiendi et declarandi* instead of the accusative and infinitive; infinitives after verbs where in classical Latin we find a substantive clause introduced by *ut* with the subjunctive, etc.

¹ Cf. Kaulen, 189; Goelzer (1), 355; Bonnet, 675.

We shall here take the moods in order and present the variations from classical usage as found in the D. C. D.

I. IMPERATIVE.

The imperative presents no irregularity of any kind.

II. INDICATIVE.

1. *In indirect questions.*

In six passages in the D. C. D. Augustine uses the indicative for the subjunctive in indirect questions, thus:

Utrum *volunt*, eligant, III, 20.

quaerendum est quando *erit* moriens, XIII, 11.

Sed utrum primus homo vel primi homines (duorum erat quippe coniugium) *habebant* istos affectus in corpore animali ante peccatum, . . . non inmerito quaeritur, XIV, 10.

quis non videat quantum rerum capere illa *potuit* magnitudo? XV, 27.

Sed utrum *videbunt* et per oculos corporis cum eos apertos habebunt, inde quaestio est, XXII, 29.

2. *In relative clauses of characteristic.*

Relative clauses of characteristic or description which express cause and concession as well as those with indefinite antecedents, take the subjunctive in classical Latin. It is not unusual to find the indicative in Christian writers. Although relative clauses of characteristic with the subjunctive greatly predominate in the D. C. D., yet the indicative exists in instances where we would expect the subjunctive. Approximately in eight hundred passages, clauses of characteristic occur, only about twenty of which take the indicative, thus:

neque hoc tam ipsis quam illis utile est, quibus *regnant*, IV, 3.
et si qui alii sunt, qui quoquo modo corporis bonum summum bonum esse hominis *opinati sunt*, XIV, 2.

Cf. also I, 9; II, 1, 20; IV, 9, 23; V, 26; VII, 3, 5, 23; VIII, 24; XI, 5; XIV, 13, 20; XXI, 24; XXII, 5, 23.

An interesting example is the following where the classical and non-classical constructions appear in the same passage without any evident difference in meaning.

Verum tamen vix quisquam reperitur deorum non selectorum, qui aliquo crimine famam *trahit* infamem; vix autem selectorum quispiam, qui non in se notam contumeliae insignis *acceperit*, VII, 4.

3. *The indicative instead of the subjunctive in subordinate clauses in indirect statements.*

In classical Latin the indicative is used in subordinate clauses in indirect statements³ if the clauses are explanatory or if they contain statements which are true, independent of the quotation. Of thirteen passages in the D. C. D. in which Augustine uses the indicative in indirect statements, he conforms to this classical usage in all except one, thus:

Eandem terram Cererem, eandem etiam Vestam volunt, cum tamen saepius Vestam non nisi ignem esse perhibeant pertinentem ad focos, sine quibus civitas esse non *potest*, et ideo illi virgines solere servire, IV, 10.⁴

Cf. I, 26; II, 8; IV, 7, 10, 26; V, 12; VII, 5, 11; VIII, 21; IX, 7; X, 25; XII, 8; XIX, 24.

4. *Quia and quod with the indicative for the accusative and infinitive.*

After *verba sentiendi et declarandi* the accusative and infinitive construction is used in classical Latin. *Quod*⁵ with the subjunctive is found in Petronius, Pliny the Elder, Tacitus, Suetonius, Florus etc. Petronius, however, is the first to use *quod* with the indicative for the accusative and infinitive. This use of *quod* was still further extended and became very general in the Romance languages. In Christian writers we find *quia*, *quod* and *quoniam* with the indicative used very frequently. Augustine⁶ gives preference to the *quod* construction. One instance of *quia* and a great number of *quod* and the indicative occur, thus:

(a) *quia*.

Nec mirandum est, *quia* Domini omnipotentis angelus dictus est Christus Iesus, XVIII, 35.

³ Riemann et Goelzer, 718; Lane, 1729.

⁴ According to Angus, Sources of the First Ten Books of St. Augustine, Princeton 1906, this is a quotation from an unknown source.

⁵ Schmalz, 540.

⁶ Dokkum.

(β) Quod.

Miror Apollinem nominatum divinatorem in tanto opificio laborasse nescientem *quod* Laomedon fuerat promissa negaturus, III, 2.

Hoc dico, *quod* ipsum Romanum imperium iam magnum multis gentibus subiugatis ceterisque terribile acerbe sensit, IV, 5.

nequaquam tamen dicere et scribere dubitaret, *quod* hi, qui populis instituerunt simulacra, et metum dēpserunt et errorem addiderunt, IV, 9.

Cf. also VII, 3, 11, 20, 28; IX, 16, 21; X, 8, 10, 27; XI, 2, 8, 13, 23, 26, 31; XII, 1, 2, 7, 10, 19; XIII, 16; XIV, 9, 14, 23; XV, 5, 23, 27; XVI, 3, 26, 29, 32; XX, 30.

In the two following passages, we note that Augustine, while using *quod* with the indicative is mindful of the classical construction, since the accusative and infinitive construction immediately follows:

Laudat idem Sallustius temporibus suis magnos et praeclaros viros, Marcum Catonem et Gaium Caesarem, dicens *quod* diu illa res publica non *habuit* quemquam virtute magnum, sed sua memoria *fuisse illos duos* ingente virtute, diversis moribus, V, 12.

Sed, o homo acutissime, num in istis doctrinae mysteriis illam prudentiam perdidiste, qua tibi sobrie visum est, *quod* hi, qui primi populis simulacra constituerunt, et metum *dēpserunt* civibus suis et errorem *addiderunt*, castiusque deos sine simulacris *veteres observasse Romanos?* VII, 5.

5. *Forsitan, fortasse and fortassis.*

In classical Latin *forsitan*¹ is regularly used with the subjunctive (potential). The indicative with *forsitan* becomes frequent in Minucius Felix, Jerome, Sulpicius Severus and other Christian writers. In the D. C. D., *forsitan* occurs in eleven passages, six of which have the indicative with *forsitan*, thus:

Utrisque igitur . . . si nec hostium violentia contrectata esset, *forsitan poterant*, . . . I, 28.

(quod incredibile *forsitan erit*, . . . I, 32.

adstabat forsitan et maritus, VII, 24.

si eos facillimos habent, sic *forsitan habent*, XXI, 4.

¹ Schmalz, 481.

An erit *forsitan* quisquam, XXI, 24.

non redarguo, quia *forsitan* verum est, XXI, 26.

A confusion appears in the use of *forsitan* and *fortasse* or *fortassis*. *Fortasse* or *fortassis* always take the indicative in pre-classical Latin. Cicero uses them with the subjunctive, and from his time on they appear both with the indicative and subjunctive. In the D. C. D. we find them used in fourteen passages with the indicative, and in nine passages with the potential subjunctive.

Cf. for the indicative, III, 8, 15; IV, 6, 25; VIII, 27; X, 29; XIV, 9; XV, 12; XVI, 20; XVII, 20; XX, 26; XXI, 4, 8, 27; for the subjunctive, I, 9, 30; II, 17; III, 9; XII, 20 (twice); XIII, 18; XIV, 8; XXII, 29.

6. In causal relatives.

When a causal relative⁹ is introduced by *quippe*, as *quippe qui*, the subjunctive is used in classical Latin. Cicero always uses the subjunctive with *quippe qui* with one exception. Plautus and Terence preferred the indicative. Tacitus and Nepos always used the subjunctive and Livy used either mood. From Apuleius¹⁰ on, the indicative becomes more common. Many instances of *quippe qui* and the indicative are found in Jerome.¹¹ This causal relative occurs in the D. C. D. only four times, and always with the indicative, thus:

ad rem *quippe quae agitur* multum pertinet, III, 20.

Ea *quippe quae* non in specie, sed in eius privatione sciuntur, si dici aut intellegi potest, quodam modo nesciendo *sciuntur*, ut sciendo nesciantur, XII, 7.

Patitur *quippe qui afficitur*, XII, 18.

Alia sunt *quippe quae* de quibusque rebus sine concubitu ita nascuntur, XV, 27.

III. SUBJUNCTIVE.

1. In prohibitions.

In prohibitions the present and usually the perfect subjunctive with *ne* is confined to poetry in the Classical period. In the prose

⁹ Schmalz, 534.

¹⁰ Draeger, 491.

¹¹ Goelzer (1), 356.

of this period prohibitions in the second person are usually expressed by *noli* or *nolite* with the infinitive. In the D. C. D., Augustine conforms to classical usage with one exception, where he expresses a strong prohibition by *non* with a present subjunctive; thus:

Non audias (= nolite audire) degeneres tuos Christo Christiansive detrahentes et accusantes velut tempora mala, II, 29.

For the regular form of a prohibition, cf. II, 9, 29; passim.

2. With *absit*.

In the D. C. D. Augustine makes a very special and frequent use of the third person singular of the present subjunctive of *absum*, i. e. *absit*. He seems to assign to it a two-fold function. (1) *Absit* appears with the force of an optative subjunctive with *utinam*, expressing, however, much more feeling on the writer's part than the ordinary expression of a wish. (2) *Absit* appears as an equivalent of *tantum abest . . . ut . . . ut* of classical prose, the subjunctive differing in nowise from the indicative of *tantum abest*. Frequently however, Augustine sees fit to use but one *ut* clause after *absit*. The following passages illustrate the different uses of *absit* in the D. C. D.:

(a) As an intensive optative subjunctive:

Ceterum absit a mente Christiana, I, 25.

Unde, quia sunt ambae similis turpitudinis absurditatis, indignitatis falsitatis, absit a veris religiosis; ut sive ab hac sive ab illa vita speretur aeterna, VI, 9.

Cf. also IV, 10; VI, 6; XI, 9; XII, 9; XV, 7; XX, 22; XXI, 15.

(β) As the equivalent of *tantum abest*:

Absit, inquam, ut ante omne peccatum iam ibi fuerit tale peccatum, ut hoc de ligno admitterent, XIV, 10.

sed tamen absit, ut quis ita desipiat, ut existimet in numero humanorum digitorum errasse Creatorem, XVI, 8.

Absit ergo ut Salomonis tempora in hac promissione praedicta esse credantur, XVII, 13.

Cf. also II, 5; III, 15; IV, 23; V, 26; VI, 9; VIII, 7, 15, 27; IX, 17, 23; XII, 14, 19; XIII, 23; XIV, 10, 21, 26; XV, 8; XVI, 20, 34; XVIII, 41; XIX, 4; XXI, 14, 26; XXII, 20, 25, 29.

Two instances occur where Augustine uses an infinitive with *absit* for an *ut* substantive clause with *tantum abest*, thus:

Unde *absit* a nobis eius *negare* praescientiam, V, 10.

Absit hoc *credere*, XVI, 3.

3. Concessive clauses with *quamquam*.

Concessive clauses with *quamquam* generally take the indicative in classical Latin. Cicero has several passages with *quamquam* and the subjunctive but in each case the subjunctive is due to attraction,¹¹ mood assimilation, or to some other evident reason. We see *quamquam* with the subjunctive in the Augustan poets, always in Juvenal, rarely in Livy, usually in Pliny and Tacitus. In Christian writers¹² the subjunctive seems more prevalent than the indicative.

We can account for the prevalence of the subjunctive with *quamquam* by its analogy to *quamvis*, which always takes the subjunctive. *Quamvis*, in turn, by its analogy to *quamquam*, tends to be used with the indicative.

The indicative with *quamquam* occurs ten times, and the subjunctive twenty-four times in the D. C. D.

(a) *quamquam* with the subjunctive.

Quamquam enim non *esset* de alia tribu Samuel, XVII, 5.

Quamquam et sine additamento praepositionis quaerere *intellegatur* . . . XVII, 6.

Christus autem *quamquam* sit caelestis et aeternae conditor civitatis, XXII, 6.

Cf. also I, 28; III, 17, 20; IV, 3; V, 3; VIII, 13; X, 9, 31; XI, 27, 34; XII, 1; XIV, 22, 25; XVII, 11; XVIII, 8, 21; XIX, 7; XXI, 14.

(β) *quamquam* with the indicative.

For *quamquam* and the indicative cf. I, 19, 22; III, 2; IV, 7, 28; V, 6; VII, 31; X, 20; XX, 29; *passim*.

4. Concessive clauses with *quamvis*.

The indicative with *quamvis* occurs twenty times in the D. C. D., but the subjunctive, regular in classical Latin, appears one hundred twenty-four times, thus:

¹¹ Schmalz, 554.

¹² Kaulen, 298; Bonnet, 687; Goelzer (2), 336; Bayard, 226.

(α) *quamvis* with the indicative.

Quid si enim . . . *quamvis* iuveni violenter inruenti etiam sua libidine inlecta *consensit* . . . I, 19.

sine qua omne *quamvis* laudabile ingenium superbia *vanescit* et *decidit*, II, 5.

Quamvis non solum qui sunt apertissime separati . . . non absurde *possunt* videri . . . XVI, 2.

Cf. also II, 14, 22; VII, 16; VIII, 24; XVIII, 24; XIX, 12; *passim*.

(β) *quamvis* with the subjunctive.

For *quamvis* and the subjunctive cf. I, 8, 12, 14; II, 5, 14, 22; III, 22; IV, 28; V, 9, 12, 19, 21; VI, 8; VII, 2, 15; XIX, 1, 6, 7, 8, 12, 19; *passim*.

5. Quia, quod and quoniam with the subjunctive instead of the accusative and infinitive.

We have stated above¹³ that *quia*, *quod* and *quoniam* with the indicative are used after *verba sentiendi et declarandi* for the accusative and infinitive. A still more frequent use of these same particles with the subjunctive in such circumstances appears in the D. C. D. Augustine manifests a special fondness, as with the indicative, for *quod* over *quia* and *quoniam*. No instance occurs of *quia* and *quoniam* with the subjunctive for the accusative and infinitive but *quod* and the subjunctive in such circumstances appears very often.

(α) *quod*.

Illa quem virum iam fide media retinebat . . . puto *quod* non culpabiliter *fleuerit*, III, 14.

Manifestum est autem, *quod* igni *tribuat* caeli locum, VIII, 11.

nimirum hoc intellegi voluit, *quod* Spiritus sanctus non tantum *sit* Patris, verum etiam ipsius Unigeniti Spiritus, XIII, 24.

Cf. also II, 22, 24; III, 10; IV, 10, 17, 22, 29, 37; V, 20, 23, 26; VI, 4, 7, 8; VII, 3, 4, 17; VIII, 9, 11, 26; IX, 4; X, 6, 11, 21; XI, 4, 6, 10, 13, 14, 15, 24; XII, 6, 9, 10, 12, 16, 17, 19, 23; XV, 1, 11, 17, 18, 23; XVI, 11, 13, 16, 21, 24, 32, 36, 40; XVII, 5, 8, 12; XVIII, 9, 13, 15, 41; XIX, 1, 23; XX, 3, 5, 9, 24; XXI, 9, 24, 27; *passim*.

¹³ Cf. section on indicative mood.

IV. INFINITIVE.

1. *Infinitive as subject.*

Properly speaking the infinitive is a verbal noun. It is used very frequently in place of a substantive, rarely however, modified by an adjective or its equivalent. When using the infinitive as a substantive Augustine usually conforms to classical requirements. In three instances, however, we find him modifying the substantive infinitive with a pronominal adjective. He is not alone in this, as even Cicero has a few instances of the same, thus:

hoc non dolere solum voluptatis nomine appellaret, Fin. II, 18;
cum *vivere ipsum* turbe sit nobis, Att. XIII, 28, c.

In Minucius Felix we read, nec *hoc obsequi* fuit aut ordinis aut honoris, Octavius, 4, 6; in Avitus, *Suum nasci* illi malum erat, qui tradidit nobis bonum, p. 26, 7.

The following three are from the D. C. D.:

Nam et sumus et nos esse novimus et *id esse* ac nosse diligimus, XI, 26.

Ibi *esse nostrum* non habebit mortem, ibi *nosse nostrum* non habebit errorem, ibi *amare nostrum* non habebit offensionem, XI, 29.
et cum ibi sunt, ubi esse per naturae ordinem debent, quantum acceperunt, *suum esse* custodiunt, XII, 5.

2. *Purpose expressed by the infinitive.*

In classical Latin, the infinitive may be used to express purpose only in poetry. Ecclesiastical writers¹⁴ make free use of the infinitive to express purpose especially after verbs of motion where we would expect a supine.

In the D. C. D. of Augustine, ten instances occur where the infinitive is used to express purpose, thus:

Quid ergo dicit iste, qui venit *adorare* sacerdoti Dei et sacerdote Deo? XVII, 5.

Quis enim non videat non potuisse utrumque tunc dici a propheta,

¹⁴ Kaulen, 280; Bayard, 241; Goelzer (1), 370; Goelzer (2), 230; Bonnet, 646.

qui missus fuerat *terrere* comminatione imminentis exitii civitatem? XVIII, 44.

non contrivit, non extinxit, quia pepercit eis, qui nondum venerat eos *iudicare*, sed iudicari ab eis, XX, 30.

Cf. also VII, 30; XIV, 9, 12; XVII, 6; XVIII, 44; XXI, 7, 27.

3. Infinitive with adjectives.

In many instances Augustine uses *dignus*, *indignus*, *idoneus* with a relative clause and the subjunctive as in classical Latin but he is just as liable to use an infinitive or *ut* with the subjunctive. The infinitive after *dignus* appears only once in Cicero, but it becomes frequent after his time. Thus, Vergil, Et puer ipse fecit *cantari* dignus et ista, Ecl. 5, 54; Quintilian, *legi* dignus, 10, 1, 96; Arnobius, dignus . . . est tantorum ob numerum gratiam Deus *dici*, I, 38.

In the D. C. D. we find the following:

(a) Dignus.

ut nec temporalia pro eis mala *perpeti* se iudicent *dignas*, I, 9.

quod vere *digni* erant *pati*, XXI, 18.

O hominum corda doctorum! O ingenia litterata *digna credere* ista de Christo! XVIII, 53.

Cf. XXI, 24.

(β) Indignus.

An *indigna* est *praeferri* etiam universae naturae hominum pars aliqua deorum? VI, 4.

Cf. also VIII, 18; X, 30; XI, 5.

(γ) Idoneus.

quod videlicet potentia deorum suorum multos potius sit *idonea conservare* quam singulos, I, 15.

nullus deus ex illa turba vel quasi plebeiorem vel quasi procerum deorum *idoneus* est regna mortalia mortalibus *dare*, VI, 1.

nec per nos ipsos *nosse idonei* sumus, XI, 3.

Cf. also XII, 4; XXII, 30.

Other adjectives construed with the supine (u) in classical Latin are followed by the infinitive in the Imperial epoch. Of these Augustine uses the following in the D. C. D.

Facile est enim cuiquam videri respondisse, qui tacere noluerit, V, 26.

qui nondum mortui sunt, sed imminente morte iam extrema et mortifera afflictione iactantur, *explicare difficile est*, XIII, 9. For similar examples, cf. II, 24; III, 3; IV, 23, 31; VII, 5, 13; IX, 23; X, 23, 25; XIV, 1, 12, 13, 23, 24; XVI, 1, 8; XVIII, 9, 53; XXI, 6, 7, 27; XXII, 29; *passim*.

4. Infinitive with verbs.

In all periods of the Latin language the infinitive is regularly used after verbs of "willing" and the like. From the Imperial epoch on other verbs have taken on a like usage which were not known to take an infinitive in the Classical period. This usage extended through the Christian period. Among these verbs the following are to be found in the D. C. D.:

Abesse. Two instances of *absit* with an infinitive¹⁵ occur.

Facere. The infinitive with *facere* in the sense of "to cause to" is chiefly colloquial and is frequent in Christian writers.¹⁶

In the D. C. D. we note the following:

ut in sepulcro suo *scribi fecerit*, II, 20.

sed angelum suum et *faciat vincere* quem voluerit, IV, 17.

Cf. also IV, 27; VII, 3, 24, 35; VIII, 10; XI, 8; XII, 6; XIV, 3, 25; XVI, 5, 32; XVIII, 26; XIX, 25; XXI, 5, 7; XXII, 8, 24, 30; *passim*.

Compellere is not used in classical Latin with an infinitive. This construction is met with for the first time in Ovid. It was in general use from that time on, especially among the Christian writers. It occurs in the D. C. D. thus:

Deinde Titum Tatium regem Sabinorum socium regni Romulus *ferre compulsus est*, III, 13.

Cf. also II, 25; III, 17; IV, 26; VII, 13, 35; VIII, 24; XII, 21; *passim*.

Quaerere. The infinitive with *quaerere* is poetic in the Classical period, but is taken over into the prose of the Empire, and subsequent times. In the D. C. D. the following examples occur:

¹⁵ Cf. section on subjunctive mood.

¹⁶ Kaulen, 278; Goelzer (1), 373; Goelzer (2), 248; Bayard, 238; Garrou, 135.

Quorum sacra Varro dum quasi ad naturales rationes referre canatur, *quaerens honestare* res turpes, VII, 34.

Cf. also XII, 7; XIV, 14; *passim*.

Dare. In classical poetry the infinitive is used as a substantive object after *dare*. This usage is taken over extensively by Christian writers of prose. In the D. C. D. we find the following:

immo vero sub specie mirantis et causas rerum talium requirentis *dat intellegi*, illos haec agere spiritus, X, 11.

Cf. also XV, 7; XXI, 7; *passim*.

Dubitare. After negative expressions of doubt, the subjunctive with *quin* is regularly used in classical Latin. Beginning with Nepos and continuing through Livy and later writers, the infinitive with the accusative is used instead. Evidently *dubito* began to be conceived as *verbum sentiendi*. In the D. C. D. about forty passages occur with *dubitare*, meaning "to doubt," taking the infinitive and accusative. *Dubitare* meaning "to hesitate" occurs about thirty times with the infinitive, as in classical Latin. The following are passages from the D. C. D. with *dubitare* "to doubt" followed by the accusative and infinitive:

Verum tamen *istum*, quem appellat semideum, non heroibus tantum, sed etiam diis ipsis *praeferendum esse* non dubito, II, 14.

immo ideo non *dubitatur ipsum peccare*, cum peccat, V, 10.

Quis enim *dubitet* multo *esse* melius habere bonam mentem quam memoriam quantumlibet ingentem? VII, 3.

Cf. also VIII, 8, 19; IX, 19; XI, 33; XII, 16, 17, 18; XIII, 17; XV, 8, 9, 13, 16; XVI, 8, 24, 29; XVII, 3, 7, 20; XVIII, 40, 47; XX, 19; XXI, 9, 26; XXII, 8, 26; *passim*.

The subjunctive with *ut* or *ne* after verbs expressing fear, anxiety or danger is regularly used in classical Latin. Cicero, however, sometimes uses *vereri* and *timere* with the infinitive.¹⁷ With the poets of the Empire, this usage became more frequent until finally in the Christian period it was taken over by the writers¹⁸ of prose.

¹⁷ Schmalz, 423.

¹⁸ Goelzer (1), 368; Goelzer (2), 238.

In the D. C. D. we find the three verbs, *vereri*, *timere*, and *metuere* used with the infinitive thus:

(a) *Vereri*.

qui in eum crediderant et *verebantur* palam *confiteri*, ait evangelista, V, 14.

Cf. also V, 19; VI, 6.

(β) *Metuere*.

Si igitur irascuntur, qui non singillatim coluntur, non *metuunt* paucis placatis toto caelo irato *vivere*? IV, 11.

Cf. also V, 20; VI, 8; VII, 18; X, 32; XIV, 9; XVIII, 13.

(γ) *Timere*.

Certe hic minime *timuit* hominis interitum *dicere*, III, 15.

Cf. also IV, 23; V, 20, 24; VII, 34.

In the list of verbs given above, we have enumerated the principal ones which show variations from classical norms. Beside those quoted, there are in the D. C. D. a number of causative verbs which take an objective infinitive. These are but representatives of a type of verb which so occurs in a greater or lesser degree in almost all periods of the language. Among them are the following:

amare, ardere, audere, certare, cogere, desinare, gaudere, instituere, poscere, recipere, studere, persuadere, vetare, valere, *niti*, etc. etc.

CHAPTER VII—SUBSTANTIVE AND ADJECTIVAL FORMS OF THE VERB.

I. PARTICIPLES.

Participles according to Schmalz are adjectival forms of verbs. In classical Latin they unite all the functions of adjectives with those of the verb. As adjectives they agree with their substantives in gender, number and case. The nature of participles being verbal, they may like verbs have tense and voice, may be modified by adverbs and often take an object.

A varied use of participles, especially as substantives, is characteristic of Christian Latin. This variation was caused mainly by the translation of the Bible from Greek, since Latin, in its lack of participial forms as compared with Greek, tended to use the participles existent more extensively than they were used in the Classical period. The variations from classical Latin which occur in ecclesiastical Latin in the use of participles are the following:

1. *Present.*

(a) Participles as substantives.

Participles in *ans* and *ens* are of frequent occurrence in Christian Latin either as adjectives or substantives. In general, classical Latin admits only the neuter of adjectives¹ and participles as substantives in the nominative and accusative plural. From Livy on, a considerable freedom in the use of participles as substantives is evident. Christian writers extended even this use of participles, and used them as substantives in all cases and both number.

Thus in Cyprian we read: *Adorans* . . . nec illud ignorat quemadmodum . . . publicanus oraverit, etc. 26, 9, 23; in Arnobius, *sequentium* se millia quinque, I, 46; in Avitus, sed *capiens* manibus pomum letale retractat, III, 210; in Gregory, signa multa *faciens* se deum esse declarat, h. F. l. 20 p. 43, 22; in Jerome, sed mihi crede nemo *mentiens* plorat, Ep. 117, 3.

Augustine is no exception to the writers cited; he uses participles in *ans* and *ens* as substantives in all the ways cited above, thus:

¹ See chapter II on adjectives.

(α) Nominative singular.

Ecce, ubi *decolorans* Christum Indaeos praeposuit Christianis, *confitens* quod Iudaei suscipiant Deum, XIX, 23.

Cf. also II, 18; IV, 23; IX, 3; XI, 24; XII, 9; XIII, 21; XIV, 2, 4, 11, 26; XV, 7, 9, 13; XVI, 2, 5, 19, 25, 41; XVII, 4, 16; XVIII, 9, 18; *passim*.

(β) Nominative plural.

et in caelo *habitantes* terrena animalia nesciremus, XXII, 4.

Cf. also I, 16, 26, 28; IV, 21; V, 8; VIII, 8, 26; XIII, 11, 15; XIV, 2, 3, 9, 17, 20, 21, 28; XV, 1, 4, 5, 11, 15, 20, 23, 27; XVI, 2, 11, 29, 40; XVII, 4, 10, 16, 20; XVIII, 52; XXI, 6; *passim*.

(γ) Genitive singular.

Et in hoc quidem libro, cuius nomen est apocalypsis, obscure multa dicuntur, ut mentem *legentis* exerceant, XX, 17.

Cf. also I, 16, 25; II, 26; V, 6; XIII, 6; XIV, 8, 10, 24; XV, 7; XVI, 6, 11, 23, 26, 30; XVIII, 32; XXII, 20; *passim*.

(δ) Genitive plural.

Sed haec in usum cedunt *proficientium*, iuxta illud apostoli, XVI, 2.

Cf. also I, 22; II, 1; III, 22; IV, 23, 29; V, 19; XIV, 10, 20; XV, 20, 23; XVI, 1, 17; XVII, 5, 7; XVIII, 31; XIX, 15; XXII, 8; *passim*.

(ε) Dative singular.

quia veniens transiturus est; *venienti* quippe ibitur obviam, non *manenti*, XX, 20.

Cf. also I, 15, 21; IV, 18; V, 12; VI, 10; XIV, 8, 11; XV, 7, 11, 23; XVI, 35, 39; XVIII, 38; XXII, 8; *passim*.

(ζ) Dative plural.

Similiterque *interrogantibus*, quando eum viderint in horum indigentia constitutum, XX, 5.

Cf. also I, 9, 13, 22, 28; II, 1, 2, 4; IV, 34; XI, 16; XII, 17; XIV, 6; XVI, 23; XVII, 4; XVIII, 2, 12, 43; XIX, 15; XXI, 20; *passim*.

(η) Accusative singular.

Sed si ita dicatur, non exprimit *comminantem*, XVI, 6.

Cf. also II, 17; III, 15; XIV, 8, 9, 20; XV, 6, 17, 18, 26, 27; XVI, 37; XXI, 27; XXII, 8; *passim*.

(θ) Accusative plural.

quibus vult esse consultum, ut et perterreat *superbientes* et excitet *neglegentes* et exerceat *quarentes* et alat *intellegentes*, XV, 25.

Cf. also IV, 26, 33; VI, 10; XI, 29; XV, 25; XVI, 2; XVII, 7; *passim*.

(ι) Ablative singular.

sed utrumque simul currit isto quasi fluvio atque torrente generis humani, malum quod a parente trahitur, et bonum a *creante* tribuitur, XXII, 24.

Cf. also I, 7; XIV, 10; XV, 2; XVI, 37; XXII, 24; *passim*.

(κ) Ablative plural.

Ut enim esset desideratus *expectantibus*, prius oportuit eum dilectum esse *credentibus*, XVIII, 35.

Cf. also I, 20; II, 2; IV, 21; V, 9; VIII, 19; XIV, 9, 21; XV, 14; XVI, 6, 37; XVII, 8, 9; *passim*.

(b) As predicate with copula.

About fifteen instances of the present participle as a predicate with a copula verb occur in the D. C. D. This usage is prevalent throughout the colloquial language, and is thus found also in the writers² of pre-classical times. The following are from the D. C. D.:

non simplex, sed propter suam invictissimam voluntatem, qua potens est (— potest) facere, ut nec orta occidant nec conexa solvantur, XIII, 16.

tamquam ad eos pertinens, qui sunt spe gaudentes (— gaudent) in tribulatione patientes (— patiuntur) XVIII, 32.

quanto magis Deus potens est (— potest) facere . . . XXI, 7.

Cf. also II, 24, 25; IV, 10; XII, 6, 7; XIII, 9, 11, 17; XX, 20; XXII, 24.

(c) Present participle instead of *postquam* clause.

In classical Latin the present participle is used to denote action contemporaneous with the action of the main verb. In ecclesiastical³ Latin the present participle is used frequently for a *post-*

² Plautus, Poen. V, 2, 78; Terence, Andr. 508.

³ Schmalz, 450; Kaulen, 228; Bonnet, 561; Goelzer (2), 289.

quam clause equivalent to the Greek aorist participle, which denotes action antecedent to that of the main verb. In the Acts of the Apostles we read: *Ascendens autem frangensque panem et gustans, satisque allocutus usque ad lucem sic profectus est*, XX, 11.

In the D. C. D. very few certain examples occur but the following may be noted:

Itaque et in Aegypto didicit quaecumque magna illic habebantur atque docebantur, et inde in eas Italiae partes *veniens*, ubi Pythagoreorum fama celebrabatur, quidquid Italicae philosophiae tunc florebat, auditis eminentioribus in ea doctoribus facillime *comprehendit*, VIII, 4.

Cf. also X, 24; XII, 9; XIV, 7; XV, 9; XIX, 23.

(d) Present participle for ablative of the gerund.

The present participle so frequently employed by Augustine and by many other Christian writers, is used also instead of the ablative of the gerund, implying in a general sense the idea of means or instrument, thus:

Bellum erat, ut qui feriebat, si posset, feriret; pax autem, non ut qui evaserat viveret, sed ut moriens (= moriendo) non repugnaret, III, 28.

Saepe multumque Plotinus asserit sensum Platonis explanans (= explanando), X, 2.

facit Deus alia in contumeliam vasa irae, alia in honorem vasa misericordiae, illis reddens (= reddendo) quod debetur in poena, istis donans (= donando) quod non debetur in gratia, XV, 21.

Cf. also II, 21; IV, 16, 30; XI, 33; XIV, 3; XIX, 23; passim.

2. *The verbal adjective in urus.*

(a) As attributive adjective and substantive.

In Ciceronian Latin, we find only *futurus* and *venturus* used as attributive adjectives.* From the Imperial epoch, the future participle is used both as an attributive adjective and a substantive. This usage passed on to ecclesiastical Latin and occurs frequently in writers of that period. Augustine, in common with the writers of his age, uses the future participle both as an attributive adjective and a substantive. In the D. C. D. the following occur:

* Schmalz, 453.

(α) As adjective.

Marcus Marcellus, qui Syracusas urbem ornatissimam cepit, refer-
tur eam prius flevisse *ruituram* et ante eius sanguinem suas
illi lacrimas effudisse, I, 6.

Sed quaedam, inquit, sanctae feminae tempore persecutionis, ut
insectatores suae pudicitiae devitarent, in *rapturum* atque
necaturum se fluvium proiecerunt . . . I, 26.

et terras vitae praesentis ornaret sua felicitate res publica, et vitae
aeternae culmen beatissime *regnatura* conscenderet, II, 19.

Cf. also II, 5, 24; VIII, 23; XIV, 23; XX, 20; passim.

(β) As substantive.

Quocirca nullo modo cogimur aut retenta praescientia Dei tollere
voluntatis arbitrium aut retento voluntatis arbitrio Deum
(quod nefas est) negare praescium *futurorum*, V, 10.

Si ergo pro libertate *moriturorum* et cupiditate laudum, V, 18.

Cf. also I, 13; II, 5, 24; VII, 17; XII, 21; XIII, 19, 23; passim.

(b) To designate purpose.

The future participle used to express purpose after verbs of
motion occurs for the first time in C. Gracchus as quoted by Gellius.
It appears once in Cicero and Sallust and some times in the poets.
The writers of the Empire used it more extensively, and its use
increased until it became frequent in the writers of the Christian
period. The following are instances of the future participle ex-
pressing purpose in the D. C. D.:

Et tamen si in harenam procederent *pugnaturi* inter se gladiatores,
III, 14.

Hic ostendit, quod in ea carne veniet *iudicaturus*, in qua venerat
. . . XX, 6.

quando Christus venturus est vivos *iudicaturus* et mortuos, XX, 20.

3. *Participle in tus.*

In general we find all Christian writers conforming to Classical
norms when using the perfect passive participle. They have a
tendency, however, to make an extended use of this participle with
habere,⁵ a construction rarely found in the Classical period. This
construction seems to be analagous to that of the present participle

⁵ Schmalz, 462.

with *esse*, and forms as it were a periphrastic conjugation. Instances of this are met with in all periods of the language. This usage becomes the rule in the Romance languages in the formation of compound tenses. Thus in Plautus we read: *immo omnia res relectas habeo*, Stich, 326; in Cicero, Sic *habuisti statutum cum animo ac deliberatum*, Verr. II, 3, 95; in Arnobius, *aliquos numeros cotidianis habet ex usibus notos*, II, 24; in Gregory. *habemus scriptum* in *cannonibus*, h. F. 6, 15 p. 259, 5.

In Augustine's D. C. D. the following examples occur:

quamdiu sub terra essent, praepositam voluerunt habere deam Seiam, IV, 8.

Aut certe istam mali colant, qui nolunt habere merita, quibus dea possit Felicitas invitari, IV, 18.

habebat adiunctum, VIII, 14.

effectum habere non potuit? XVII, 6.

Quas moras ille suspectas habens multumque formidans, XXII, 8.

II. GERUND.

The gerund is a neuter verbal substantive used only in the oblique cases of the singular. It corresponds to the articular infinitive in Greek and to the participial substantive in English. Schmalz* calls it a declined infinitive. It expresses the incomplete action of a verb. In classical Latin, whenever an object depends on a transitive verb, the gerundive construction is used. In all Latin literature exceptions to the above take place, and gerunds of transitive verbs are sometimes found with a substantive object, and regularly so with neuter pronouns and neuter plural adjectives.

1. Genitive of the gerund.

In classical Latin there are instances where the genitive of the gerund takes an object but this is limited as stated already to neuter pronouns and neuter plural adjectives. This is met with often in Plautus, very seldom in Cicero and Caesar, frequently in Livy, more so in Christian writers. But it is interesting to note that among the latter, some, notably Cyprian, are remarkable for their adherence to classical norms, and manifest a decided preference for the gerundive construction. Augustine in his D. C. D.

* Schmalz, 440.

has numerous instances of an object with the genitive of the gerund, **thus**:

se non subtraxerunt, dando eis licentiam male *tractandi homines* quos liberet, IV, 28.

Numquidnam saltem mediocriter eos dixit errasse, ut hanc artem invenirent *faciendi deos*, VIII, 24.

Cf. also I, 18; IV, 28; X, 11; VIII, 23, 24; XIV, 15; XVIII, 51; XIX, 6, 17.

2. *Accusative of the gerund.*

The accusative of the gerund with *ad* is frequent in all periods of the literature. A direct complement⁷ accompanying the accusative of the gerund with *ad* is non-classical. This construction is exceptional in pre-classical Latin. The first example known is in Varro, R.R. I, 23, *ad* discernendum vocis figuras. It is rare in the Imperial epoch, but becomes frequent in ecclesiastical Latin. Gregory⁸ uses it frequently, but Cyprian seldom. It occurs in Avitus only once, and not one instance appears in the D. C. D.

3. *Ablative of the gerund.*

It is not unusual to find in all periods of the Latin language the ablative of the gerund taking an object. Christian Latin offers a striking contrast to classical Latin in the frequency of its use. Classical writers⁹ are careful, however, not to use a direct complement after an ablative gerund governed by a preposition, although some instances do exist in classical Latin, even in Cicero, thus: a nimis intuendo *fortunam* T, D. 3, 20.

In Varro we read, in supponendo *ova*, r. r. 3, 9, 12; in Livy, in parcendo *uni*, IV, 44, 9.

Only two instances occur in the D. C. D., thus:

ut mortalitate transacta et ex mortuis faceret immortales, quod *in se resurgendo* monstravit, IX, 15.

Nam eum terrenorum corporum, sicut *onera in gestando* sentire consuevimus, XIII, 18.

Many instances of the ablative of the gerund, where the idea of

⁷ Schmalz, 441.

⁸ Bonnet, 655.

⁹ Schmalz, 442.

means is weak or non-existent and where accordingly we would expect a present participle, are met with in the D. C. D. In general, it may be stated, that this is a usage common to all Christian writers.¹⁰ The following are instances from the D. C. D.:

Sequitur tamen et ea velut *inquirendo* commemorat, X, 11.

Hoc quippe *arguendo* interrogavit dicens: XV, 7.

ad patriarcham Sem *recapitulando* revertetur et orditur inde generationes usque ad Abraham, XVI, 10.

Cf. also I, 3, 9, 17, 34; IV, 10; VII, 24, 28; VIII, 17; X, 32; XII, 24; XIV, 11, 13; XV, 7, 23; XVII, 2, 12, 17, 19; XVIII, 32, 34, 43; XX, 29; *passim*.

III. GERUNDIVE.

The gerundive,¹¹ a verbal adjective, expresses, in an adjectival form, the incompleted action of a transitive verb, which action is exerted on a substantival object. The substantive stands in the case required by the context and the gerundive agrees with it.

Besides using the gerundive as Classical writers did, the Christian writers made the following extended uses: 1. They gave it a pure participial value, often assigning it the place of a subordinate clause, as in Avitus: Quocirca volumen per vas temperatius ingerendum . . . p. 73, 7.

Augustine in the D. C. D. uses the following with the force of a subordinate clause.

Romanus imperator non ex civibus *dolendam*, sed ex hostibus *laudandam* victoriam reportaverat, I, 24.

Illi habeantur dii veri, qui hanc *adipiscendam* populis procuraverint adeptamque servaverint, II, 20.

An aliter stat *adorandus* in locis sacris, quam procedit *ridendus* in theatri? VI, 7.

Sed absit ut vera sint, quae nobis minantur veram miseriam nunquam *finiendam*, sed interpositionibus falsae beatitudinis saepe ac sine fine *rumpendam*, XII, 21.

Cf. also I, 3, 6, 24; II, 8, 20, 27; III, 10, 15; V, 12; VI, 2, 7, 8; VII, 27, 30, 35; VIII, 1, 10, 19; IX, 5; X, 5, 11, 32; XV, 21; *passim*.

¹⁰ Schmalz, 447.

¹¹ Schmalz, 466; Lane, 399.

In classical Latin, *ad*, seldom another preposition, was frequently joined to the gerundive construction to express purpose; but from Livy on the use of other prepositions combined with the gerundive were similarly used. Thus in the Christian writers we meet several different prepositions with the gerundive to express purpose.

Augustine in the D. C. D. uses *pro*, *propter* and *ob*, besides *ad*, thus:

1. *Pro with the gerundive.*

Omnes enim qui sic offerunt, profecto in peccatis sunt, *pro quibus dimittendis* offerunt, . . . XX, 25.

non nobis esse peccata, *pro quibus dimittendis* debeamus orare et eis, XXI, 27.

sed laudabiliter toleratur *pro tenendo* vel *adipiscendo bono*, XIII, 8.

Cf. also I, 6, 29; II, 23; III, 16; V, 18, 24; VI, 1.

2. *Propter with the gerundive.*

Ad haec addunt mulieres adtributas Libero et vinum *propter libidinem concitandam*, VI, 9.

ut nec ipsi, *propter quos liberandos* mediator effectus est, IX, 15.

Propter hoc et de venia in vicem danda multa praecipuntur et magna cura *propter tenendam pacem*, XV, 6.

cuius apostolus meminit *propter Dei gratiam commendandam*, XVI, 23.

3. *Ob with the gerundive.*

Ceterum illos, quibus conversatio cum diis ad hoc esset, ut *ob inveniendum fugitivum* vel praedium comparandum, X, 11.

IV. SUPINES.

The supines are verbal substantives which are used in place of the infinitive in certain situations. The use¹² of the supine in *um* was quite frequent in the pre-classical period until the time of Caesar and Cicero. Then the gerund with *causa* or *gratia* was preferred. The supine construction seems never to have gained favor with Latin authors. In some, it is totally absent.

Prudentius, the Christian poet, contemporary of Augustine, used

¹² Schmalz, 465.

it but once in his writings. In the D. C. D. Augustine uses the supine in *um* once and then according to classical usage, thus:

et misit ad Apollinem Delphicum *sciscitatum* quid intellegendum
esset quidve faciendum, XVIII, 9.

The supine in *u*, used generally after the adjectives *facilis*, *difficilis*, *iucundus*, and the like is also not a favorite construction with authors. Stock expressions such as the "*mirabile dictu*" and "*visu*" of Virgil are retained. Schmalz says that in general the poets of the Classical and Augustan periods and writers of later ages prefer the infinitive with these adjectives.¹⁸

¹⁸ For the use of this construction in the D. C. D., cf. section on infinitives.

CHAPTER VIII—PREPOSITIONS.

In the early history of the Latin language, many prepositions were not distinguished from adverbs in form or meaning. With the development of the language, however, prepositions took on the definite function of determining more clearly the direction of an action expressed by a verb.

In the Classical period the functions of the prepositions were clearly defined and the cases which they governed were definitely established, but later on as the language spread through the provinces, there arose an uncertainty as to the case following the prepositions or a greater variety in the cases so used.

To this extension of usage in ecclesiastical Latin, and especially in the D. C. D., our attention is directed in this chapter. The order of treatment is first, prepositions construed with the accusative, then those with the ablative, and finally those construed with both accusative and ablative.

I. PREPOSITIONS WITH THE ACCUSATIVE.

1. *Ad*.

The preposition *ad* assumes even in classical Latin various significations, i. e., it has a local and temporal meaning, and is used with persons as well as things. *Ad* means, "to," "toward," "near," "at."

The variations from classical norms in the use of *ad* as found in the D. C. D. are the following:

(a) *Ad* with names of towns to designate limit of motion.

Two instances of *ad* with the names of towns, contrary to classical usage, appear, thus:

Aesculapius autem ab Epidauro ambivit *ad Romam*, III, 12.
cum Loth filio fratris et Sarra coniuge perrexit in terram Chanaan
et pervenit usque *ad Sichem*, XVI, 18.

From the classical use of the preposition *ad* to designate end of motion, Christian writers¹ extended it to *ad hoc* meaning "to this

¹ Bonnet, 585; Goelzer (2), 149.

point" "to this effect." This recurs occasionally in the D. C. D. The total list of passages in which *ad hoc* occurs is as follows:

Ad hoc enim speculatores, I, 9; also IX, 15; X, 11; XI, 22, 24; XIV, 16; XV, 27; XVI, 11; XVIII, 42, 46; XIX, 14; XX, 1, 6, 7, 11, 21; XXI, 22, 27; XXII, 8, 12, 22.

Beginning with Terence² who was the first to use *usque* as a preposition with the accusative of names of places to determine motion towards, *usque* alone and *usque ad* are employed by classical writers notably Cicero, thus: *usque ad Numantiam*; Ep., III, 8, 4, *usque ad Iconium*. In the D. C. D. is found an interesting extension of *ad* reinforced by *usque*. It is applied to persons considered as being the end to which the movement signified by the verb tends, thus:

Benedictus igitur duobus filiis Noe atque uno in medio eorum maledicto deinceps *usque ad Abraham* de iustorum aliquorum, qui pie Deum colerent, XVI, 2.

Denique sicut illic enumeratis supra generationibus *usque ad Noe* . . . XVI, 12.

Cf. also III, 9; IV, 2; XII, 13; XVI, 24, 43; XVIII, 1; *passim*.

(b) *Ad* with adverbial expressions.

Classical Latin admits adverbial expressions in combination with *ad* as *ad hunc modum*, *ad similitudinem*, *ad hunc morem*, *ad rationem* etc. In the use of such phrases Augustine conforms to classical usage, but we find in the D. C. D., other expressions formed by analogy with these, containing the accusative neuter singular of an adjective and *ad*, which are peculiar to ecclesiastical Latin, thus:

Non mihi autem videtur posse *ad liquidum* colligi, VIII, 3.

donec *ad perfectum* sanetur . . . XI, 28.

quandoque *ad initium* illa detractio perducetur, XII, 13.

Cf. also I, 9; XIII, 15; XVI, 12; XX, 30.

(c) *ad* after adjectives.

Ad and the accusative depending upon an adjective is an ante- and post-classical usage, although not entirely unknown in Cicero-
nian Latin. We meet it in the Tusculan Disputations, Chrysippi

² Schmalz, 410.

ad veritatem firmissima est, *ad* tempus aegritudinis difficilis, III, 79. Augustine in the D. C. D. uses a similar construction in the following passages:

Ad altare . . . *ad* Dei honorem cultumque constructum, VIII, 27.
Deinde testamentum factum *ad* Abraham terram Chanaan proprie manifestat . . . XVI, 24.
Ad aliquid enim emortuum corpus intelligere debemus, XVI, 28.
universam Asiam, quae totius orbis *ad* numerum partium tertia dicitur, *ad* magnitudinem vero dimidia reperitur, XVIII, 2.

(d) *Ad* with verba.

Aptare in classical Latin takes the dative. Livy however uses it with *ad* and the accusative, thus:

Aptanda *ad* pugnam classe, XXI, 49, 11.

In this idiom it passed through various authors into Christian Latin. In the D. C. D. we meet the following:

et soli nervi in citharis atque huius modi vasis musicis *aptantur ad cantum*, XVI, 2.

The use of *ad* with the accusative after verbs compounded with *ad* such as: *adaugere*, *adcurare*, *addubitare* etc. is characteristic of both colloquial and ecclesiastical Latin.^a

In the D. C. D. the following occur:

Ad haec addunt mulieres . . . VI, 9.
sunt qui *ad* vadimonia sua deos *advocant*, VI, 10.
quoniam rex Aegyptus Ptolomaeus eos *ad hoc opus asciverat*, XV, 13.
quantum *ad prosperitatem adinet* temporalem, XVII, 2.
cum *ad eum aspexerint* . . . XX, 30.
Cf. also V, 1; VII, 6; VIII, 2; XVIII, 25.

2. *Apud*.

(a) *Apud* with accusative for a locative case.

The preposition *apud* was used more extensively in colloquial language than in the diction of literature. Irregularities in use accordingly occur even in Tacitus and Suetonius, and especially

^a Schmalz, 394.

in Christian Latin, which was greatly influenced by the colloquial speech. In Tacitus we find *apud* with the accusative for a locative case: *dum vigeat aetas, militari laude apud Germanias floruit*, Hist. I, 49; and in Suetonius, *apud Iudaeam*, Vesp. 5; in Jerome, *cui apud Antiochiam debeam communicare*, Ep. 15, 5; in Avitus, *apud Lugdunum*, 66, 4.

Augustine uses this construction in eight passages in the D.C.D. thus:

si apud Romam erant, . . . fortasse apud Ilium erant, III, 8.

nobis apud Karthaginem dicebatur, V, 23.

Apud Hipponem Zaritum est homo . . . XVI, 8.

ut omittam qua apud Antiochiam facere coeperat, XVIII, 52.

evenit ut apud Carthaginem . . . XXI, 4.

Apud Carthaginem autem quis novit . . . XXII, 8.

Apud Hipponem Bassus quidam Syrus . . . XXII, 8.

Nondum est autem biennium, ex quo apud Hipponem regium coepit esse . . . XXII, 8.

The following passages contain *apud* with the accusative for the locative ablative.

Hoc insitum habuisse Romanos etiam deorum apud illos aedes indicant, V, 12.

qui suas futuras poenas apud sanctorum martyrum memorias⁴ imminere maerebant, VIII, 26.

Offero tibi sacrificium Petre vel Paule vel Cypriane, cum apud eorum memorias offeratur Deo, VIII, 27.

(b) For *in* or *cum*.

Eight instances occur where *apud* is used with pronouns and the accusative of *animus* or its equivalent to signify an idea, which would be rendered in classical Latin by *in* or *cum* with the ablative thus:

quae mala civitas illa perpessa sit ab origine sua sive apud se ipsam sive in provinciis sibi iam subditis, II, 2.

quam naturalem vocant, apud meliores animas inveniret locum, VI, 8.

⁴In Christian Latin the word *memoria* took on a new meaning, viz., a shrine, especially a monument to a martyr. In this sense it is used here.

In se quippe habebant quod non videbant, et *apud se* imaginabantur quod foris viderant, VIII, 5.

ac per hoc Deus, inquit, rerum quas facit omnium finitarum omnes finitas *apud se* rationes habet, XII, 18.

retento *apud se* praecepto Dei, XVI, 15.

quae pro malo aureo adipiscendo *apud iudicem* Paridem de pulcritudinis excellentia certasse narrantur . . . XVIII, 10.

cum ipse *apud se* ipsum maneat idem qui fuit, XXII, 2.

meque gaudente et *apud me* Deo gratias agente ingreditur . . . XXII, 8.

In citing an author *apud* is regularly used in classical Latin: in citing a particular work *in* is used. Augustine, in tracing the history of the Septuagint, uses *apud* and *in* for both translations. No distinction in the use of these two prepositions is evident, thus:

quidquid est *in Hebraeis* codicibus et non est *apud* interpretes septuaginta, noluit ea per istos, sed per illos prophetas Dei Spiritus dicere. Quidquid vero est *apud Septuaginta*, in Hebraeis autem codicibus non est, XVIII, 43.

3. *Ante*.

As a preposition, *ante* in classical Latin means "before," "in front of," and it may be considered as stationary in meaning through all the periods of Latin literature. The use of *ante* as an adverb occurs rarely in classical Latin and then usually in the poets. As an adverb, it is found sometimes in Livy, but few authors later so used it. About thirty instances of *ante* with its adverbial force occur in the D. C. D. thus:

qui rem publicam ingratam et a Veientibus *ante* defendit . . . III, 17.

Ubi certe agnoscendum est, quod *ante* promiseram, XVI, 10.

Cf. also I, 6, 7; III, 29; V, 17; VII, 8, 19; X, 5, 17, 25; XI, 32; XII, 18, 21, 26; XIII, 23; XIV, 18; XVI, 4, 28, 39; XVII, 4, 5, 18; XVIII, 45; XIX, 11; XX, 6, 7, 14; XXII, 20, 29.

4. *Post*.

Post meaning "after" is one of those prepositions which like *ante* presents no change in meaning throughout the history of the language. In common with *ante* it retains an adverbial force, which has no greater patronage of writers in general than *ante*.

The following are the passages from the D. C. D. wherein *post* is used as an adverb:

Unde tanto *post* ex Abrahæ semine carne suscepta de se ipso ait ipse Salvator, X, 32.

Nam ubi tenebrae inculpabiles sunt . . . non ante, sed *post* infertur, XI, 20.

Cf. also III, 26, 30; IV, 6; V, 12; VI, 10; VIII, 23; X, 25; XIII, 11; XIV, 2, 11; XVII, 17; XVIII, 31, 33, 42, 45, 54; XX, 5, 7, 8, 15, 23; XXI, 23; XXII, 6, 8.

Post frequently occurs in ecclesiastical Latin with a substantive and a perfect passive participle, where we would ordinarily expect an ablative absolute in classical Latin. Thus in Gregory we read, qui *post* creata mundi totius elementa glebam adsumens limi hominem plasmavit, h. F. 1, 1p, 35, 7; in Avitus *post* denuntiatum poematis finem p. 274, 6; in Cyprian, *post* episcopatum non ex-ambitum, 630, 11.

In the D. C. D. we find the following:

Nempe *post perpetrata facinora* nec quemquam scelestum indemnatum impune voluistis occidi, I, 19.

Ex hoc iure ac bono *post expulsum* cum liberis suis regem Tarquinum, II, 17.

Cf. also II, 16, 18, 19; XII, 21; XV, 11, 13; XVIII, 19; XX, 18.

5. *Iuxta*.

Iuxta as a preposition is used especially in the Classical period with the local meaning of "near." Livy⁵ is the first to vary its meaning, and give it the value of *secundum*. Ecclesiastical writers use it also in the sense of *secundum*, "according to."

With this meaning Augustine uses *iuxta* in his Letters and Sermons, and it occurs in eight passages of the D. C. D. as follows:

iuxta id dicitur, XIV, 11.

cum quibus et ipsi dii erant *iuxta* illud psalmi, XV, 23.

Sed haec in usum cedunt proficientium, *iuxta* illud apostoli, XVI, 2.

Cf. also XIV, 9; XVII, 7; XX, 24; XXI, 22; XXII, 26.

6. *Ob*.

Plautus⁶ and Terence used *ob* with *hoc* to express cause. Caesar and Cicero did not favor its use. In the historians Sallust, Livy

⁵Schmalz, 397.

⁶Schmalz, 399.

and Tacitus, it was revived and it became common in ecclesiastical Latin. Augustine with the writers of the period used it frequently. The following is a complete list of the passages in which *ob hoc* is used in the D. C. D.

qui ob hoc etiam ipse Africani cognomen invenit, III, 21.
ut per hanc oporteat eis constellationes fieri diversas propter diversum horoscopum et ob hoc diversos omnes cardines, V, 5.
 Cf. also V, 18; VIII, 12, 15, 21; IX, 15; X, 30, 32; XI, 1, 10, 27; XII, 6; XIV, 24; XVII, 10; XVIII, 2, 4, 38, 43; XIX, 1; XX, 24.

7. *Propter*.

Propter with its causal meaning in the Classical period retains the same force in ecclesiastical Latin and is used quite frequently therein. The combinations *propter quod* and *propter quae* are non-classical. The former occurs for the first time in Columella and the latter appears not earlier than the period of Quintilian.

In the D. C. D. *propter quod* occurs about thirty-five times and *propter quae* four times, thus:

(a) *propter quod*.

propter quod eis dicunt . . . VI, 9.
propter quod vetus dicitur testamentum, X, 25.
Unde sequitur illud, propter quod et cetera de eodem psalmo dicenda visa sunt, X, 25.
 Cf. also XIII, 23; XV, 7, 11, 16, 21, 22; XVI, 28; XVII, 4, 7, 9, 11, 16, 20, 24; XVIII, 35, 38, 44; XIX, 1, 4, 5, 8, 19, 26, 27; XX, 6, 17, 22; XXI, 4, 5; XXII, 8, 29, 30.

(b) *Propter quae*.

propter quae non audent offendere homines, I, 9.
propter quae isti sibi . . . deos multos falsosque fecerunt, VII, 30.
propter quae significanda historia ipsa conscripta est, XVIII, 44.
propter quae dicis esse fugiendam, XIX, 4.

8. *Circa*.

In classical Latin *circa* with the accusative means "around," "about." In the Silver period this preposition is used with a figurative meaning, of *de*, *in* or *ad*. We see it thus used in Tacitus, Ann. 11, 15; in Pliny, 29, 1, 5; in Suetonius . . . Caes. 45; in Cyprian, 303, 2; in Arnobius, V, 10; in Jerome, Ep. 9.

In Augustine's D. C. D. there are nine passages containing *circa* eight of which are used with this figurative meaning, thus:

quae maxime *circa* corporum est occupata naturam, VII, 5.

Cum enim dixisset proavos suos multum errantes *circa* deorum rationem, VIII, 26.

ceterum *circa* ea, quae vere bona sunt, X, 11.

Cf. also XV, 24; XVI, 34; XXI, 18; XXII, 21.

9. *Secundum*.

Secundum in classical Latin marks a relation in space and means "immediately after," "next to." In a figurative sense it is much used with the meaning "according to" and in this sense it is used in Christian writers. Augustine uses it about one hundred-fifty times in the D. C. D. with this figurative sense only, thus:

Enitar enim suo loco, ut ostendam *secundum* definitiones ipsius Ciceronis, II, 21.

nec fortuita est nec fatalis *secundum* eorum sententiam sive opinionem, V, 1.

Cf. also VIII, 8, 10, 19, 26; IX, 5, 10; X, 13, 21, 29; XI, 10, 21, 27; XII, 23; XIV, 7, 8, 9, 11, 21, 28; XVI, 5, 15, 21, 24; XXII, 2, 11, 14, 21, 27, 29; *passim*.

10. *Per*.

In classical Latin *per* indicates motion in space as well as in time, and means "through," "over." From the idea of space implied in its use were developed instrumental and modal, as well as causal and less clearly defined uses. Of all the prepositions construed with the accusative, *per* after *ad* is most frequently used in Christian Latin. In classical Latin, when cause is expressed by a preposition, *ob* or *propter* with the accusative is regularly used, but from the Augustan Age on, we frequently find cause expressed by *per* and the accusative.

(a) Expressing cause.

We read in Quintilian, *per hoc quod* for *propter*, 2, 17, 30; in Florus, *per hoc*, 3, 12, 9; in Apuleius, *ac per hoc*, Met. 9, 16; in Cyprian, *ac per hoc*, 729, 14.

Augustine in the D. C. D. has a remarkably frequent use of this expression. The total list of passages in which it occurs is as follows:

Ac per hoc qui Domino suo monente oboedierant, I, 10.

Ac per hoc et Neptuno et Plutoni, II, 15.

Ac per hoc si tam celeriter alter post alterum nascitur, V, 2.

Cf. also I, 14, 17, 20; IV, 5, 31; V, 13; VI, 1, 6; VII, 9, 14, 16, 21; VIII, 1, 5, 6, 16; IX, 8, 13, 15, 21; X, 1, 5, 6, 25, 32; XI, 4, 10, 13, 23, 29, 34; XII, 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 13, 16, 18; XIII, 5, 9, 11, 14; XIV, 1, 8, 10, 11, 13, 19, 23, 27; XV, 3, 12, 14, 15, 18, 20, 27; XVI, 3, 15, 28, 32, 36, 41; XVII, 4, 6, 12, 16; XVIII, 18, 21, 27, 37, 54; XIX, 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 21, 28; XX, 2, 8, 9, 11, 13, 20, 26; XXI, 1, 5, 18, 22, 25, 26, 27; XXII, 2, 4, 11, 19, 23, 27.

(b) Expressing means.

The use of *per* with the accusative taking the place of the ablative of means is not foreign to classical literature, where it is used in a figurative sense with persons. In ecclesiastical Latin we note a general tendency in the use of *per* and the accusative, not only of a person, but of a thing, to replace the ablative, a step towards the meaning which it is to have later in the Romance languages. Many instances of this are met with in the D. C. D., thus:

suo recusans esse subditus creatori et sua *per superbiam* velut privata potestate laetatus, XI, 13.

Illi quippe angeli sancti non *per verba* sonantia Deum discunt, XI, 29.

qui cum coniuge ac tribus filiis totidemque nuribus suis meruit *per arcam* vastatione diluvii liberari, XVI, 1.

Cf. also VII, 3, 5, 14, 22; VIII, 15, 22, 23, 27; IX, 9, 15; X, 10, 15, 26, 32; XI, 13; XII, 21, 24; XIV, 11, 13, 21; XV, 3, 8, 22, 23; XVI, 2, 4, 24, 30, 43; XVII, 2, 4, 7, 20; XVIII, 3, 18, 19, 21, 45, 46, 47, 48; XIX, 12, 14, 22, 27; XX, 1, 9, 17, 22, 23, 25; XXI, 2, 9, 21, 36; XXII, 1, 8, 9; passim.

II. WITH THE ABLATIVE.

1. *a* or *ab*.

In classical Latin *ab* means "away from," "from," "off from" with the ablative case and determines direction in space. Out of this local meaning, the Augustan poets, Ovid in particular, developed an instrumental meaning. The use of this instrumental meaning of *a* or *ab* with the ablative became prevalent in Chris-

tian times. The variations from classical usage in the writers of this period are due to analogy, to poetic or colloquial influence.

(a) *ab* with the ablative for the dative of agent.

The dative of agent, in classical Latin, is used with the gerundive to designate the person on whom the obligation rests. *A* or *ab* with the ablative is used instead of this regular dative as follows in the D. C. D.:

Quoniam constat . . . et ideo nullum deum colendum esse *ab hominibus*, V, preface.

si aliquid *ab his* ad illa similitudinis adferendum est, VIII, 8.

qua nos *ab illo* adiuvandos esse credamus, XIX, 4.

When treating of persons *not of things*, classical Latin requires the ablative of agency with a passive verb accompanied by *a* or *ab*.

In the D. C. D. Augustine in three instances uses *ab* with things. This is due probably to an apparent personification of the words, thus:

Neque enim homines *a simulacro*, sed simulacrum *ab* hominibus servabatur, I, 2.

quod et alius ante Christi nomen temporibus ei contigit *ab illa* est adflictione recreatum, IV, 7.

fulmina, quae aurea fuissent . . . et se *ab eis* fulminari velle discentibus hilariter benigneque donavit, V, 26.

(b) *Ab* with verbs.

sanare takes the accusative of the thing as well as of the person in classical Latin. It occurs with *ab* and the ablative of the thing in the three following passages of the D. C. D.:

ut totum, quo constat homo *a* peccatorum peste *sanaret*, X, 27.

Cf. also X, 24; XXII, 8.

2. *De*.

De in the Classical period has several meanings. Locally it means, "down from," "from"; figuratively it means, "concerning," "about," "of," besides having several idiomatic uses.

Ecclesiastical Latin in general has extended the use of this preposition and it takes the place of two or three others. It is the favorite particle in colloquial Latin and it takes first rank among

the prepositions of the Romance languages. Augustine in the D. C. D. makes use of the following variations from classical Latin in the use of *de*.

(a) With verbs.

De instead of *ab* (*a*) or *ex* with verbs compounded with *ab* or *ex* marking the point of departure.

Auferre. quam sepultam *de* monumento putabat *ablatam*, XIV, 2.
Cf. also XXI, 11; XXII, 8.

Egredi. quando *egressus* est *de* Charra, XVI, 15.

Cf. also XVI, 16; XX, 20.

Emicare. incendia *de* nubibus *emicasse*, IV, 2.

Erumpere. quando *de* fontibus Israel in eis literis . . . prophetiae flumen *erupit*, XVIII, 37.

Cf. also XX, 11.

eiicere. et *de* possessis hominum, corporis *eiciuntur*, VIII, 26.

Cf. also XVI, 31; XX, 26; XXII, 22.

excludere. ad dissociandum atque *excludendam de corpore* animam . . . XIX, 12.

exire. Nachor frater Abrahæ *exisse de* regione Chaldaeorum . . . XVI, 13.

Cf. also XVI, 3, 15, 16; XVII, 18; XX, 15, 20; XXI, 15, 25.

exorire. Unde apparet *de* progenie Sem *exortos* fuisse, XVI, 3.

exsculpere. qui potuerint illic *de* quacumque re gesta sensum intelligentiae spiritalis *exsculpere*, XVII, 3.

avellere. quibus *avulsis de* sedibus propriis et propter hoc testimonium toto orbe dispersis Christi usquequaque crevit ecclesia, XVIII, 47.

avertere. *de* via recta conantur *avertere*, XII, 18.

expectare. quam *de* illo *expectabat*, X, 25.

Verbs compounded otherwise, followed by *de* instead of the classical *ab* or *ex* and the ablative.

redire. quod ei *redeunte de* proelio victori primitus occurrisset, I, 21.

recedere. et *de* rure proprio non *recedit*, V, 6.

Cf. also XXII, 22.

perire. nec *de* ipso corpore *perit* sanctitas, I, 18.

Verbs not usually found with *de* in classical Latin.

fidere is followed by the dative or ablative without a preposition in

classical Latin. One passage with *de* and the ablative occurs in the D. C. D., thus:

si *de* adiutorio Dei *fideret* bonus homo, XIV, 27.

gaudere takes the ablative alone in classical Latin. It occurs here with *de*, thus:

quo modo *de* veritate gaudebat? X, 30.

nasci generally takes the ablative alone, *ab* or *ex* with the ablative and rarely *de* with the ablative in classical Latin.

The following instances occur in the D. C. D. with *de*:

natus quippe fuerat et ipse *de* Adam pro illo, quem frater occidit, IV, 8.

Cf. also XV, 13, 23, 27; XVI, 1, 12.

liberare takes the ablative without a preposition in classical Latin.

In the D. C. D. we find the following passages with *de*:

per quem populus idem *de* servitute Aegyptia *liberatus* . . . XVII, 2.

Cf. also XVIII, 4, 7, 21; XXII, 23.

orire in classical Latin takes the ablative alone. It may take *ab* but not *de*.

We find the following in the D. C. D.:

tanta *de* rebus prosperis *orta* mala continuo subsecuta sunt, I, 30.

Cf. also VI, 7.

(b) *de* with the ablative, expressing cause.

In expressing cause in classical Latin the ablative without a preposition is used as well as other constructions such as *ob*, *per*, *propter* and the accusative. In the D. C. D. Augustine uses *de* and the ablative in about twenty-five passages to express cause, thus:

nisi . . . vitam, *de* qua superbiunt, invenirent, I, 1.

ne civitatem, cui serviebant, *de* conditore eius offenderent, XXII, 6.

Cf. also I, 28; III, 31; IV, 10; V, 2, 20; VIII, 27; XVIII, 10, 39, 45; XIX, 27; XXI, 27; *passim*.

(c) Origin expressed by *de* and the ablative.

Origin in classical Latin is usually expressed by the ablative alone, sometimes with *ex* and *ab* and rarely with *de*.⁷ About seven instances of *de* and the ablative to express origin occur in the D. C. D., thus:

⁷ Cf. *nasci*, above.

Nam hunc Homerus *de* stirpe Aenae, III, 2.
de qua omnia fierent, VIII, 2.
 Cf. also XVII, 9; XVIII, 21, 23; XXII, 8, 11.

(d) Means expressed by *de* and ablative.

Means is usually expressed by the ablative alone in classical Latin. Three instances of *de* with the ablative to express means occur in the D. C. D., thus:

tantum quod plebs illa, quae suos agros non haberet, *de* publico viveret, V, 17.

Verum illud, quod *de* abscisorum consecratione Mater deum colimeruit, VII, 26.

Iam hinc tempore consequuntur filiorum Abrahæ, unius *de* Agar ancilla, alterius *de* Sarra libera, de quibus in libro superiore iam diximus, XVI, 25.

(e) Partitive *de*.

In classical Latin *de* with the ablative is sometimes used with a partitive signification instead of the partitive genitive. It is limited, however, to a few recognized expressions as *unus de multis*, *homo de plebe*, etc. In ecclesiastical Latin, it is used much more frequently, being extended to things as well as to persons.

Augustine in the D. C. D. uses the partitive *de* in the following passages:

populum suum in Aegypto *de paucissimis* multiplicavit . . . IV, 34.

Hieremias propheta *de maioribus* est, XVIII, 33.

ne quid eis contingat mali *de tantis* malorum *aggeribus* huius saeculi, XIX, 8.

Cf. also IX, 13; XIII, 21; XVIII, 29, 33, 42; XX, 30; XXII, 8, 13; *passim*.

3. *E* or *ex*.

E or *ex* in classical Latin means "from," "out of." In the previous sections we have noted that *ab* and *de* have in many instances taken the place of *ex*. Nevertheless, *ex* like *ab* and *de*, has a variety of uses in late Latin which are rare in the Classical period. A general tendency, very evident in ecclesiastical Latin, is a confusion in the use of prepositions in general, but especially with *ab*, *de* and *ex*.

The extension and variations in the use of *e* or *ex* found in the D. C. D. of Augustine are the following:

(a) With verbs.

accipere usually takes *ab* in classical Latin. It occurs in the D. C. D. with *ex*, thus:

quae Israelitae sali tunc ex omnibus gentibus acceperunt, XVII, 4. Cf. also VII, 13.

recipere in classical Latin may be construed with the accusative, dative, and with *de* and the ablative. The following occurs with *ex*:

Quam vult ergo intellegi animae liberandae universalem viam nondum receptam vel ex aliqua verissima philosophia ex earum gentium doctrinis, X, 32.

timere in classical Latin may take *de*, *ab* and *pro* with the ablative.

Here it occurs once with *ex*, thus:

Deus absit ut contaminationem timeret ex homine quo indutus est, IX, 17.

gaudere takes the accusative or ablative alone in classical Latin.

It occurs in the following passage with *ex*:

sed proclives ad libidinem nisi ex voluptatibus . . . gaudere nesciunt, XIV, 2.

(b) Partitive *ex*.

Ex like *de* is used in classical Latin with a partitive signification, and like *de*, also, is limited to certain expressions as *quidam ex his*, *unus ex multis*, etc.

This construction is used more frequently in ecclesiastical Latin. In the D. C. D. the following occur:

consulens ex his duobus elegit liberum voluntates arbitrium, V, 9. *Omnes hi ex illis sunt*, VII, 2.

et eorum quos ex Iudaeis praedestinavit vocavit, XXI, 24.

Cf. also III, 26; IV, 8, 11; VI, 12; VII, 1, 10; VIII, 1, 12, 14; IX, 7, 27; X, 12; XI, 13; XII, 12; XIV, 13; XV, 3; *passim*.

4. *Cum*.

In the use of *cum* as a preposition Augustine usually conforms to classical usage. In many instances, however, *cum* and the ablative of a substantive is used with the force of an adverb.*

* Cf. Chapter I on substantives.

5. *Absque*.

Classical writers did not use the preposition *absque*.⁹ Plautus and Terence used it with pronouns only, as *absque me, te, . . . esset, absque eo esset*. Its use as a preposition was revived by Apulieus and Aulus Gellius who used it as a synonym for *sine*. It was used frequently in the *sermo familiaris* and is characteristic of African Latin. It occurs often in Jerome, not at all in Arnobius and Cyprian. It appears occasionally in Augustine, both in his Letters and Sermons. Three instances occur in the D. C. D., thus: *quanto magis absque culpa est in corpore non consentientis, si absque culpa est in corpore dormientis*, I, 25. *sine morte media beatam immortalitatem absque ullo termino connectus*, XII, 22.

In this last passage, *sine* and *absque* are used with apparently the same meaning.

III. PREPOSITIONS WITH ACCUSATIVE AND ABLATIVE.

1. *With the accusative*.(a) *in*.

The preposition *in* is used in classical Latin both with the accusative and ablative. With the accusative it has a local meaning, "till," "until," besides its idiomatic uses. With the ablative it means "in," "on," "among." In ecclesiastical Latin the preposition *in* forms no exception to the other prepositions in frequency as well as extension of use.

The following are the variations from classical usage which we find in Christian writers¹⁰ in general and in Augustine in particular.

(a) *With verbs*.

The following are verbs from the D. C. D. with *in* and the accusative, which do not conform to classical usage:

Adtrahere takes *ad* and the accusative in classical Latin. Here it occurs with *in*:

⁹ Schmalz, 411.

¹⁰ Bonnet, 591; Goelzer (1), 348; Bayard, 144; Gabarron, 113; Kaulen.

quod salutis diabolus seductas gentes toto orbe terrarum *adtrahet in* bellum adversus eam, XX, 8.

Cf. also XX, 11, 12.

credere takes the dative in classical Latin. It occurs in about twenty-eight passages in the D. C. D. with *in* and the accusative, thus:

id est ex Iudaea *credentes in Christum*, XVIII, 31.

Cf. also IV, 20; V, 14; VII, 33; VIII, 24; XVI, 39; XVII, 5, 12, 16; XVIII, 28, 33, 45, 48, 50, 54; XX, 6, 21, 29, 30; XXII, 4.

dominari in classical Latin takes *in* with the ablative. Here it occurs with *in* and the accusative, thus:

Mortis autem regnum *in* homines usque adeo *dominatum* est, XIV, 1.

sperare usually takes the accusative without a preposition in classical Latin. Here it occurs with *in*, thus:

quo modo eam perficit *sperantibus in* eum . . . qui *sperant in* eum? XXI, 24.

Cf. also XVII, 12.

(β) *In* to designate end of motion.

Sometimes in classical Latin we find *in* to express end of motion, although *ad* with the accusative is preferred. We read in Cicero, Venerat *in* funus, ad. Att. 15, 1; in Caesar, neu se . . . hastibus *in* cruciatum dedant. B. G. 7, 71, 13.

From Tacitus on through the Christian period we are impressed with the frequency of its use, thus:

Min. Felix, aliquem *in* exemplum praedicare, 36, 8; in Cyprian, homo acciditur, *in* hominis voluptatem, 6, 13; in Arnobius, labem machinantur *in* mutuam, II, 43.

In the D. C. D. we find:

Unde quidam hoc praeceptum etiam *in bestias* ac pecora conantur extendere, I, 20.

ne *in luxuriam* flueretis, I, 33.

Mirandum *in honorem* Christi processit exemplum, I, 33.

Cf. also I, 9, 10, 12, 24, 27, 28, 36; II, 5, 10, 29; III, 15, 17; IV, 1, 2, 3, 4, 10; VIII, 19; XI, 7; XII, 14, 23; *passim*.

(γ) *In* with adjectives.

The use of adjectives of the third declension taken substantively

and depending on a preposition as *in commune* is an idiom taken over from the Greek. Sallust¹¹ is the first to introduce the expression *in maius*. In Livy we read, *Marii virtutem in maius celebrare*, IV, 1, 5. By analogy to *in maius* the following expressions *in melius*, *in deterius* etc. were used especially by Christian writers. In the D. C. D. the following similar expressions occur:

In *deterius*, XIV, 1; XVII, 4.

In *commune*, XIII, 23.

In *peius*, XVII, 4; XV, 5.

In *melius*, XVII, 4; XX, 16; XXI, 24, 27.

In *sempiternum*, XXI, 11.

In *proximum*, XXI, 27.

In *pervisum*, XXI, 24.

2. *With the ablative.*

No clearly marked use of *in* with the ablative at variance with classical usage occurs in the D. C. D.

¹¹ Brenous, 431.

CHAPTER IX—CONJUNCTIONS.

Conjunctions like prepositions are closely allied to adverbs. Originally, conjunctions as well as prepositions and adverbs were cases of nouns or pronouns which became fixed with a special form and meaning. Almost throughout the literary period of the language, the consciousness of any characteristic of the noun was lost.

In the Imperial epoch, from Livy on, arbitrary uses of conjunctive particles are very evident, and variations not only in use but also in meaning begin to appear. The writers seem gradually to lose the exact values which were assigned conjunctions in the Classical period.

The variations from classical Latin, which evolved during the Imperial epoch, passed into Christian¹ literature whose authors show the following peculiarities:

I. QUOD, QUIA AND QUONIAM.

Of all the uses of *quod*, *quia* and *quoniam* which appear in ecclesiastical Latin, the most interesting is that wherein the conjunctive clauses, whether with indicative or subjunctive mood, begin to replace the classical use of the accusative and the infinitive for indirect statements.²

1. *Quod* for *quin* after *dubitare*.

Ammianus Marcellinus, an historian of the fourth century A. D., is the first³ to use *quod* for *quin* after *dubitare*. This construction was not favorably accepted, although it secured a place in the language.

With the verb *dubitare* which occurs about seventy times in the D. C. D., Augustine does not use *quin* once. The classical construction of the infinitive after *dubitare*, meaning "to hesitate," has been already treated.⁴ However, *quod* for *quin* occurs in the four following passages:

¹ Goelzer (2), 329; Bayard, 158; Gabarrou, 167.

² Cf. Chapter VI on moods.

³ Schmalz, 342.

⁴ Cf. Chapter VI on Moods (Section on Infinitive).

Cum vero et illa vera atque certa sint, quis *dubitet quod* eorum, cum amantur, et ipse amor verus et certus est? XI, 27.

Absit itaque ut *dubitemus, quod* ei notus sit omnis numerus, XII, 19.

certe fides Christiana de ipso Salvatore non *dubitat, quod* etiam post resurrectionem . . . cibum ac potum cum discipulis sumpsit, XIII, 22.

Licet enim iustorum ac piorum animae defunctorum *quod* in requie vivant *dubitare* fas non sit, XIII, 21.

2. *Non quod, non quia, introducing a reason.*

In Plautus, an untenable reason is introduced by *non eo quia*; in Terence by *non eo quo*; in Cicero usually by *non quod* or *non quo*, seldom by *neque* or *non eo quo*. *Non quia*⁵ is rarely used in classical Latin, but it occurs frequently from Livy on, and becomes common in ecclesiastical writers; also from the Imperial epoch on, *quia* begins to replace *quod*.

Out of seventeen instances where Augustine introduces an untenable reason, he uses *non quia* twelve times, *non quo* three times and *non quod* twice. He conforms to the classical usage in the use of mood, viz., the subjunctive, but if the clauses contain a fact, even though the fact be denied as the reason, they are construed with the indicative.

(a) *Non quia with the subjunctive.*

Haec autem propter senarii numeri perfectionem eodem die sexiens repositio sex diebus perfecta narratur, *non quia* Deo fuerit necessaria mora temporum . . . *sed quia* per senarium numerum est operum significata perfectio, XI, 30.

(b) *Non quia with the indicative.*

Flagellantur enim simul, *non quia* simul *agunt* malam vitam, *sed quia* amant temporalem vitam, I, 9.

Tunc iam deminuto paululum metu, *non quia* bella *conquieverant*, *sed quia* non tam gravi pondere urgebant, III, 17.

Unde et spiritalia erunt, *non quia* corpora esse *desistent* *sed quia* spiritu vivicante subsistent, XIII, 22.

Cf. also I, 23; XI, 27; XII, 14; XIII, 20, 22, 23; XIV, 4; XVI, 6; XIX, 6.

⁵ Schmalz, 545; Rieman and Goelzer, 462.

(c) *Non quo with the subjunctive.*

Sed a contrario martyres nostri heroes noncuparentur, si, ut dixi, usus ecclesiastici sermonis admitteret, *non quo* eis *esset* cum daemonibus in aere societas, sed quod eosdem daemones, . . . vincerent . . . X, 21.

ad cumulum a nobis commemorari potest; *non quo* necessarius sit etiamsi desit, sed quia non incongrue creditur fuisse, . . . XVIII, 47.

audiat timeatur impleatur, ne inoboedientes eradicato consequatur . . . "Sacrificans," inquit, . . . *non quo* rei *egeat* alicuius, sed quia nobis expedit, XIX, 23.

(d) *Non quod with the subjunctive.*

Ex illis autem quattuor rebus Varro tres tollit, voluptatem scilicet et quietem et utrumque; *non quod* eas *inprobet*, sed quod primigenia illa naturae et voluptatem in se habeant et quietem, XIX, 2.

(e) *Non quod with the indicative.*

Qui vero pro aliquo grandi crimine morte multatur, numquid mora qua occiditur, quae perbrevis est, eius supplicium leges aestimant et *non quod* eum in sempiternum *auferunt* de societate viventium? XXI, 11.

3. *Quod with a finite mood after persuadere.*

The classical constructions with *persuadere* are (1) complementary final clauses introduced by *ut*, and (2) the accusative with the infinitive in some authors, notably Terence, Lucretius and Virgil. *Quod* is non-classical. One instance of *quod* and the subjunctive with *persuadere* occurs in the D. C. D., thus:

Quibusdam vero vitia eorum aliquanto adtentius et diligentius intuentibus non potuerunt *persuadere quod* dii sint, VHII, 22.

II. QUAMDIU.

Quamdiu in classical Latin meaning "as long as"* is not found in all writers, e. g. Tacitus and Florus do not use it at all, while others, such as Pliny the Elder, use it in preference to *dum*. Cicero uses the perfect tense with *quamdiu* when the verb of the main

* Schmalz, 553.

clause is perfect, thus: *quorum quamdiu mansit imitatio, tamdiu genus illud dicenti vixit*, D. O. 2, 94.

Once in the D. C. D. Augustine uses, with no apparent reason, the subjunctive with *quamdiu* meaning "as long as," thus:

Nec saltem potuerunt unam Segetiam talem invenire, cui semel segetes commendarent, sed sata frumenta, quamdiu sub terra essent, praepositam voluerunt habere deam Seiam, IV, 8.

In Silver Latin *quamdiu*, the equivalent of *donec* meaning "until" and followed by the subjunctive is used for the first time by Javolenus Priscus.⁷ Among the exponents of this usage are: Salvius Julianus, Domitius Ulpianus, Cyprian, Spartian and Cassian. The first to use *quamdiu* for *donec*, meaning "until," is Ammianus Marcellinus.

Augustine uses *quamdiu* with the value of *donec*, "until" with the subjunctive but once in the D. C. D., thus:

Cui non sufficere videretur illa Segetia, quamdiu seges ab initiis herbidis usque ad aristas aridas pervenerit? IV, 8.

III. QUAMVIS AND QUAMQUAM.

Quamvis and *quamquam* have both retained their classical meaning in ecclesiastical Latin. Variations, however, in the use of these conjugations do appear in Silver and in Christian Latin. These are discussed in Chapter VI on moods.

IV. DUM.

Rare instances of *dum* with the value of *cum* (circumstantial) occur in the Augustan literature.⁸ In Livy we read, *Dum intentus in eum se rex totus averteret, alter elatam securim in caput deiecit*, I, 40, 7; in Virgil, *Illa quidem, dum te fugeret per flumina praecipue*, G, IV.; in Phaedrus, *Canis per flumen, carnem dum ferret, notans vidit simulacrum suum*, I, 4, 2. This construction is unknown to the writers of the Silver age. It does not occur in Tacitus or Suetonius, or Florus or even Apuleius. It reappears in the fourth century of the Christian era in Aurelius Victor and Ammianus Marcellinus, and occurs also in Jerome, Gregory, Arnobius. The following instances occur in the D. C. D.:

⁷ Schmalz, 553.

⁸ Schmalz, 558.

- Et saepe universi exercitus, *dum* pro terrena patria *morerentur*, ubi postea iacerent vel quibus bestiis, esca fierant, I, 12.
- Iam multos moverat, quod miles quidam, *dum* occiso spolia *detraheret*, fratrem nudato cadavere agnovit ac detestatus bella civilia se ipsum ibi perimens fraterno corpori adiunxit, II, 25.
- Quod enim conantur efficere de intervallo exiguo temporis, quod inter se gemini *dum nascerentur* habuerunt, V, 2.
- An forte quia diverso horoscopo nati sunt, aut ille in masculum, *dum nascerentur*, aut illa in feminam commutata est? V, 6.
- Quo damnato et occiso, utrum nocentem an innocentem nesciens occideret torsit; ac per hoc innocentem et ut sciret torsit, et *dum nesciret* occidit, XIX, 6.
- Nam et de caelo novo ac terra nova iam supra dixerat, *dum* ea, quae sanctis promittuntur in fine, saepe ac multiformiter *diceret*, XX, 21.
- Dum* ergo *requireremus* quid factum fuerit, unde ille strepitus laetus extiterit, ingressi sunt cum illa in basilicam, XXII, 8.
- Cf. also V, 2; XXII, 17.

Exceptionally rare, in any period of the Latin language, is the use of *dum* with the pluperfect subjunctive. It is however found in Cassiodorus and Ammianus Marcellinus of the fourth century, A. D.

One instance of *dum* for *cum* circumstantial, with the pluperfect subjunctive occurs in the following passage of the D. C. D.:

Dum enim rotam figuli vi quanta potuit *intorsisset*, currente illa his numero de atramento tamquam uno eius loco summa celeritate percussit, V, 4.

V. UT.

In classical Latin the particle *ut* is used as a conjunction in a great number of complementary clauses. Such clauses are called substantive or logical complements and include two main divisions, (1) clauses which are complements of certain verbs manifesting volition or activity, (2) clauses which are subjects of certain impersonal expressions. *Ut* is also used in pure final and consecutive clauses. The principal deviations from classical Latin which Christian writers show in the use of *ut* are the following:

1 *ut non* for *ne* in negative clauses of purpose.

2 *ut* for *quo* in clauses containing a comparative expression.

3 *ut* with the subjunctive for the accusative and infinitive after *verba sentiendi et declarandi*.

4 *ut non* for *ne* after verbs of preventing.

5 *ut* with the subjunctive after verbs and expressions (not included under 3) which usually take the infinitive in classical Latin.

Examples of each of these categories appear in the D. C. D. as follows:

(1) Ad hoc enim speculatores, hoc est populorum praeposite; constituti sunt in ecclesiis, *ut non parcant* obiurgando peccata, I, 9.

Mulier autem virorum pretiosas animas captat, *ut* ille magnae indolis animus hoc velut divino testimonio sublimatus et vere se optimum existimans veram pietatem religionemque *non quaereret*, II, 5.

Et certe si Fortuna loquitur, non saltem muliebris, sed virilis potius loqueretur, *ut non ipsae*, quae simulacrum dedicaverunt, *putarentur*, IV, 19.

Nec deus Spiniensis, ut spinas ex agris eradicaretur, nec dea Robigo, *ut non accederet*, rogaretur, IV, 21.

Ut autem aliter annum tunc fuisse computatum *non sit* incredibile, adiciunt quod apud plerosque scriptores historiae reperitur, XV, 12.

Longitudinem fugio, *ut non* haec per multa demonstrarem, XVIII, 44.

nihil ei nocere permittitur, cui procul dubio et rebus prosperis consolatio, *ut non frangatur* adversis, et rebus adversis exercitatio, *ut non corrumpatur* prosperis, XVIII, 51.

Ut enim in Christi nativitate huius rei *non ponamus* initium . . . procul dubio tunc innotuit per eius corporalem praesentiam doctrina et religio Christiana, XVIII, 54.

2. Hoc *ut facilius diiudicetur*, non vanescamus inani ventositate iactati, IV, 3.

The following passage also contains *quo* for *ut*,

Unde tres modios anulorum aureorum Carthaginem misit, *quo intellegent* tantam in illo proelio dignitatem cecidisse Romanam, *ut facilius* eam caperet mensura quam numerus, III, 19.

3. For this construction, cf. Chapter VI on Moods.

4. Ego autem *ut* hoc non ita *faciam*, sicut videtur ipsa expectatio postulare . . . copia quam incopia magis impediatur, XVII, 15.

Verum si hoc ad resurrectionis formam, in qua erit unusquisque, referendum esset, quid nos *impediret* nominato viro intellegere et feminam, *ut* virum pro homine positum acciperemus? XXII, 18.

5. sed illi *iubent ut* sacrificio *serviamus*, X, 16.

nec *iubent, ut* sacrificium faciamus, X, 32.

quae postea *iussit ut* redderet, XXI, 27.

iubente sancto episcopo Aurelio etiam *ut veniret* Carthaginem fecimus, XXII, 8.

sinamus, ut ea, quae vere vitia sunt virtutes *vocentur*, XIV, 9.

tamen utcumque *conatus est, ut* . . . ratio *deleniret*, VII, 33.

ita ut *iussisse* perhibeatur, *ne* saltem mortuo in ingrati patria funus *fieret*, III, 21.

VI. LICET.

Licet was not used as a conjunction until after Cicero. Properly speaking it was a verb in the present tense meaning "it is granted" and took the usual sequence of tenses. When *licet* was first used as a concessive conjunction it retained its original verbal force and the present or perfect subjunctive was construed with it by classical writers. Juvenal uses it more frequently than *quamvis* as a concessive conjunction. Tacitus uses it only in his Annals and History. In the jurists from Julianus on it becomes more and more frequent, until in the third century A. D. it is employed oftener than *quamvis*.

In the D. C. D. Augustine uses *licet* with the *imperfect* subjunctive in the three following passages:

Non solum enim non erit tale, quale nunc est in quavis optima valetudine . . . quale fuit in primis hominibus ante peccatum qui *licet* morituri *non essent*, XIII, 20.

Quae *licet* senio non *veterescerent*, XIII, 20.

licet in corpore animali *esset*, XIV, 12.

One instance of *licet* and the pluperfect subjunctive occurs, thus: ab hoste provocatus iuvenali ardore pugnaverant, *licet, vicisset*, occidit, V, 18.

VII. QUAMLIBET.

The indefinite adverb *quamlibet* was first used as a synonym for the concessive conjunction *quamvis* by the poets. The writers*

*Schmalz, 555; Riemann and Goelzer, 484; Goelzer (2), 337; Bonnet, 325.

of the Christian period took it over and we find it replacing *quamvis* and the subjunctive. Ammianus Marcellinus even used the indicative with *quamlibet*.

Two passages occur in the D. C. D. where *quamlibet* is used with the subjunctive with the force of a concessive conjunction.

Sed quod pertinet ad praesentem quaestionem, *quamlibet* laudabilem *dicant* istam fuisse . . . II, 22.

Quamlibet enim de quacumque re propriae *sint* atque manifestae propheticae locutiones, necesse est ut eis etiam tropicae misceantur, XVII, 16.

VIII. SI.

Conditional sentences.

Classical writers have at all times permitted themselves much liberty in the use of mood and tense in conditional sentences. Accordingly, grammarians exhibit considerable latitude and variety in their explanations of the underlying principles. Lane has no less than eighty-eight combinations of conditional periods taken from classical literature, which indicates the difficulty involved in trying to classify the conditional sentences of any author as classical or non-classical. The forms assumed by such sentences depended rather upon the individual viewpoint of the writer than on any recognized and restricting set of rules.

In general Augustine in the D. C. D. conforms to the common classical constructions in his use of conditional periods. In Chapter V on Voice and Tense, a confusion of time, resulting from the complex forces influencing the language at that period, is noted. This confusion exists no less in the tenses of the conditional sentences. Augustine uses a large number of contrary to fact conditional sentences, and among these the imperfect subjunctive appears frequently for the pluperfect and vice versa.

In contrary to fact conditional sentences, classical writers rarely confused the tenses. The pluperfect subjunctive is used in both protasis and apodosis for past action, the imperfect subjunctive in protasis and apodosis when the statement refers to present time. The imperfect subjunctive might also denote past time of repeated action or action continuing into the present.

In this type of conditional sentence, viz., contrary to fact, variations from classical Latin appear as follows in the D. C. D. of Augustine.

1. Past contrary to fact with the imperfect subjunctive in both protasis and apodosis.

quae omnia procul dubio nobis tribuerent, si iam vel illis clareret nostra religio, vel ita eos a sacris sacrilegis prohiberet, I, 36. Illas theatricas artes diu virtus Romana non noverat, quae si ad oblectamentum voluptatis humanae quaererentur, vitio morum inreperent humanorum, II, 13.

Tunc enim tota Urbe in hostium potestatem redacta solus collis Capitolinus remanserat, qui etiam ipse caperetur, nisi saltem anseres diis dormientibus vigilarent, II, 22.

Aliud adicio, quia, si peccata hominum illis numinibus displicerent, ut offensi Paridis facto desertam Troiam ferro ignibusque donarent, magis eos contra Romanos moveret Romuli frater occisus, III, 6.

Si ergo tutores essent Romanae felecity et gloriae, tam grave ab ea crimen Saguntinae calamitatis averterent, III, 20.

quae illa civitas pertulit vel ad eius imperium provinciae pertinentes, antiquam eorum sacrificia prohibita fuissent; quae omnia procul dubio nobis tribuerent, si iam vel illis clareret nostra religio vel ita eos a sacris sacrilegis prohiberet, IV, 2.

Cur ipse Romulus felicem cupiens condere civitatem non huic templum potissimum struxit nec propter aliquid diis ceteris supplicavit, quando nihil dasset, si haec adesset? IV, 23.

Cf. also I, 36; II, 2; III, 15; IV, 7, 15, 28; VI, 2; VII, 27; XVI, 11; XVII, 4, 12.

The following passage¹⁰ is a good illustration of the imperfect subjunctive in protasis and apodosis designating repeated action in past time, and action continuing into the present:

Neque enim utrumque demonstraretur in omnibus, quia, si omnes remanerent in poenis iustae damnationis, in nullo apparet misericors gratia; rursus si omnes a tenebris transferrentur in lucem, in nullo appareret veritas ultionis, XXI, 12.

Cf. also XVII, 11.

2. Past contrary to fact conditional sentence with protasis in the imperfect instead of the pluperfect subjunctive.

si humanum genus ante bella Punica Christianam reciperet disciplinam et consequeretur rerum tanto vastatio, quanta illis

¹⁰ Dod's translation has this noted as a pluperfect subjunctive.

bellis Europam Africamque contrivit, nullus talium, quales nunc patimur, nisi Christianae religioni mala illa tribuisset, III, 31.

In the following passage the protasis still comes under (2) but the apodosis is that of a past simple condition:

nostrum fuit utique . . . attendere et videre nequaquam illos ad hanc artem perventuros fuisse, qua homo deos facit, si a veritate non aberrarent, si ea, quae Deo digna sunt, crederent, si animum adverterent ad cultum religionem divinam, VIII, 24.

3. Past contrary to fact conditional sentences with apodosis in the imperfect subjunctive.

Classical Latin permits the combination of pluperfect subjunctive in protasis and imperfect in apodosis, provided present time is designated by the imperfect. Past time, however, is clearly expressed in the following:

Si autem a diis suis Romani vivendi leges accipere potuissent, non aliquot annos post Romam conditam ab Atheniensibus mutarentur leges Solonis, II, 16.

Quam si tacuisset, aliter hoc factum eius ab aliis fortasse defenderetur, VI, 4.

Nam parasitos Iovis ad convivium eius adhibitos si mimus dixisset, utique risum quaesisse videretur, VI, 7.

Nullam Iacob legitur petisse praeter unam, nec usus plurimis nisi gignendae prolis officio, coniugali iure servato, ut neque hoc faceret, nisi uxores eius id fieri flagitassent, XVI, 38.

4. Present contrary to fact conditional sentences with pluperfect subjunctive in the protasis.

Classical Latin permits the combination of imperfect subjunctive in apodosis and pluperfect in the protasis, provided the time expressed by the protasis is past. In the following passage, present time is clearly indicated by the pluperfect subjunctive:

Hoc si nostris temporibus accidisset, rabidiores istos quam sua illi animalia pateremur, III, 23.

In the following passage Augustine uses the pluperfect for past action still continuing into the present:¹¹

¹¹ No such example is presented by Lane.

si Christianis temporibus accidissent, quibus ea nisi Christianis hominibus tamquam crimina obicerent? III, 31.

In a contrary to fact conditional sentence in classical Latin, verbs denoting necessity, propriety, possibility, duty, and the second periphrastic conjugation, when used in the apodosis, may be put in the imperfect or perfect indicative.

Augustine, in the apodosis of a contrary to fact conditional sentence, uses the second periphrastic conjugation with the pluperfect indicative for the imperfect, thus:

Virtutem quoque deam fecerunt; quae quidem si dea esset, multis fuerat praeferenda, IV, 20.

5. Future simple conditional sentences.

Rarely in classical Latin do we find the present tense of the apodosis combined with a future in the protasis. In general the future appears in both protasis and apodosis.

Augustine in two passages uses the future in the protasis and the present in the apodosis, thus:

Timor vero ille castus permanens in saeculum saeculi, si erit et in futuro saeculo . . . non est timor exterrens a malo quod accidere potest . . . XIV, 9.

Quibus si respondebimus esse animalia profecto corruptibilia, quia mortalia, . . . aut nolunt credere . . . XXI, 2.

X. NISI.

Nisi forte introduces an objection or exception, usually an ironical afterthought. It was rare before Cicero's time and regularly took the indicative.

In the D. C. D. four instances occur of *nisi forte* introducing an ironical thought with the subjunctive, thus:

Nisi forte quispiam sic *defendat* istos deos, ut dicat eos ideo mansisse Romae, III, 15.

Nisi forte quis *dicat* more spongiarum vel huiusce modi rerum mundare daemones amicos suos, IX, 16.

nisi forte inde se nobis *auderent* praeferre Platonici, X, 30.

Nisi forte quis *dicat* id, quod Dominus ait de diabolo in evangelis, XI, 13.

CHAPTER X.—SUMMARY.

Ecclesiastical Latin, as we have said before, has for its basic content the *sermo plebeius* of the Roman people, and we accordingly expect to find therein many of the similarities and variances in style and syntax which distinguish the language of the common people from the language of classical Latin literature.

The variations have been overestimated however. On examination, ecclesiastical Latin is found to vary from the Latin of the classics in no more marked degree than the works of the poets and prose writers of the Imperial epoch.

From this syntactical study of the D. C. D. we find that Augustine represents the characteristics of African Latinity of the fourth century A. D. In summary, the variations from classical Latin as found therein are the following:

In the gender of substantives Augustine shows a strict adherence to classical norms. In some instances he uses a plural for a singular term and vice versa. Like the writers of his age Augustine is fond of abstract terms using them sometimes instead of participles, at other times for adverbs. In case usage of nouns he deviates from classical norms, but no more so than the writers of the Empire. Augustine differs from classical authors to a similar degree in his use of adjectives. While his irregularities in the use of comparison are few, they exist sufficiently to mark him as a writer of ecclesiastical Latin. Very frequently Augustine uses *unus* for *alter*, an irregularity, common in Christian Latin, which shows lack of precision in the use of the language of the period. Pronouns appear much more frequently in the D. C. D. than in classical prose. The fineness of discrimination in regard to pronouns, so prevalent in classical Latin, is lacking. *Is, hic, ille*, and *ipse* are used indiscriminately and confusion exists in the use of *iste . . . ille, . . . ille . . . ille*, and *ille . . . iste* for *hic . . . ille* in contrasts. The indefinite pronouns are used interchangeably. *Aliquis* the indefinite pronoun of affirmative sentences occurs in negative statements, and *quisquam* the indefinite of negative propositions appears in affirmative statements. The pronominal adjective *tantus, tot* and *quot* are replaced by *tam magnus, tam multi* and *quam multi*. Besides *unus*, as noted above, *alius* is frequently substituted for *alter*, and *alter* for *alius*. In the use of adverbs, Augustine in the D. C. D. does not differ from other writers of the

Christian period. He uses *unde* for *quomodo*; *adhuc* for *etiam tum*; *ceterum* for *sed*; *scilicet* for *id est*; *magis* for *potius*; *utrum* for *ne* or *num* and *nec . . . quidem* for *ne . . . quidem*.

In our study we find in the verb more than in any other part of speech the greatest number of irregularities. Classical precision is notably absent in the use of the tenses. The future perfect is substituted for the simple future; the perfect infinitive is substituted for the present infinitive; the pluperfect is used for the perfect or imperfect and in many instances tense sequence is neglected. Augustine conforms to classical Latinity in his use of the imperative mood. He uses the indicative in indirect questions; in relative clauses of characteristic; after *quod* and *quia* for the accusative and infinitive in indirect statements; and with *forsitan*, *quamvis* and in causal relative clauses. One instance of the subjunctive with *non* occurs for a prohibition. He uses the third person singular subjunctive of *absum* with unusual force, first as an intensive optative subjunctive, and second as an equivalent of *tantum abest . . . ut*. The subjunctive is also used with *quamquam*, and with *quod* and *quia* for the accusative and infinitive in indirect statements. Augustine also uses a modifying adjective or its equivalent with a substantive infinitive. The infinitive is used to express purpose; with adjectives which regularly take a supine in classical Latin; instead of the genitive of the gerund; and with verbs which were not known to be so used in the period of classical literature.

In the use of participles, Augustine in the D. C. D. allows himself much liberty. The present participle appears in all cases and both numbers as a substantive; it occurs as a predicate with a copula; it takes the place of a *postquam* clause; and is used in place of the ablative of the gerund. The future participle is used as a substantive and as an attributive adjective; in some instances it designates purpose. The perfect passive participle form, as it were, a periphrastic conjugation with the verb *habere*. The gerund and gerundive are much favored by Augustine in the D. C. D. as well as by other ecclesiastical writers, and are used with a much greater frequency than in classical Latin. As for conjunctions, Augustine does not hesitate to substitute one for another, wherever there is a general similarity of meaning. In many instances prepositions appear where a single case form would suffice; an extension in the use of the preposition, as well as a change of meaning is very evident.

From this study it is very evident that St. Augustine, at least in the *De Civitate Dei*, comes closer to classical requirements than any other writer of the same period. While deviating to a certain extent, principally for psychological reasons, yet on the whole he very closely approaches classical Latin.

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VITA.

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The Stylistic Influence of the Second Sophistic
On the Panegyrical Sermons of
St. John Chrysostom

A
STUDY IN GREEK RHETORIC

A DISSERTATION

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this dissertation is to investigate the influence of the Second Sophistic Rhetoric on St. John Chrysostom by studying in his sermons the chief figures of speech employed by the sophist rhetors, as well as the sophistic ecphrasis. From the vast bulk of Chrysostom's sermons, about 450 in number, we have selected the *Sermones Panegyrici seu in Solemnitates* as most likely to show the sophistic influence. The epideictic discourse was in fact the most favored by the rhetors, and allowed the fullest display of rhetorical resources. The panegyrical sermons comprise some of the most celebrated sermons of Chrysostom, viz., the seven *Panegyrics on St. Paul* and the *Festal Discourses*. We have not, however, entirely neglected the other sermons, and have included in our study the first four *Homilies on the Statues*, the two *On Eutropius*, two *On His Return from Exile*, and one *Against the Games and Theatres*.

An examination of the tendencies of profane rhetoric in the sermons of the greatest orator of the Eastern Church will, we hope, be a welcome contribution to one of the most interesting problems of today, the literary relations between Hellenism and Christianity. In regard to this question our study aims to continue the investigations made by L. Méridier in his work: *L'Influence de la seconde sophistique sur l'oeuvre de Grégoire de Nysse*, as well as by M. Guignet: *St. Gregoire de Nazianze et la Rhétorique*. We have followed substantially the plan of these scholars, and have been guided by their methods in the handling of our subject. We have, however, confined our study to the strictly rhetorical influences as they appear in the tropes, figures of speech, and the ecphrasis of the above mentioned sermons, while their works embrace not only the study of the tropes and figures, but also the composition and the dialectics of the sermons and other writings of Gregory of Nyssa and Gregory Nazianzen.

We have not attempted to trace in Chrysostom any close correspondences between his style and that of any particular sophist, e. g., Libanius. Both Méridier¹ and Guignet² have pointed out the futility of such a plan. Our endeavor has been rather to find

¹ Avant-propos, VI.

² Ch. III, 72.

in Chrysostom the characteristics of the second sophistic in general. These characteristics are very thoroughly treated by Méri-dier in the above-mentioned work.³

The subject of this dissertation was suggested by a reading of E. Norden's work, *Die Antike Kunstprosa*, II, 569 ff., where he briefly indicates the difference between Gregory Nazianzen's style and that of Basil and Chrysostom: "Lange wohldisponierte Sätze statt der kurzen zerhackten, und im allgemeinen sehr sparsame Verwendung der Redefiguren, nach denen man bei ihnen suchen muss, während sie sich bei Gregor überall aufdrängen." Our eagerness to search after these evidences of the influence of profane rhetoric in Chrysostom was increased, when we learned that E. Norden was not alone in minimizing this influence. Thus L. Ackermann⁴ makes the strange assertion that Chrysostom wrote in the style of St. Paul, and that he was free from the bad taste and the mannerisms of the sophists. Wilamowitz⁵ states that there is no trace of the jingle of rhymes and cadences in Chrysostom's larger orations. O. Bardenhewer⁶ restricts the sophistic influence in Chrysostom to some individual sermons of his earlier period. If these statements were correct, we argued, then the sermons of Chrysostom presented a psychological phenomenon that was indeed remarkable. It seemed strange to us that Chrysostom should be detached to such an extent from the rhetoric in which he was trained from early youth, and which, prior to his ordination, claimed him as one of its ablest exponents. These considerations made us still more eager to take up this subject, and to determine in what measure these statements were justified.

We have not included in our investigation the study of rhythmical clausulae in Chrysostom, because the question of prose rhythm is still a much-mooted one, and allows much room for subjective theorizing. Moreover, this subject is in itself large enough for a special monograph.

The author wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness and to express his sincere gratitude to Dr. Roy Joseph Deferrari, Head of the Greek and Latin Departments at the Catholic University of America, under whose helpful and stimulating direction this monograph has been written.

³ Ch. III, La Seconde Sophistique.

⁴ *Die Beredsamkeit des hl. Johannes Chrysostomus*, 99.

⁵ *Kultur der Gegenwart*, Teil I, Abt. VIII, 214.

⁶ *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, Bd. III, 353.

CHAPTER I

THE NEW OR SECOND SOPHISTIC

We shall not attempt here anything like a complete sketch of the interesting period in Greek literature known as the New or Second Sophistic. We shall be content to point out only its general character and the rhetorical devices that shaped its style.¹ The term signifies that renaissance of Greek Rhetoric which dominated Greek literature from the close of the first to the end of the fourth century A.D. The movement had its rise in the rhetorical schools of Asia Minor, and in the reign of Hadrian it entered Athens. Its purpose was to bring about a revival of Greek oratory by a close imitation of the Attic masters of expression, Demosthenes, Isocrates, Thucydides, Herodotus, Xenophon, and Plato.² But many sophists preferred the mannerisms of Gorgias and Hippias; for the pompous, ornate diction of the latter was better suited to their own style than the sober, practical manner of the great orators and historians. For the same reason they probably copied the Asiatic orators; at least we find in many of the sophists the same faults which critics censure in Hegesias and the Asiatic school, *viz.*, short, mincing cola, an excessive use of tropes and figures, and an effeminate rhythm closely approaching the metre of poetry. Unfortunately these rhetors of the New Sophistic were reckoned as peers of the ancient masters or even as superior to them, and so came to be imitated as classics, whereas their works were at best only poor copies of the great originals.³

As a consequence of the revival of oratory the study of rhetoric was regarded as the most essential element of higher education. All the great sophists were likewise teachers of rhetoric. The youth of the better families all passed through their schools. They stood high in the public estimation. They were

¹ For a full account of the Second Sophistic see E. Rohde, *Die griechische Sophistik der Kaiserzeit*, in *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer*, 310 ff.; also W. Schmid, *Der Atticismus in seinen Hauptvertretern*; E. Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa*; E. Hatch, *The Influence of Greek ideas and usages upon the Christian Church*, 86-115; L. Méridier, *La Seconde Sophistique*, in *L'Influence de la seconde sophistique sur l'oeuvre de Grégoire de Nysse*, 7-47.

² W. v. Christ, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*, Band VII, 2, 2, 511.

³ Rohde, 350.

regarded as leaders and spokesmen of their respective communities; they discharged the highest municipal offices; they served as legates to the emperors and were honored with statues and laudatory decrees.⁴ Occasionally they pleaded private causes in the law-courts, but this they regarded as a menial avocation and as beneath the dignity of an artist.

What they claimed as their peculiar province was the oratory of pomp and show, the so-called epideictic speeches, in which art was displayed for art's sake. These, like all the literary products of the Sophistic, were composed primarily with a view to public declamation. In speeches decked out with all the embellishments of rhetoric the sophist championed the interests of his province or city before the imperial magistrates. At the national games of Olympia and the other great contests panegyric speeches formed an essential part of the program. At the solemn feasts of the gods the sophist was selected to voice the devout enthusiasm of his fellow-citizens.⁵ The themes of the ordinary discourses were of a manifold character. Sometimes the sophist would deliver a well-prepared speech on a subject of forensic or deliberative oratory, but preferably on a theme taken from mythology or history. Not infrequently he would marshal all the resources of his wit and ingenuity in the laudatory exposition of some lowly theme, such as the ancient sophists were wont to treat.

However, the supreme test of an accomplished sophist consisted in discoursing without previous preparation on any subject selected by his audience. It was part of his art to force the choice of a subject, or so to develop it that he might bring in something which he had already prepared. "When your audience has chosen a subject for you," says Lucian,⁶ in his satirical advice to rhetoricians, "go straight at it and say without hesitation whatever words come to your tongue, never minding about the first point coming first and the second second: the great thing is to go right on and not have any pauses. If you have to talk at Athens about adultery, bring in the customs of the Hindoos and Persians: above all, have passages about Marathon and Cynaegirus—that is indispensable. And Athos must always be turned into sea, and the Hellespont into dry land, and the sun must be darkened by the clouds of Median arrows . . . and Salamis and Artemisium and Plataea, and so forth, must come in pretty frequently; and, above

⁴ Rohde, 315 ff.

⁵ Rohde, 326 ff.

⁶ *The Teacher of Rhetoric*, 18.

all, those little Attic words I told you about must blossom on the surface of your speech—*ἄττα* and *διήκουθεν*—must be sprinkled about freely, whether they are wanted or not: for they are pretty words, even when they do not mean anything.”⁷

The skilled rhetor declaimed his well-balanced periods with a kind of musical cadence of the voice, which varied in pitch according to the sentiment of the passage. Sometimes he lapsed into a monotonous singsong, an abuse prevalent among the Asiatic orators. Ancient critics compare this musical delivery to the song of the nightingale or the music of the citharist. In point of facial expression and gestures some sophists exceeded all measure. Occasionally, like actors on the stage, they impersonated diverse characters, such as a murderer, a farmer, or a beggar.⁸

The occasion on which the sophist made his appearance before the public was indeed one of triumph and glory for him, bringing a rich reward for all his labors. The entire population, from the mechanic to the highest official, thronged to these performances as to a dramatic spectacle. The audience was as a rule very appreciative and signified its approval by clapping, by loud cheers and cries of: “Bravo!” “Inspired!” “Wonderful!”⁹ This practice of loud applause prevailed even in the Christian churches of this period, as we shall see from Chrysostom’s sermons. The sophist felt it very keenly if the audience showed itself indifferent or slow to applaud.

One of the chief defects of the New Sophistic was its unreality. The sophists chose their subjects not from the living present, but from the dead past; for they considered themes taken from the life of the times as trivial and commonplace. But whenever they deigned to treat such a topic, they did it in an idealistic fashion, surrounding it with the glamour of antiquity. Their favorite field was ancient history and mythology. The sophist had no real, personal, vital interest in his subject. It appealed to him solely in as far as it lent itself to rhetorical embellishment, and in this respect he gave full rein to his fancy, not caring for any deeper investigation of the nature and essence of things. This enabled him to speak with an annoying facility on any topic, and he could “make small things seem great and great things small.” The first essentials of true oratory were lacking—grandeur or importance of subject-matter, sincerity of disposition

⁷ Tr. by E. Hatch, 95.

⁸ Rohde, 336 ff.

⁹ E. Hatch, 96.

in the orator, and genuineness of feeling. The ancient Greek orators discoursed on issues of public and personal interest. They identified these issues with their own and put their heart and soul into them. The sophist selected fanciful themes with the sole purpose of entertaining or amusing his hearers with a pyro-technical display of rhetorical skill, wit, and ingenuity.¹⁰

The rhetorical style of the sophists shows this same tendency, a constant straining after effect by a display of tropes and figures.¹¹ Hermogenes, defining false *δεινότης*, informs us that it is proper to the sophists (*περὶ ἰδεῶν*, 395). Among the figures which they employed to obtain this false *δεινότης*, he mentions the so-called *σχήματα κεκαλλωπισμένα* (*ib.*, 332 ff.). These are the *parison*, the *epanaphora*, the *antistrophe*, the *κλίμαξ*, the *polyptoton*, and the *hyperbaton*.¹²

Of these figures the chief ones are the *epanaphora* and the *parison*. The *epanaphora* is one of the most ordinary figures of the sophists' style. They employ it with cola of moderate length to produce a sort of musical refrain and with short *κόμματα* with a view to nervous energy. Most often it is combined with asyndeton, which makes it more emphatic. The *epanaphora* occurs frequently in the two declamations of Polemo. The same is true of the orations of Libanius, *e.g.*, in *Or.* XLVII, 412, 17 (Foerster): *τοιούτοι . . . τοιαῦται . . .* is repeated seven times. In Himerius' *Ecl.* II, 46, 6: *ἕως . . .* is repeated four times.

A very important group of figures are the Gorgianic Figures, the *parison*, the *antithesis*, and the *homoioteleuton*. They are par excellence the figures of artistic Greek prose, producing symmetry, parallelism, and musical cadence, which are among its greatest beauties. Their invention was attributed by the ancients to Gorgias. Be that as it may, it is certain that the abuse of these figures was one of the most glaring faults of his style. The sophists as a rule copied this bad example. We shall quote examples of the *parison*, *antithesis*, and *homoioteleuton* from some of the leading sophists.

The *parison* presents two or more successive cola having the same general structure, often with an exact correspondence between the respective parts of the cola. Libanius, who employs this figure oftener than any other, has the following: *Or.* XIX, 412, 61:

¹⁰ Rohde, 347 ff.

¹¹ On this subject cf. Méridier, 20-47.

¹² All of these, except the *parison*, are treated in chapter III, p. 29.

καταλέλυνται μὲν αἱ περὶ τοὺς λόγους διατριβαί,
καταλέλυνται δὲ αἱ περὶ τὰ γράμματα διδασκαλαί
νοσοῦντων μὲν ἡ χροά,
οὐκ ἔρρωμένων δὲ ἡ φωνή,
πεπλανημένων δὲ ἡ γνώμη

Himerius, in *Ecl.* II, 50, 11:

Ἀπέστημεν ἐτέροις τῆς ἡγεμονίας, οὐκ ἀντεῖπες
παρεχωρήσαμεν τοῦ πατρίου σχήματος, οὐκ ἡγανάκτησας.

Themistius, *Or.* I, 11 d.:

ἄδικος μὲν τῆς σπουδῆς,
ἡλίθιος δὲ τῆς γνώμης,
ἀνόητος δὲ τῆς ἐλπίδος.

When the two cola of a parison express a contrast of ideas, we have the most artistic form of the parison—the *antithesis*. The sophists had a high regard for this figure and used it lavishly. The two declamations of Polemo teem with antitheses,¹⁸ in which Cynaegirus is contrasted with Callimachus. The *Corinthiacus* of Favorinus likewise abounds in antitheses, *e.g.*, 15, 18:

σοφὸς μὲν ἦν μετ' ὀλίγων,
τύραννος δὲ μετὰ πολλῶν.

18, 22:

τεθῆναι μὲν ὡς ἄριστος,
ἐκπεσεῖν δ' ὡς πονηρότατον.

Libanius is prodigal in his use of the same figure, *e.g.*, *Or.* XVIII, 370, 308:

ὃ μικρὸν μὲν τῆς γῆς μέρος κατέχων διὰ τοῦ τάφου,
πᾶσαν δὲ τῷ θαύματι τὴν οἰκουμένην,
ὃ νενικηκὼς μάχαις μὲν τοὺς ἄλλοφύλους,
ἀμαχεὶ δὲ τοὺς ὁμοφύλους.

Note how the symmetry of the last two cola is enhanced by the double paronomasia.

The symmetry of cola reaches its highest perfection when the parison is combined with the *homoioteleuton*, which is produced by the recurrence of the same final syllables at the end of successive cola. This musical and poetical element of style holds an important place in sophistic literature. It was one of the chief means employed by the sophists to give a poetical character to their prose. We cite a few instances from Dion Chrysostom and Libanius:

¹⁸ Schmid, I, 63.

Dion Chrysostom, *Or.* 75, 204:

ὁ τὰς πανηγύρεις συνάγων,
ὁ τοὺς θεοὺς τιμῶν,
ὁ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὖξων.

Id., *Or.* III, 55, 15:

ἡ στρατιὰν ἐξέταξεν
ἡ χώραν ἡμέρωσεν,
ἡ πόλιν ᾤκισεν,
ἡ ποταμούς ἐξευξεν,
ἡ γῆν ὀδεύτην ἐποίησεν.

Libanius, *Or.* XIX, 385, 1:

καὶ λόγῳ χρησομένην
καὶ ἔργῳ δεησομένην.

Ib. 387, 5:

τούς τε παιδεύεσθαι βουλομένους
τούς τε παιδεύειν δυναμένους.

Among the figures of which the sophists were very fond we must mention *paronomasia* and *alliteration*. Paronomasia is a play on words which are similar in sound but dissimilar in sense. Its various forms may be grouped under two heads,

1) Words having the same root:

a) With changes and additions of prefixes:

Dion Chrysostom, I, 228, 2: ἀντίτεχνοι καὶ ὁμότεχνοι; Aristides, VII, 75, 78: προγόνων τε καὶ ἐγγόνων.

b) With changes of case, voice, mood, tense, etc.:

Lucian, *Conv.* 432: παίων καὶ παιόμενος; *id.*, *Bis. acc.* 815:

ἐλευθέρους ἐλευθέρως φιλοσοφεῖν.

2) Words having different roots:

Polemo, *Declam. B.* 20, 15: σῶμα σῆμα; *id.*, 19, 10: φόνον καὶ φόβον; Dion Chrysostom, I, 189, 32: λοιμός τε καὶ λιμός (Thucydides, II, 54, 2); Aristides, III, 30, 33: ἀνήχθω . . . ἀνήφθω.

Alliteration signifies the recurrence of the same initial letter or letters in words generally succeeding immediately, *e.g.*: Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* 39, 20: διαφαίνονται τοῦ λόγου καὶ λαμπρότητες λήγουσαι; Achilles Tatius, VII, 11, 7: ὁ τῶν ληστῶν λόχος λανθάνων.

In his treatise *περὶ ἰδεῶν* (292, 19 ff.) Hermogenes also remarks that the immoderate use of tropes was one of the faults of the ὑπόφυλοι σοφισταί (pseudo-sophists). A careful reading of the sophists will show that they all more or less merit this term of reproach. Among the tropes the *metaphor* takes first rank. It

signifies the transfer of a word from its literal to a figurative sense.

The two declamations of Polemo are remarkable for an abundance of metaphors of bad taste.¹⁴ For instance, the hands of Cynaegirus, which had been cut off in the battle of Marathon, are styled (13, 36): "The divine torches that bore the light of liberty." The same criticism applies to Aristides, with this difference, that his lack of originality betrays itself in his dry repetition of the traditional metaphors of the schools.¹⁵ The discourses of Himerius show an abundance of metaphors which are, as a rule, very artificial and of a labored ingenuity. In contrast with these sophists, Themistius and Libanius are less bold in their metaphors. The criticism which Schmid makes of Aristides applies also to them, *viz.*, their images are trite. Libanius borrows them preferably from the athletic games. Thus, in *Or.* XVIII, 360, 283, he calls the deceased emperor Julian "an athlete who was on the point of receiving the crown."

The *comparison* bears a close relation to the metaphor. In the metaphor the resemblance between two objects is implied; in the comparison it is formally stated. This sparkling ornament of style appealed strongly to the taste of the sophists. Schmid has counted 397 instances of the comparison in the 80 orations of Dion Chrysostom.¹⁶ They are in general taken from everyday life, preferably from medicine. The same critic has noted in the two declamations of Polemo twelve comparisons which are remarkable for their bad taste.¹⁷ Here is one that is particularly bold and extravagant—Callimachus is represented as defying the whole army of the Persians: "Though blows and arrows shower down upon me thick and fast, yet I speak as if I were being crowned with flowers."¹⁸ The comparisons of Aristides, like his metaphors, lack originality.¹⁹ The comparisons of Himerius are as numerous as his metaphors and exhibit a tendency to prettiness and subtlety. They are generally a pretext for the introduction of brilliant and prolonged images, giving to his writings the poetical color at which he aims. They are drawn mostly from the beauties of nature and from works of art. In *Or.* XII, 584, par. 2 and 3, he compares the orator successively to an artisan, a

¹⁴ Schmid, I, 61.

¹⁵ Schmid, II, 263.

¹⁶ *Atticismus* I, 169.

¹⁷ *Ib.* I, 61 ff.

¹⁸ *Declam.* B, 35, 15.

¹⁹ Schmid, II, 263.

painter, a sculptor, a flute-player, and a pilot. This last image was a great favorite with the sophists. While the comparisons of Himerius reflect the taste and the pretensions of an artist, those of Themistius are chiefly of a philosophical nature. He is fond of representing himself as a physician. Other comparisons are borrowed from the athletic games, the chariot-races, and navigation.

The comparisons of Libanius are of the conventional kind. In his monody on Julian²⁰ he takes one from the palaestra, another one from medicine.²¹

The *hyperbole* is another trope much in vogue with the sophists. It consists in magnifying an object beyond its just proportions. The sophist orators often employed it to give to topics which were trivial or commonplace an air of grandeur and importance. Hermogenes, who otherwise is a critic of good judgment, does not scruple to affirm that one may at times employ a grand style in setting forth subjects in themselves simple and of small account.²² Acting on this principle the sophists violated all the canons of good taste. Polemo is one of the worst offenders in this respect. His two declamations contain a considerable number of gross exaggerations, *e. g.*, he states that "Callimachus withstood a shower of missiles of every kind, until he had exhausted all the arrows of Asia and fatigued the grand army of the king,"²³ and again "that Cynaegirus proved that the Athenians alone of all men were endowed with immortal hands."²⁴ The glorious struggles of the Persian wars were a fruitful theme of extravagant hyperboles. Thus Aristides in his *Panathenaicus*²⁵ assures us "that the rivers of blood would have sufficed to keep the ships afloat." In like manner Himerius, commenting on the vast number of Persian troops,²⁶ states "that no stream would have sufficed to quench their thirst." His monody on his son Rufinus is a long series of hyperboles exhibiting the false pathos so characteristic of the sophists. In *Or. XXIII*, 772, 4, he apostrophizes his son thus: "Thy first accents were those of a chief of the people; thy cries yet indistinct held in suspense the whole world. Thou wast an orator in thy swaddling-clothes."

The *oxymoron*, or *paradox*, is another trope which was dear to the sophists. It denotes the combination of two terms appar-

²⁰ *Or. XVII*, 218, 31.

²¹ *Ib.* 221, 36.

²² *περί ιδεών*, 396, 5.

²³ *Declam.* B, 19, 21.

²⁴ *Ib.* A, 12, 9.

²⁵ *Or. XIII*, 203.

²⁶ *Or. II*, 408, 24.

ently contradictory, but which, viewed in the light of the context, are not incompatible. The oxymoron was well suited to the description of paradoxical and unusual situations in which the sophists loved to revel. The declamations of Polemo furnish several examples of traditional oxymora; *e. g.*, he says of Cynaegirus, who from the shore attacked a Persian vessel: *ἐναυμάχησεν ἐκ γῆς*.²⁷ In his second declamation (18, 1) he describes the corpse of Callimachus, which remained in a standing posture though covered with wounds and pierced with countless arrows, as: *νεκρὸν θανάτου κρείττονα*, and he reverts to the same subject later (32, 14) saying: *νῦν πρῶτον ἀθάνατος ὤφθη νεκρός*. Schmid²⁸ has noted 44 instances of the oxymoron in Aristides and calls special attention to one which, like Polemo's *ἐναυμάχησεν ἐκ γῆς*, is borrowed from the *Panegiricus* of Isocrates, 89: XIII, 259, 276: *ναυμαχίας τε ἀπὸ γῆς . . . ἐν τῇ νήσῳ γενομένης*.

The *ecphrasis*, though neither a trope nor a figure, deserves a place here, because it plays a prominent role in sophistic literature. It is a graphic and vivid description, minutely detailed, in which the sophists sought to rival the glowing descriptions of the poets. It afforded them a fine opportunity for the display of the most delicate arts of expression. With this object in view they freely borrowed poetical words as well as poetical themes.²⁹ The *ecphrasis* is found more frequently in the Asiatic sophists who copied the poets than in the Atticising rhetors who emulated the classic orators. It is rare in Themistius and is restricted to the function of a *τόπος* in the monodies or of a rhetorical exercise in the progymnasmata of Libanius. But Himerius, who interlards his compositions with reminiscences from Alcaeus, Sappho, and Anacreon, is very lavish in its employment.

Such are in brief the broad features and tendencies as well as the stylistic peculiarities of the Second Sophistic. The rhetorical devices which modify its style are not new nor are they restricted to the sophist orators; it is rather in their abuse that the sophistic manner reveals itself. The most striking feature of this rhetoric is its artificiality. Art was displayed for art's sake, instead of serving as a vehicle of ideas. It will be interesting to see in what measure this type of eloquence has influenced the rhetorical style of St. John Chrysostom.

²⁷ *Declam. A*, 5, 23.

²⁸ *Atticismus*, 281 ff.

²⁹ On the favorite themes of the *ecphrasis* see p. 86.

CHAPTER II

CHRYSOSTOM'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS SOPHISTIC RHETORIC

Before we examine the actual traces of rhetorical influence in the sermons of Chrysostom, it is pertinent to inquire into his theoretical attitude toward pagan culture and literature in general. Strangely enough, this question, which has a vital bearing on one of the most interesting problems of history, the relation of Hellenism to Christianity, has been sadly neglected until recent years. Without making any deeper investigations in the vast bulk of his sermons, historians and literary critics from E. Gibbon down to E. Norden have reiterated the charge that this prince of Christian orators was either profoundly indifferent or irreconcilably hostile to pagan culture and literature. The former¹ attributes to him the faculty "of prudently hiding the advantages which he owed to rhetoric and philosophy."

The scholar who first exposed the falsity of this traditional view was A. Naegele.² He rendered an invaluable service to scholarship by proving conclusively from Chrysostom's own statements that he deserves a place beside Origen, Basil, Augustine, and others who advocated a compromise between Hellenism and Christianity.

For all practical purposes such a compromise was an established fact by the middle of the fourth century. The Christian Fathers of this period were all thoroughly imbued with classic culture and gave evidence of it in their writings. Theoretically, however, opinions were divided as to whether or not Christian thought should be set forth in the polished language of the pagan classics.³ Some of the Fathers, like Augustine⁴ and Gregory Nazianzen, wavered in their attitude.⁵ Some of Gregory's bitter invectives against pagan writers and rhetors give the impression that he is altogether hostile to profane literature, while other of

¹ *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. by W. Smith, N. Y., III, 468.

² *Johannes Chrysostomos und sein Verhältnis zum Hellenismus*, *Byzant. Zeitschrift* XIII (1904), 73-113.

³ Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa* II, 529.

⁴ *Ib.* 517.

⁵ Guignet, *St. Grégoire de Nazianze et la Rhétorique*, 44 ff.

his statements show him in favor of enlisting its formal beauty in the exposition of Christian doctrine.

Now, Chrysostom's attitude is similar. In the heat of battle he sometimes allows his zeal to carry him too far, to censure not only the errors and vices of paganism, but profane writers and literature in general. This has led critics like Norden to pronounce him "the most bitter foe of paganism in the fourth century."⁶ A deeper and more sympathetic study of his sermons would have revealed the fact that, though he is unsparing in his condemnation of pagan error and immorality, he is at heart not hostile to the refining and cultural influences of antiquity. We shall briefly review the more important passages in Chrysostom which bear out this conclusion.⁷

In Book III⁸ of his treatise *Against the Enemies of Monasticism* he emphasizes the duty of parents to send their children to Christian schools, where their morals and religious training are safeguarded, rather than to pagan schools, where they "learn vice before letters." And, to prevent any misunderstanding, he exclaims: "'What then?' some one will say, 'Shall we abolish all our schools?' By no means do I say this, but we should not destroy the edifice of virtue nor bury the soul alive." He then proves at length that the acquisition of virtue is more important than the pursuit of eloquence. In confirmation of this he cites the philosophers Anacharsis, Crates, Diogenes, and Socrates who made no account of letters but applied themselves exclusively to the study of moral philosophy. The opening of Socrates' Apology is then quoted, where he says to the judges: "But you shall hear from me nothing but the truth. Not speeches finely decked out with words and phrases, nor carefully arranged" Chrysostom then remarks that the apostles, who were unlettered, converted the whole world, whereas the eloquent philosophers could not win over even a single tyrant. Then he adds the caution: "But let no one think I am laying down the rule that youths should not be instructed (in profane learning). However, if anyone gives me a guarantee regarding the necessary things (*i. e.*, virtue), I would not oppose this being given in the bargain. For, as, when the very foundations of a house are rocking and the whole structure is in danger of falling into ruins, it would be the utmost folly and madness to run to the plasterers

⁶ *Fl. Jahrb. f. cl. Phil.* Suppl. XIX (1893), 397.

⁷ On this general subject cf. A. Naegle.

⁸ 47, 367 ff.

and not to the builders: so it were unseasonable pertinacity, when the walls of a building stand firm and unshaken, to hinder him who would plaster it."

This agrees perfectly with the principles of Christian pedagogy which insists that moral discipline must ever be the foundation of intellectual training. Far from rejecting the study of letters, Chrysostom holds it to be a necessary complement of a perfect education. His quotation of the *Apology* shows him taking the same position toward eloquence which Plato assumed when, as here and in his *Gorgias*,⁹ he attacks rhetoric in the name of truth. Such attacks are aimed not at sane rhetoric, but at its abuse by the sophists.

It is against the neglect of religious education and the materialistic principles of paganism that Chrysostom again warns Christian parents in *Hom. XXI, 2, on Ephes.*:¹⁰ "Let everything be secondary with us to the provident care we should take of our children, and to our bringing them up in the chastening and admonition of the Lord. . . . You will effect nothing so great by teaching him an art, and giving him that outward learning by which he will gain riches, as if you teach him the art of despising riches. . . . Study not to make him an orator, but train him up to be a philosopher (*i. e.*, in the Christian sense). In the want of the one there will be no harm whatever; in the absence of the other, all the rhetoric in the world will be of no advantage. Tempers are wanted, not talking; character, not cleverness; deeds, not words. . . . Whet not his tongue, but cleanse his soul." And, as if to forestall all criticism, both contemporaneous and modern, he adds: "I do not say this to prevent your teaching him these things, but to prevent your attending to them exclusively." It is plain from these words that Chrysostom does not condemn classic culture, but the baneful products of paganism, an excessive love of wealth, and indifference to the higher interests of man.

Although he cautions parents against the dangerous effects of heathen mythology on the tender minds of the young,¹¹ yet he does not hesitate to introduce into his sermons reminiscences from classic literature, poets, dramatists, philosophers etc. in the shape of comparisons or in confirmation of the truths of Christianity, *e. g.*: "For God has so implanted that idea (*i. e.*, of hell) within us, that no one can ever be ignorant of it. For poets, and philoso-

⁹ 482 a-b, 502 c.

¹⁰ 62, 150 ff.

¹¹ *Hom. XXI, 1, on Ephes.*; 62, 150.

phers, and fabulists, and in short all men, have philosophized concerning the retribution that is there, and have said that the greater number are punished in Hades. And if those things are fables, yet what we have received is not such."¹²

He defends St. Paul for observing the same policy in quoting Epimenides,¹³ Aratus, and the inscription of the altar at Athens in his speech before the Areopagus:¹⁴ "And as to the question, why does he cite the testimonies of the Greeks? It is because we put them most to confusion, when we bring our testimonies and accusations from their own writers, when we make those their accusers who are admired among themselves. . . . Thus does God too, as in the case of the Wise Men. He does not conduct them by an Angel, nor a Prophet, nor an Apostle, nor an Evangelist, but how? By a star. For, as their art made them conversant with these, He made use of such means to guide them. . . . Thus He everywhere condescends."¹⁵

On one occasion he deemed it necessary to vindicate his own position toward Hellenism, as appears from the following: "Let no one think it an insult to Christ, if, when speaking of Him, we make mention of Pythagoras and Plato, Zeno and the Tyanean; for we do it not of our own inclination, but to accommodate ourselves to the weakness of the Jews."¹⁶ Then he appeals to the example of St. Paul and to God's manner of dealing with the Jews.

And who is not surprised to hear this stern interpreter of Holy Writ voice his appreciation of the charm of Greek myths: "How many stories have oftentimes been woven on these subjects (ἐλλήψεις καὶ ταλαιπωρίαι of ancient rulers)! For nearly all the tragedies of the stage, as well as the mythical stories, have kings for their subjects. For most of these stories are formed from true incidents, for it is thus they please. As, for example, Thyestes' banquet, and the destruction of all that family by their misfortunes. These things we know from the writers that are without (pagan historians): but if you will, I will adduce instances from the Scripture too."¹⁷

Chrysostom often presupposes in his hearers an intimate acquaintance with classic literature, as in the largely mythological

¹² *Hom.* IX, 5, on *Thessal.*; 62, 446.

¹³ *Tit.* I, 12.

¹⁴ *Acts* XVII, 28 and 23.

¹⁵ *Hom.* III, 1 and 2 on *Tit.*; 62, 677 and 678.

¹⁶ *Hom. agst. the Jews* V, 3; 48, 886.

¹⁷ *Hom.* XV, 5 on *Philipp.*; 62, 296.

fourth chapter of his *Hom. V on Titus*,¹⁸ and he compliments the widow of Therasius on her familiar knowledge of examples in literature and history of men who despised riches: "And you have no need to learn from me, who these men were, for you know them better than I do, Epaminondas, Socrates, Aristides, Diogenes, Crates etc."¹⁹

Once he even recommends to his audience the study of the classic poets, philosophers, rhetoricians, and historians, in order to gather lessons of practical wisdom: "Read, if you will, both our own (books) and those without (*i. e.*, pagan writers): for they also abound in such examples. If you despise ours, and this from pride; if you admire the works of philosophers, go even to them. They will instruct you relating ancient calamities, as will poets, and orators, and sophists, and all historians. On every side, if you will, you may find examples."²⁰

These unmistakable declarations of the Golden-mouthed Orator should dispel finally and definitely the false notion of his hostility to profane literature. In the light of the proofs we have here briefly sketched, the statement of Puech appears altogether unwarranted: "On ne trouverait pas chez ce Père, le plus éloquent des Pères, un mot en faveur des lettres."²¹ In fairness to Chrysostom we must admit that he was large-minded enough to appreciate what was good in pagan culture and that, in quitting the forum for the pulpit, and the study of literature for that of Holy Scripture, he did not repudiate his former ideals, but elevated, purified, and ennobled them. It has been well said of him: "Chrysostome est le plus beau génie de la société nouvelle, enté sur l'ancien monde, il est par excellence le Grec devenu chrétien."²²

But there was a particular phase of Greek culture in regard to which Chrysostom was plainly hostile, and that was the Sophistic Rhetoric. We have seen how he emphasized the importance of virtue and truth before eloquence, how he admonished parents to train their children in the fear of God rather than to make them skilled orators. To the sophists, however, virtue and truth were negligible considerations. All their efforts were bent on a display of rhetorical and dialectical virtuosity. Hence Chrysostom's bitter attacks against them. He frequently glories in the fact that St. Paul and the other Apostles were ignorant of the "tricks"

¹⁸ 62, 692-694.

¹⁹ *To a Young Widow*, 6; 48, 607.

²⁰ *Hom. I on Thess.* II; 62, 472.

²¹ *St. Jean Chrysostome et les mœurs de son temps*, Paris (1891), 124.

²² Villemain, *De l'éloquence chrétienne dans le quatrième siècle*, 391.

of rhetoric,²³ and that they were free from the craftiness and verbosity of the rhetors, *e.g.*:²⁴ "Thus the expression, 'I determined to know nothing,' was spoken in contradistinction to the wisdom which is without, 'For I came not weaving syllogisms nor sophisms, nor saying unto you anything else than, Christ was crucified.' They indeed have ten thousand things to say, and concerning ten thousand things they speak, winding out long courses of words, framing arguments and syllogisms, compounding sophisms without end." Again:²⁵ "The pagan philosophers, rhetors, and writers, seeking not what is conducive to the common good, but having in view only that they might be admired, even when they said something useful, veiled it in their usual obscurity. Not so the apostles and prophets."

Chrysostom knew from personal experience the shallowness and artificiality of sophistic rhetoric. He had passed through the school of the most accomplished sophist of his day, Libanius. He had for some time pleaded at the bar with distinction, but had turned away with disgust from the chicanery and sham of the sophistic profession. To see this brand of eloquence introduced into the churches roused his indignation, which is expressed in the following sarcastic invective:²⁶

"Many take a deal of pains to be able to stand up in public and make a long speech: and if they get applause from the multitude, they feel as if they gained the very kingdom (of heaven): but if silence follows the close of their speech, it is worse than hell itself, the dejection that falls upon their spirits from the silence! This has turned the Churches upside down, because you do not desire to hear a discourse calculated to lead you to compunction, but one that may delight you from the sound and composition of the words, as though you were listening to singers and minstrels (*κιθαριστών καὶ κιθαριστῶν*): and we too act a preposterous and pitiable part in being led by your lusts, when we ought to root them out. And so it is just as if the father of a poor, cold-blooded child (already more delicate than it ought to be) should, although it is so feeble, give it cake and cold (drink), and whatever merely pleases the child, and take no account of what might do it good; and then, being reproved by the physician, should excuse himself by saying, 'What can I do? I cannot bear to see the child crying.' Thou poor, wretched creature, thou betrayer! for I cannot call

²³ *On the Priesthood*, IV, 6; 48, 669; *Hom. XIII on Acts*; 60, 107.

²⁴ *Hom. VI on I Cor. II, 2*; 61, 48.

²⁵ *Serm. III, 3 on Lazarus*; 48, 994.

²⁶ *Hom. XXX on Acts XIII, 2*; 60, 225.

such a one a father. . . . Just such is our case, when we vainly busy ourselves about beautiful expressions, and the composition and harmony of our sentences, in order that we may please, not profit: (when) we make it our aim to be admired, not to instruct; to delight, not prick to the heart; to be applauded and depart with praise, not to correct men's manners!" He then dwells on the evil effect of applause on both preacher and people, and suggests that a rule be established forbidding it. But his protests were of no avail.²⁷ Even while he pleaded he was interrupted by applause.²⁸ But Chrysostom persisted, adding that if they would heed his advice, it would greatly benefit them and himself: "So shall we lay the whole stress of our time and diligence not upon arts of composition and beauties of expression, but upon the matter and meaning of the thoughts." Matters had come to such a pass that even the pagans reproached the Christians for their love of display, as we read in the same sermon:²⁹ "On this account are we evil spoken of even among the Gentiles, as though we did all for display and ostentation."

As a young deacon he had already realized the danger to the preacher from the depraved taste of the public, who attended sermons as if they were dramatic or musical spectacles, when he wrote:³⁰ "For the public are accustomed to listen not for profit, but for pleasure, sitting like critics of tragedies, and of musical entertainments, and that facility of speech against which we declaimed just now, in this case becomes desirable, even more than in the case of barristers (*σοφισταῖς*), where they are obliged to contend one against the other." To "correct this disorderly and unprofitable pleasure on the part of the multitude," he suggests two remedies: "indifference to their praise and the power of preaching well."

Chrysostom's conduct towards his former teacher Libanius is typical of his attitude regarding the entire profession of sophists.³¹ He never mentions him by name and refers to him in general

²⁷ Cf. also 48, 1045, 21; 49, 38, 33; 54, 472, 58.

²⁸ *Ib.* 226, 36.

²⁹ *Ib.* 228, 8.

³⁰ *On the Priesthood*, 48, 675, 7.

³¹ Neither the anecdote related by Sozomenes (*Hist. Eccl.* VIII, 2) to the effect that Libanius, when asked on his deathbed whom he considered worthy to succeed him, replied: "John, if the Christians had not stolen him," nor the letter of Libanius addressed to a certain John, in which he praises him for a panegyric on the emperor (cited by Isidore of Pelusium, *Ep.* II, 42, and wrongly referred to John Chrysostom), can be regarded as proving any relations of Chrysostom with Libanius. Cf. W. v. Christ, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*, VII, 2, 2, 1218, note 1.—We have no proof of relations of Chrysostom with any other sophist.

terms ("my sophist" or, "the sophist of the city") in only two of his writings. Once in his letter *To a Young Widow*,³² where he records the sophist's tribute to his mother Anthusa, and again, at greater length, in his *Book on St. Babylas against Julian and the Gentiles*.³³ Here he refutes and with strong sarcasm ridicules Libanius' monody on the grove of Daphne and the temple of Apollo at Antioch, both of which had been destroyed by fire. Quoting passages of the monody, he brands its author as a *θρηνῶδός* (howler), *ληρόσοφος* (babbler),³⁴ and *μαρός* (blackguard),³⁵ and compares him to a tragic actor and a madman.³⁶ These scornful epithets certainly do not argue much esteem for his old teacher, nor for the profession which reckoned him its most illustrious member. They can be partly explained by Chrysostom's abhorrence for all pagan worship, of which the sophists were the official champions and defenders. They are generally placed in the same category with other enemies of the faith, tyrants, kings, philosophers etc.³⁷

That Chrysostom was not opposed to a sane and moderate use of rhetoric, and that he required rhetorical ability in the preacher, we infer from several passages of his treatise *On the Priesthood*, e.g.: "Wherefore it should be our ambition that the word of Christ dwell in us abundantly (*Coll.* III, 16). . . . This warfare is manifold, and is engaged with a great variety of enemies, . . . and he who has to join battle with all must needs know the artifices of all, and be at once both archer and slinger, captain and general, in the ranks and in command, on foot and on horseback, in sea-fight and in siege."³⁸

He demands³⁹ that even a preacher of great ability must maintain a high standard by constant application and exercise, and gives as a reason: "The efforts of the former, unless they be especially wonderful and startling, not only fail to win applause, but meet with many faultfinders." In one of his sermons⁴⁰ he even remarks that, in order to relieve the strain on the audience, "one should speak at one time more in the style of debate, at another in a more panegyric style." Now, the latter was the showy

³² 48, 601.

³³ 50, 560-566.

³⁴ 50, 561.

³⁵ *Ib.* 562.

³⁶ *Ib.* 563.

³⁷ 48, 831; 50, 536.

³⁸ 48, 666, 17.

³⁹ *Ib.* 48, 674.

⁴⁰ *On Psalm 41*; 55, 155.

style of the eulogy and the sophists especially aimed to excel in it; from which we gather that Chrysostom considered a moderate display of rhetoric as legitimate in preaching. In another sermon⁴¹ he justifies the use of figures of speech: "When we have the care of the sick, we must not set before them a meal prepared at haphazard, but a variety of dishes, so that the patient may choose what suits his taste. Thus we should proceed in the spiritual repasts. Since we are weak, the sermon must be varied and embellished; it must contain comparison, proofs, paraphrases, and the like, so that we may select what will profit our soul."

Summing up the results of this chapter, we must conclude that Chrysostom was not a narrow-minded foe of Hellenism, as some critics would have us believe; that he was alive to the refining and cultural forces of pagan literature, and that he favored the enlistment of profane rhetoric in the exposition of Christian truth. To overstep the limits of utility or necessity, and to make rhetoric an end instead of a means to an end, as the sophist rhetors did, such a policy ran counter to his high conception of the office of a Christian orator. So much for his theory. We shall now investigate the practical application of this theory.

⁴¹ *On the Obscurity of the Prophecies*, 56, 165.

CHAPTER III

MINOR FIGURES OF SPEECH

In taking up the study of St. Chrysostom's style, we shall not regard it from the more elementary viewpoint of syntax or vocabulary. We shall treat here only his rhetorical style through a study of the chief figures of speech that modify it.

The rhetoricians, since Aristotle,¹ distinguished two kinds of style, the *λέξις εἰρομένη*, the paratactical, or disjointed style, in which the short cola or *κόμματα* of a period were detached, and the *λέξις κατεστραμμένη*, the jointed style of long rolling periods, in which the cola were closely joined together forming an organic whole. Some sophists employed either style in accordance with the exigencies of the subject they were treating. Thus Gregory Nazianzen, while proficient in both styles, inclines more to the choppy style favored by the Asiatic rhetors,² which led Usener³ to speak of "Der rasche Tanz asianischer Kola" in one of his sermons. Chrysostom, like his teacher Libanius, shows a preference for the periodic style.

Parallelism of form is the most striking feature of both styles and of artistic Greek prose in general. It requires that each word, each colon, bear a relation in sound, position, or structure to a corresponding word or colon of the same or the following period. Hence that fine balance and symmetry in words, cola, and periods which the Greeks regarded as the greatest charm of their language. To produce this parallelism they employed the so-called *Γοργία σχήματα*. Before we discuss these in particular, we must consider a group of accessory devices used by the rhetors to embellish their style. These are: pleonasm, arsis, epanaphora, antistrophe, symploke, *κύκλος*, *κλίμαξ*, hyperbaton, alliteration, paronomasia, oxymoron, and hyperbole.

One of the most rudimentary of these devices is *pleonasm*, caused by placing two or several synonymous words or phrases side by side, which adds ample dignity and splendor to expression. Chrysostom, whose style is of an Oriental exuberance, uses pairs of synonyms so frequently, that we quote only more re-

¹ Book 3 of his *Rhetoric*.

² Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa* II, 566.

³ *Religionsgeschichtl. Untersuchungen* I, Bonn (1889), 253.

markable examples; 49, 41, 39: πολέμιός ἐστιν ὁμόσκηνος, ἐχθρὸς σύνοικος. Both adjectives and nouns form a pair of synonyms. 49, 33, 40: Τί εἶπω καὶ τί λαλήσω; δακρύων ὁ παρὼν καιρὸς, οὐχὶ ῥημάτων θρήνων, οὐχὶ λόγων· εὐχῆς, οὐ δημηγορίας. This is a remarkable example of redundancy. The idea of speech is expressed five times, that of grief twice. Note the threefold arsis, positive—negative. 49, 34, 59: μόλις ἰσχύω διαῖραι στόμα, καὶ ἀνοῖξαι χεῖλη, καὶ κινήσαι γλῶτταν, καὶ ῥήματα προέσθαι. The idea of speech is expressed four times. 49, 34, 48: δῆμος εὐτακτος οὕτω καὶ ἡμερος, καὶ καθάπερ ἵπτος χειροῆθης καὶ τιθασσὸς, ἀεὶ ταῖς τῶν ἀρχόντων εἰκὼν χερσίν. We have here five variations of the same idea. 50, 461, 38: στρατόπεδα ἐπαγόμενος, ἀγγέλων τάγματα, ἀρχαγγέλων συμμορίας, μαρτύρων φρατρίας, δικαίων χορούς. A very striking instance is, 50, 580, 22, *On St. Pelagia*: τὰ παρ' ἐαυτῆς πάντα ἐπεδείκνυτο, τὴν προθυμίαν, τὸ φρόνημα, τὸ γενναῖον, τὸ βουληθῆναι, τὸ προελέσθαι, τὸ σπεῦσαι, τὸ ἐπειχθῆναι. The idea is first stated broadly, then analyzed in graded enumeration, the first group of three, the next of two, and the last of two synonyms denoting successively the disposition, act of the will, and its execution.

Another form of amplification is the figure κατ' ἄρσιν καὶ θέσιν, less properly called arsis, which presents the idea first negatively and then positively, the positive statement being introduced by ἀλλά. This figure is very common. Here is an example of four-fold arsis, 52, 396, 10:

Ἄλλ' οὐ δικαστηρίου καιρὸς νῦν, ἀλλ' ἐλέους·
οὐκ εὐθύνης, ἀλλὰ φιλανθρωπίας·
οὐκ ἐξετάσεως, ἀλλὰ συγχωρήσεως·
οὐ ψήφου καὶ δίκης, ἀλλὰ οἴκτρον καὶ χάριτος.

Note the fine balance of this period and the pleonasm of five synonyms for justice on the negative, opposed to five synonyms for mercy on the positive side. The most striking example occurs in 50, 710, 54, where there is an eightfold arsis, followed at 711, 7 by nine more instances of the same figure, separated only by an occasional introductory clause.

Epanaphora is the repetition of the same word, or words, at the head of successive cola. Hermogenes informs us that the sophists employed it with a view to δεινότης, and ranges it among the figures that give beauty to style.⁴ It should be used with cola, rather than κόμματα, otherwise the effect is one of γοργότης (nervous energy). It is most emphatic when asyndetic, especially at the

⁴ Spengel, *περὶ ἰδεῶν*, 358, 8.

head of rhetorical questions. In this form it occurs very often in Chrysostom. The most elaborate instances are: at the head of interrogative cola, πῶς 5 times, 49, 386, 9. Ποῦ 8 times in a series of short questions, *e.g.*, ποῦ ὁ πλοῦτος; ποῦ τὰ ἀργυρώματα; ποῦ. . . . This series is preceded by five short cola, each beginning with ὅτε ὅτε 52, 399, 12. *Ib.* 391, 30: ποῦ 5 times. Μέχρι πότε 7 times in short questions, 52, 400, 60. Τίς 5 times with cola of moderate length, 50, 435, 13. Οὐ δύνασαι; 6 times with short questions, 52, 410, 10, and οὐ δύνασαι εἶναι; 7 times in as many questions followed by five answers each headed by Γένου in a climax, 52, 410, 22. Mostly in κόμματα, not interrogative: ὅταν 4 times, followed by τότε also 4 times, 49, 398, 4. Πανταχοῦ 9 times in an enumeration of nouns, 52, 409, 30. Μηδαίς 13 times with nouns, 49, 390, 2. Εἰσῆλθεν εἰς καί 4 times, followed by ἀπῆλθεν εἰς καί 5 times, 52, 409, 38—a very artificial instance. Τύραννος 5 times, heading clauses of parallel structure, 50, 644, 26. A very remarkable example is: ὦδε 10 times, alternating with ἐκεῖ also 10 times, *e.g.*, ὦδε γηρῶ, ἐκεῖ οὐ γηρῶ, ὦδε θήσκω, ἐκεῖ The oddest instance we have found occurs in: 52, 404, 23-46, where Διὰ τί ἐκλήθη is repeated 18 times in rhetorical questions, each followed by an answer, thus: Διὰ τί ἐκλήθη ὁδός; ἵνα μάθης, ὅτι, the four first answers headed by ἵνα μάθης ὅτι; the other 14 by ὅτι. . . .

The opposite of epanaphora is *antistrophe*, which consists in the repetition of the same word, or words, at the end of successive clauses: 52, 402, 50: ζηλεύει Θεὸς, ὀργίζεται Θεὸς, μετανοεῖ Θεὸς, μισεῖ Θεός. 52, 398, 26: ὑβρίζει, ὑβρίσσης, ὑβρίσθης (Imperfect). 52, 410, 52: γάμον 3 times. 52, 402, 15: καλεῖται repeated 15 times in short κόμματα, with polysyndeton, *e.g.*, καὶ Πατὴρ καλεῖται, καὶ ὁδὸς καλεῖται. . . .

Symploke is epanaphora and antistrophe combined. Few instances of this artificial figure were found. The most striking one is: 52, 403, 48: ποτὲ ἐστὶ repeated 11 times, *e.g.*, ποτὲ γύμνη ἐστὶ, ποτὲ θυγάτηρ ἐστὶ a twelfth clause sums up, πάντα ἐστὶ. 50, 436, 34: σήμερον ἐν γῇ χαρὰ, σήμερον ἐν οὐρανῷ χαρὰ. Cf. 52, 405, 35; 50, 435, 33.

The very artificial figure of *κύκλος* occurs when the first clause of a period begins, and the next or the last clause ends with the same word: (a—, —a); or (a—,, —a). Here is a double

κύκλος, which is also a twofold instance of the figure called *definitio*: 50, 653, 8:

χρήματα γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο καλεῖται,
ἵνα αὐτοῖς εἰς δέον χρώμεθα,
οὐχ ἵνα κατορύττωμεν
κτήματα διὰ τοῦτο λέγονται,
ἵνα ἡμεῖς αὐτὰ κτησώμεθα,
καὶ μὴ αὐτῶν γενώμεθα κτήματα.

The first κύκλος is not perfect, because *χρήματα* is not repeated in the same form. Note the parallel structure of these two periods forming a *πάρισον*. 50, 433, 15: ἀπῆλθεν ἡ νηστεία, ἀλλὰ μενέτω ἡ εὐλάβεια· μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ ἡ νηστεία ἀπῆλθε.

Another highly artificial figure is the so-called *κλιμαξ*, a repetition of the last word of the preceding clause in several clauses of the period. A dozen instances were found: 50, 440, 27: Ἀπὸ γὰρ γέλωτος εὐτραπελία, ἀπὸ εὐτραπελίας αἰσχρολογία, ἀπὸ αἰσχρολογίας αἰσχρὰ πράγματα, ἀπὸ πραγμάτων αἰσchrῶν κολάσεις καὶ τιμωρίαι (threefold). 52, 398, 45: Κἂν γὰρ μὴ πάντες ἀκούσωσι, οἱ ἡμίσεις ἀκούσονται· κἂν μὴ οἱ ἡμίσεις ἀκούσωσι, τὸ τρίτον μέρος· κἂν μὴ τὸ τρίτον μέρος, τὸ τέταρτον· κἂν μὴ τὸ τέταρτον, κἂν δέκα· κἂν μὴ δέκα κἂν πέντε· κἂν μὴ πέντε, κἂν εἰς· κἂν μὴ εἰς, ἐγὼ τὸν μισθὸν ἀπηρτισμένον ἔχω (sixfold). Cf. 50, 446, 51; 52, 410, 10; *ib.* 22.

Hyperbaton is the transposition of words from their grammatical order. Three chief varieties occur in Chrysostom:

1) The article is separated from its noun by a long interval. This form of hyperbaton was thought by the sophists to lend beauty to style, *e. g.*, 59, 481, 22: Τὸ ν οὖν καθ' ἑκάστην, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ὑπὲρ τῶν τὴν οἰκουμένην οἰκούντων ἀλογόυντα. 50, 476, 53: τὰς ἐν τοσοῦτοις ἔτεσι τοῦ Παύλου μάστιγας.

2) The noun is separated from its possessive or explanatory modifier, *e. g.*, 50, 593, 30: ἵνα τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ σταυρωθέντος Χριστοῦ διὰ τῶν ἔργων παράσχωνται τὴν ἀπόδειξιν.

3) The most frequent form is the interposition of a verb, or of several words, between a noun and its adjective, *e. g.*, 49, 398, 8: τῆς θυσίας ἀπολαῦσαι ταύτης. Often this is done to emphasize a word placed alone at the beginning, or at the end of the clause. 48, 623, 29: Ἦν δὲ ἡμῖν . . . καὶ σπουδὴ περὶ τοὺς λόγους, οἷς ἐπονούμεθα, μίαι. 50, 474, 19: θαψιλῆς ἡ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐξεχούθη εἰς αὐτὸν δωρεά. Frequently the adjective and noun are thus separated to set off the consonance of their endings, producing an effect similar to the *homoioioteuton*, *e. g.*, 59, 25, 25: καὶ τοσοῦτων

γέμονσα ἀπορρήτων, καὶ τοσαῦτα κομίζονσα ἀγαθά. 49, 398, 9: τῇ τραπέζῃ προσὼν ταύτῃ. 49, 397, 42: οὐ τὰ φῶ μέλλοντες παρίστασθαι κεν ᾤ. 52, 393, 78: τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἐννοώμεθα πραγμάτων.

Alliteration and *paronomasia* are figures arising from the tendency towards symmetry and antithesis. *Alliteration* signifies the recurrence of the same initial letter or letters in words generally succeeding immediately. If the same sounds occur in the middle or at the end of succeeding words, the figure is *assonance*. Chrysostom shows a great fondness for this poetical and musical figure. Omitting the very frequent instances of pairs of words containing this figure, many of which may be accidental, we cite only the more striking combinations:

a) *Alliteration*, 50, 437, 32: πολλάκις ὁ πένης τὸν πλούσιον πρωτεύει ἐν τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ. 50, 439, 9: αὕτη ἀνάστασις ἀπαλλαγὴ ἁμαρτημάτων. 50, 442, 11: τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαύσομεν τῶν ἀποκειμένων τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν. 50, 637, 32: ποιήσωμεν τοὺς παῖδας πατραλοίας διὰ τῆς προδοσίας. 49, 395, 27: ἀμείλικτος καὶ ἀνένδοτος καὶ αὐτοαδάμας. 50, 437, 51: πανταχόθεν περιρραντίζεται, καὶ πολλὰ προστρίβεται.

b) *Assonance*, 52, 401, 59: ἄλλον ὀχήματι φερόμενον, σηρικὸν περιβεβλημένον ἱμάτιον, κορυφούμενον. 49, 383, 18: Διὰ τοῦτον οὖν δάκρυσον πικρὸν καὶ στέναξον μάλλον. 49, 36, 22: τῶν ἡμετέρων ὀφθαλμῶν τῷ τεθολῶσθαι τῆς ἀθυμίας.

c) *Alliteration* and *assonance* combined, 50, 445, 23: ἕτερός τις ἐλθὼν, καὶ μέσον ἑαυτὸν ἐμβαλὼν ἑκατέρων λυεῖ τὴν ἔχθραν. *Ib.* 38: πῶς οὐ πρότερον ἀπέστη πάντα ποιῶν καὶ πάσχων καὶ πραγματευόμενος, ἕως τὸν πολέμον. 50, 476, 8: οὐδὲν οὐδέποτε πρὸς οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπινον πάθος ἔπαθεν (with *paronomasia*). 50, 573, 18: σφαττομένων, καιομένων, κρημνιζομένων, καταποντιζομένων. 50, 602, 13: πάντα τὰ μέλλοντα προορῶν πόρρωθεν, προσίοντα τὸν πόλεμον ἀπεκρούετο. 50, 636, 3: μητρὸς προσεδρία, καὶ πατρὸς πρόνοια, καὶ πολλὴ παρὰ τῶν γονέων ἐπιμέλεια γίνεται. 50, 636, 55: ἐξαίφνης ἐπιτάγματα πονηρὰ πανταχοῦ κατεπέμπετο πολλῆς. 50, 679, 2: ποικίλον προσθήκην καὶ πλεονασμὸν πλείονος δόξης παρεσκεύασε. 50, 637, 18: τότε τοῖνυν ταῦτα ἐπιτάττοντες. 50, 530, 26: ἀποσυλῆσαι τὸν κοσμὸν, καὶ καταλῦσαι τὸ κήρυγμα. *Ib.* 37: τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων πείρας πάντων ἀξιοπιστοτέραν ταύτην εἶναι πεπίστευκα (with *paronomasia*). 50, 636, 15: μάρτυρες αὐταὶ μεταξὺ Σοδόμων καὶ πάντων τῶν πολεμίων οὔσαι, καὶ πολιορκούμεναι πανταχόθεν, οὐδὲν ἔπασχον δευόν. 50, 686, 36: οὐ γὰρ γοητεία ἐγένετο τὰ γινόμενα.

Paronomasia is based on the similarity of sound of entire words, irrespective of their relative position in the colon. With this similarity of sound is combined dissimilarity of sense, thus

constituting a play on words, which is most effective when words most similar in sound are most dissimilar in sense. The various forms of *paronomasia* may be grouped under two heads, 1) Words having the same root:

a) With changes and additions of prefixes, 49, 36, 52: ἡ πολύπαις ἅπαις γεγένηται. 49, 41, 2: εὔτελειαν πολυτέλειαν. 49, 41, 25: τὸ μείζον τῆς χρείας ἄχρηστον. 49, 45, 30: ἄπονον ἐπίπονον. 49, 45, 43: ἄρρωστήματι εὐρωστα. 50, 447, 1: οὔτε καταβῆναι ἦν κατώτερον, οὐ κατέβη ὁ ἄνθρωπος, οὔτε ἀναβῆναι ἀνώτερον, οὐ ἀνήγαγεν αὐτὸν πάλιν (antithetical parison). 51, 45, 27: ἅγιος γάρ ἐστι, καὶ πανάγιος καὶ ἁγίων ἀγιώτερος. 52, 396, 24: ἀπάνθρωπον φιλόανθρωπον. 52, 413, 5: καλή φιλοκαλίαν ἄμορφος εὐμορφον. 52, 409, 16: ἀσεβείας εὐσεβείας. 52, 394, 22: καθαρὸν ἀκάθαρτος. 52, 404, 17: οὗτος τοσοῦτος καὶ τηλικούτος (a favorite figure of the sophists).

b) With changes of case (*polyptoton*), voice, mood, tense etc.: Instances of this kind are so common that we cite only a few, 52, 397, 48: Μένε εἰς Ἑκκλησίαν, καὶ οὐ προδίδουσαι ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑκκλησίας. Ἐὰν δὲ φύγῃς ἀπὸ Ἑκκλησίας, οὐκ αἰτία ἡ Ἑκκλησία. 50, 637, 30: τῷ φονεύοντι παραδοὺς τὸν φονεύεσθαι μέλλοντα, αὐτὸς τὸν φόνον εἰργάσατο. 50, 701, 15: διώκεσθαι καὶ μὴ διώκειν, ἐλαύνεσθαι, καὶ μὴ ἐλαύνειν οὐ σταυρώσας, ἀλλὰ σταυρωθεῖς, οὐ ραπίσας, ἀλλὰ ραπισθεῖς. 50, 647, 24: πολλοὶ πολλάκις πολλοῖς. 50, 579, 34: οὐδεὶς οὐδέποτε οὐδέν. 50, 581, 41: οὐδεμίαν οὐδαμόθεν. 52, 408, 12: οὗτος οὕτως.

2) Words of different roots. This form of *paronomasia* is called *parechesis* by some modern writers.⁵ The instances of this kind are not so numerous, but very artistic: 56, 266, 15: παιδοκτόνον ἀντὶ πατέρων ἀποκαλῶν. 56, 267, 43: διὰ μικρὰν ἡδονὴν δεινὴν τὴν ὀδύνην ὑπομένετε. 49, 383, 28: εἰς δευλίαν ἐνάγει τοὺς μαθητὰς καὶ ἐναγωνίους ποιεῖ. 49, 385, 57: καθαρὰν ἔχειν κατηγορίας τὴν γλῶσσαν. 52, 392, 61: ἀναλῶσασαι ἀπολαύσασα. 52, 392, 48: ἀσφάλειαν ἑαυτοῖς διὰ τῆς σῆς ἀγωνίας. 52, 400, 41: ἐγκώμα ἐγκλήματα. 52, 405, 36: ἵνα τὴν πόρνην παρθένον ἐργάσῃται. 52, 402, 51: τὰ ῥήματα τὰ νοήματα. 52, 401, 43: οὐ λέγω πρόσωπα (persons) ἀλλὰ πράγματα. 52, 401, 49: ἐγκαλοῦντα ἐπαινοῦντα. 52, 397, 60: κλυδωνίζεται ἀλλ' οὐ καταποντίζεται. 52, 397, 27: οὐ τόπον μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρόπον. 52, 393, 16: εὐτελείας ἀληθείας. 52, 394, 32: μὴ ποιεῖτε τοιαῦτα, ἵνα μὴ πάθῃτε τοιαῦτα. Ib. 18: ἄρπαγα ἄπτεσθαι. 50, 439, 11: ἔδωκε τὴν μείζονα, προσδόκα καὶ τὴν ἐλάττωνα. 49, 38, 4: τὸ

⁵ Cf. J. C. Robertson, *The Gorgianic Figures in early Greek Prose*, 22, Baltimore, 1891.

ἀμάρτημα γέγονεν ὀλίγων, καὶ τὸ ἐγκλημα γίνεται κοινόν. 49, 40, 24: Πῶς δὲ ἔχει τὴν κτῆσιν, ὧν τὴν χρῆσιν οὐκ ἔχει (said of a miser). 49, 50, 51: οἰκίαν . . . οὐσίαν. 49, 46, 44: ἀκαταγώνιστον καταγώνιον. 52, 417, 4: περίκοπτε τὸ περιτόν. 51, 270, 58: μηδὲν περαιτέρω περιμεράζου. 51, 46, 29: οὐ τρυφήν, ἀλλὰ τροφήν. 50, 644, 47: τὰς εὐαπατήτους τε καὶ εὐπτόητους γυναῖκας. 50, 602, 14: προορῶν πόρρωθεν. 50, 615, 28: τρανότερῳ (clearer) φθόγῳ τὸν τύραννον ἤλεγχεν. 50, 531, 43: κείται ἀκίνητα. 50, 682, 43 ff: Ποία γὰρ κοινωνία μέθῃ καὶ μάχῃ; γαστρίζεσθαι καὶ ἀνδρίζεσθαι; . . . ὀπλίζου, μὴ καλλωπίζου. . . . ἀνδρίζου, μὴ ὠραίζου. This is the most striking example we have found. 50, 671, 27: Ἐκείνον (the prophet Daniel) μὲν εἰς λάκκον ἀπέκλεισαν, τοῦτον (St. Julian) δὲ εἰς σάκκον ἐνέβαλον. 48, 634, 1: κὰν λιμὸς ἢ κὰν λοιμός (a favorite pun of the sophists). 55, 166, 41: χρυσῶν ἱματίων ἐπικειμένων καὶ ὑποκειμένων, ὥσπερ ἐν καμίνῳ κείται καύμενος (said of a rich man).

Proper names derived from common nouns have generally lost all special signification. Chrysostom sometimes makes a pun by drawing on the original meaning of such names, *e. g.*, speaking of Sts. Bernice and Prosdoce, Martyrs, 50, 638, 17: "They came to a city called Ἱεράπολις, and thence they verily ascended εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν πόλιν (*i. e.*, heaven)." In his sermon on St. Drosis (Δροσίς) who was tortured by fire, 50, 688, 49: "She looked upon the fire not as fire, but as dew (δρόσος)." A pun on the double signification of a word occurs 50, 709, 1. Chrysostom, a few lines above, has represented the martyrs on a red-hot gridiron (κλίμαξ, which also means *ladder*). It reminds him of the ladder seen by the patriarch Jacob in a dream, and he draws a contrast: "By the one (κλίμαξ) the angels descended, by the other the martyrs ascended."

All these instances of verbal jugglery do credit to Chrysostom's virtuosity of style, but they also show the artificiality of sophistic rhetoric.

The *oxymoron*, or *paradox*, which is also a sort of pun, marks a still higher degree of artificiality. It denotes the combination of two terms apparently contradictory, but which, viewed in the light of the context, are not incompatible. The *oxymoron* is, then, a kind of verbal antithesis. Though occurring rarely in the classic orators, it was employed with much gusto by the sophist rhetors on account of its piquant and sensational character.

The Christian orators, whose taste had been formed in the sophist schools, regarded this figure, which is artistically defective, as very suitable for setting forth the wonderful and supernatural character of the Christian religion. The mysteries of the Faith,

the sacraments, the miracles, all offered a rich fund of themes, which were, humanly speaking, paradoxical. That Chrysostom, with his impressionable nature and sprightly fancy, should manifest a strong inclination for this figure, need not surprise us.

It is highly interesting to note how he adapts one of the most famous oxymora of the sophists to a spiritual theme. We mean Gorgias' figure of *ἐμψυχοι τάφοι* (living graves) to designate vultures, which the author of *περὶ ὕψους* 3, 2, says was much ridiculed, but which can be traced in Latin literature from Ennius to Ovid, *Metam.* VI, 665, and Seneca, *Contr.* X, praef. 9, and in Greek literature in Achilles Tat. III, 5, 4,⁶ and in the Christian fathers down to Gregory Nazianzen.⁷ Chrysostom uses the figure in several variations. In his panegyric on St. Eustathius, Martyr, 50, 600, 32, he says to the faithful: "And every one of you here present is a *τάφος ἐμψυχος καὶ πνευματικός* of the martyr; for if I unfold the conscience of each one, I find the saint abiding in your soul." He continues: "The enemy has gained nothing and has rather increased the fame (of the saint) by making so many graves instead of one, living graves, *τάφους φωνὴν ἀφιέντας, τάφους πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν ζῆλον παρασκευαζομένους.*" This is a hopeless jumble of metaphors. Speaking of starving mothers who ate their offspring,⁸ he says, 50, 523, 33: *τῶν γεννηθέντων παιδίων ἡ τεκοῦσα γαστήρ ἐγένετο τάφος.* Again, 50, 435, 20: "The drunkard, having buried his soul in his body as in a coffin (*ἐν μνήματι*), *νεκρὸν περιφέρει τὸ σῶμα.*" 50, 421, 52: St. Paul and his disciples, who were daily in danger of death, are called *ἐμψυχοι νεκροί*.⁹

In the majority of cases the oxymoron is formed by combining a term taken figuratively with one taken literally, *e.g.*, of the wicked it is said, 50, 663, 4: *ἐν ἑορταῖς ἀνεορτοί εἰσιν.* 50, 688, 5: *ὅταν γυναῖκες ἀνδρίζωνται*, *i.e.*, show a manly courage in suffering martyrdom. Referring to a religious service held on the sea, during which lighted torches were employed, Chrysostom says, 50, 700, 43: "Let us again make the sea a Church, *καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐνυγραίνοντες, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐμπιπλῶντες πυρός.*" Of the good example of the martyrs he says, 50, 648, 23: *Εἶδετε πῶς δυνατωτέρα καὶ σιγώντων ἢ φωνὴ τῶν μαρτύρων;* Christ descended into limbo (*ᾗδης*), *καὶ τὸν ᾗδην ἐποίησεν οὐρανόν*, which is explained: "For where Christ is, there is heaven," 49, 395, 40.

⁶ Cf. Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa* I, 385.

⁷ 37, 1587. Cf. J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, Part II, ed. 2, vol. II (London 1889), 208, 2.

⁸ Jerem. Lament. IV, 10.

⁹ Cf. also 49, 22, 42.

Often the oxymoron arises from joining a word taken in the material sense with another taken in the spiritual sense. Thus the physical blindness of St. Paul had the effect of converting him and giving spiritual vision to the world, 50, 487, 14: ἡ πῆρως ἐκείνου φωτισμὸς γέγονε τῆς οἰκουμένης, and, with double antithesis: Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἔβλεπε κακῶς, ἐπῆρσεν αὐτὸν καλῶς ὁ Θεός, ὥστε ἀναβλέψαι χρησίμως. Commenting on I Cor. XV, 31, "I die daily," Chrysostom asks, 50, 401, 26: πῶς δυνατόν ἐνί σώματι θνητῷ μυρίους δέξασθαι θανάτους; and explains that the Apostle means his constant readiness to die for the faith. With reference to *Matth.* XI, 12: "The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence," Chrysostom makes Christ say, 52, 401, 52: Ἐμὲ ἄρπασον, χάριν σοι ἔχω τῆς ἀρπαγῆς, and adds: "If thou art minded to lay hold of an earthly kingdom, thou art punished; but in the case of the heavenly kingdom, thou art punished if thou dost not lay hold of it." 49, 396, 47: ἀπὸ θανάτου (i. e., of Christ) γέγοναμεν ἀθάνατοι.

Sometimes the two terms, which in their ordinary signification are contradictory, represent two figures of speech not incompatible, e. g., 52, 395, 29: ἡ πέτρα (i. e., the hearts of the faithful) γέγονε βαθύγειος (spiritually productive). 52, 399, 8: τὰ ἐτέρων ναύγια ὑμῖν λιμένα κατασκευάζων, i. e., teaching you to avoid personal danger by placing before you the disasters of others.

The scenes of martyrdom present situations favorable to the paradox, e. g., 50, 614, 2: Chrysostom addresses the tyrant and bids him cut out the tongue of St. Roman, in order that he may recognize human nature καὶ ἀγλωσσον ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ ρητορεύουσιν. He then relates how the martyr miraculously retained his speech after his tongue had been cut out, and exclaims: θέαμα καινὸν καὶ παράδοξον (Chrysostom's favorite introduction to a paradox) σάρκινος σαρκίνοις ἀσάρκως φθεγγόμενος. This oxymoron is due to the figurative use of ἀσάρκως for ἀγλώσσω.

In the discourse *On St. Drosis, Martyr*, we find a series of three oxymora, 50, 688, 43: αὕτη μανείσα μανίαν . . . πάσης σωφροσύνης σεμνοτέραν: Chrysostom explains the meaning of μανία by stating that the martyr was ravished with longing for Christ, so that, οὐδὲν τῶν ὀρωμένων ἰώρα, and she considered the fire οὐχὶ πῦρ, ἀλλὰ δρόσον. Here is an oxymoron which misses the mark, because the two terms are in no wise contradictory: On St. Domnina, mother of Sts. Bernice and Prosdoce, Virgin Martyrs, 50, 644, 22: μήτηρ λύσασα παρθενίαν εἰς γένεσιν παρθένων.

The Sacraments, with their spiritual efficacy, lend themselves to paradoxical treatment: Commenting on *Ephes.* V, 18: "And be not drunk with wine, wherein is luxury: but be ye filled with the holy Spirit," Chrysostom says: 50, 435, 53, Ἀὕτη ἡ καλὴ μέθη κάρωσόν σου τὴν ψυχὴν τῷ Πνεύματι, and then he refers to the chalice of the Blood of Christ: Ἔστιν ἡμῖν ποτήριον μέθης καλόν . . . σωφροσύνην ποιοῦν, οὐ παράλυσιν. Applying *Matth.* IV, 19: "Come ye after me, and I will make you to be fishers of men," to the Sacrament of Baptism, Chrysostom exclaims, 50, 436, 46: "Verily a new mode of fishing! the fishermen (ordinarily) draw the fish out of the water (ἐκβάλλουσιν), but we throw them into the water (ἐνεβάλλομεν), and thus catch the fish." Of the waters of Baptism he says, 50, 440, 12: "A new mode of cleansing. In bodily cleansing the more are washed, the filthier the water gets, but here (i. e., in Baptism) the more are washed, the cleaner the water becomes."

The oxymoron is at times presented in the form of a so-called αἰνιγμα or riddle, which consists in obscuring the idea by representing it as impracticable or substantially impossible, e. g., referring to the calamity at Antioch, 49, 35, 25: "And now our calamity has become an enigma; a flight without enemies; an expulsion of inhabitants without a battle; a captivity without capture! A similar instance with reference to Christ's dying for us on the cross occurs in 49, 396, 50: "Our weapons were not stained with gore, we stood not in battle array, we received not wounds, we saw not war, and yet we won the victory! The contest was the Lord's, but the crown is ours!"

Chrysostom's penchant for the paradox occasionally makes him exceed the bounds of propriety. Thus, in *Hom. 2 on Eutropius*, the union of Christ with his Church is represented under various images, 52, 402, 25: "Even so the Church also is called by many names. She is called a virgin, although formerly she was a harlot: for this is the miracle wrought by the Bridegroom, that He took her who was a harlot and hath made her a virgin. Oh! what a new and strange event! With us marriage destroys virginity, but with God marriage hath restored it. . . . Let the heretic who inquires curiously into the nature of heavenly generation saying, 'how did the Father beget the Son?' interpret this single fact, ask him how did the Church, being a harlot, become a virgin? and how did she, having brought forth children, remain a virgin? (2 *Cor.* XI, 2.)" After a long digression Chrysostom

resumes, and formulates a paradox which is shocking in its boldness, 52, 405, 29: "But as I was saying, ὁ τοσούτος καὶ τηλικούτος ἐπεθύμησε πόρνης. Πόρνης ἐπεθύμει ὁ Θεός; Ναὶ, πόρνης. Then he explains: "I speak of our human nature under that name. . . . A man desireth a harlot that he may become a fornicator: but God that He may convert the harlot into a virgin." Nothing could better prove the unsound nature of the paradox. Instead of tending to lessen the difficulties which the Faith offers to the inquiring mind, it rather accentuates all there is in the mysteries of religion to stagger and disconcert human reason.

The sensational and flashy qualities of the paradox are shared by a figure closely akin to it, the *hyperbole*. Indeed, the paradox is, so to speak, only a more subtle form of exaggeration. The *hyperbole* denotes the magnifying of an object beyond its natural bounds. Like the paradox it is not one of the ordinary habits of Chrysostom's style, but is employed only on special occasions and under the influence of some strong emotion, such as pity, grief, indignation, or admiration; as when he denounces Libanius' monody on the grove of Daphne and the temple of Apollo (50, 560-566), calling the sophist a blackguard (*ib.* 562), and comparing him to a madman (*ib.* 563), or when, in his homily on Eutropius, he points to the unhappy consul, "who had shaken the whole world" (52, 394, 63), but who was now clinging to a pillar of the altar, "more cowardly than a rabbit or a frog" (*ib.* 395, 1). Such exaggerations are moderate and evoked by sincere feeling, which makes them appear perfectly natural.

But there are occasions when the preacher lapses into a false pathos, and tries to communicate to his audience feelings which he himself does not share. For instance, when he describes the violent tortures of the martyrs, their heroic fortitude, and the cruelty of their persecutors, Chrysostom launches into strains of wild exaggeration. The eulogies on the Maccabees furnish some typical examples, *e.g.*, 50, 625, 5: The youngest of the seven brothers "hurls himself into the cauldron, deeming it a divine bath and baptism, as people whose clothes have caught fire leap into a lake of cold water; so inflamed was he with longing to join his brothers." The mother of the Maccabees had only one fear, namely, that the tyrant might spare one of her sons and thus rob him of his crown, and therefore "she all but seized her youngest son with her hands and thrust him into the cauldron, employing the exhortation and counsel of words in place of her hands" (50

621, 40). Far from feeling the anguish of a mother's heart at seeing her sons cruelly tortured, "she exults more than a mother who decks her sons for their wedding" (50, 626, 4). "With all her senses she perceived the trial of her children: she beheld them with her eyes, she heard their words with her ears, and with her nose perceived the odor of (roasting) flesh, which was both savory and unsavory (note the paradox): unsavory indeed to the unbelievers, but to God and to her most sweet!" (*ib.*) These extravagant hyperboles, instead of arousing in the audience sentiments of admiration, must have excited intense aversion to a mother represented as so unnatural and devoid of all maternal feeling.¹⁰

It is easy to understand that, when Chrysostom undertakes to celebrate the virtues of some saint, the hyperbole receives a prominent place. It was a requirement of the sophistic eulogy that the merits of the hero be systematically magnified. Chrysostom's first panegyric on St. Paul will best illustrate this (50, 473). The fundamental idea of the discourse is that St. Paul "possessed all the virtues found in all men, and that in transcendent measure, yea, even those of all the angels" (*ib.* 29). The preacher then enumerates the great patriarchs and prophets of old, Abel, Noe, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, concluding with David, Elias, Moses, John the Baptist, and the angels. The distinctive virtues of each are compared with those of St. Paul, with the result that the latter is pronounced superior to them all. In his second discourse on the same saint (50, 481, 36), Chrysostom remarks that neither gold, nor adamant, nor even the whole world are worthy to be compared with Paul. Then he adds: "If then the whole world is not worthy of him, what is? Perhaps heaven? Nay, this too is trivial. Because he preferred the love of the Lord to heaven, the Lord valued him above ten thousand heavens." Again in 50, 479, 50: "St. Paul, scourged, insulted, and reviled everywhere, gloried in the fact as if he were walking in a triumphal procession and setting up trophies everywhere."

It is hardly necessary to call attention to the bad taste and artificiality of the instances of the paradox and hyperbole noted above. Both the oxymoron and the hyperbole are not the exact expression of an extraordinary situation, or of moderate sentiment; on the contrary, their tendency is to distort the just proportions of the facts exposed. Together they form one of the

¹⁰ On Gregory Nazianzen's even more extreme treatment of the same subject cf. Guignet, 244 ff.

most objectionable and unartistic traits of sophistic rhetoric, as we shall point out frequently in the course of this study.

We have in this chapter reviewed some of the minor figures employed by the rhetors to embellish their style, and have noted the prominent place they hold in the rhetorical system of Chrysostom. We shall now proceed to examine a class of figures which even to a greater extent illustrate the sophistic tendencies of Chrysostom.

CHAPTER IV

SYMMETRY OF THE PERIOD: THE GORGIANIC FIGURES

The figures reviewed in the preceding chapter have not a very great artistic value as compared with the so-called *Gorgianic figures*, the *parison*, the *antithesis*, and the *homoioтелеuton*. These Gorgianic figures are the main factors which contribute to parallelism and symmetry of the period, a distinctive feature of Greek prose, and notably of oratorical prose. The excessive employment of these figures was one of the prevailing vices of the Asiatic and later of the sophist orators. Chrysostom shares this weakness. His desire for symmetrical periods makes him at times very diffuse, and some of his series of *parisa* are of tedious length and monotonous uniformity.

The *parison* presents two or more successive cola having the same general structure, often with an exact correspondence between the respective parts of the cola, *e. g.*:

With homoioтелеuton, 50, 531, 13:

ὅπου μαρτύρων μνήμη,
ἐκεῖ καὶ Ἑλλήνων αἰσχύνῃ.

With parallelism of ideas, 50, 575, 10:

ἀποστήναι μὲν τῆς εὐσεβείας,
αὐτομολῆσαι δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀσέβειαν.

With paronomasia and homoioтелеuton, 50, 616, 57:

οὐ τοσοῦτον τῷ κήρυκι φθόνων,
ὅσον τῷ κηρυττομένῳ βασκαίνων.

With asyndeton, homoioтелеuton at the beginning, and parenthesis, 50, 531, 19:

ἀνάρρηξον τὰς θήκας,
ἀνόρυξον τὰ ὀστᾶ,
μετάστησον τοὺς νεκρούς.

Observe the fourfold hyperbaton, and at the end of the *κόμματα* four synonyms, three of which are alliterative, 50, 483, 28:

ἢ πρὸς ἐπιθυμίαν μάχῃ,
ὁ περὶ τὴν γαστέρα πόλεμος,
ἢ πρὸς τὴν φιλαργυρίαν παράταξις,
ἢ πρὸς τὸν θυμὸν πάλη.

The repetition of πάντα at the head of the pairs of synonyms gives to this remarkable enumeration the character of a parison, 52, 415, 27:

Πάντα θορύβων γέμει καὶ ταραχῆς,
πάντα σκόπελοι καὶ κρημνοὶ,
πάντα ὕφαλοι καὶ σπιλάδες,
πάντα φόβοι καὶ κίνδυνοι καὶ ὑπόψιαι καὶ τρόμοι καὶ ἀγωνίαι.

With contrast of ideas and homoioteleuton, 50, 476, 39:

τοῦ μὲν ἡ οἰκία πάντι ἐλθόντι ἀνέψκτο,
τοῦ δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ πάσῃ τῇ οἰκουμένη ἤπλωτο.

In the following description of Lazarus coming out of the tomb, note the polysyndeton and homoioteleuton, 50, 643, 54:

καὶ ὁ διαλελυμένος ὠρθοῦτο,
καὶ ὁ σεσηπὼς ἤσθάνετο·
ὁ νεκρὸς ὑπήκουεν,
καὶ ὁ δεσμώτης ἔτρεχεν,
καὶ ὁ θρηγνύμενος ἐσκήρτα.

With epanaphora and homoioteleuton, 52, 399, 49:

ὁ βουλόμενος ἀποτεμένετω,
ὁ βουλόμενος λιθαζέτω,
ὁ βουλόμενος μισείτω.

With paronomasia, 50, 640, 45:

δύνανται γὰρ καὶ θῆκαι μαρτύρων πολλὴν ἔχειν δύναμιν,
ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ τὰ ὁσᾶ τῶν μαρτύρων πολλὴν ἔχει τὴν ἰσχύν.

Three words are repeated in the second colon, and a synonym is used for δύναμιν for the sole purpose of forming a parison.

Note the series of synonyms producing a strong parallelism of thought in the following, 49, 59, 54:

Ἐὰν μὴ πειρασμὸς, οὐδὲ στέφανος,
ἐὰν μὴ παλαίσματα, οὐδὲ βραβεῖα,
ἐὰν μὴ σκάμματα, οὐδὲ τιμαὶ,
ἐὰν μὴ θλίψεις, οὐδὲ ἀνεσις,
ἐὰν μὴ χειμῶν, οὐδὲ θέρος.

A very artificial period, with double epanaphora and climax, 52, 410, 10: On the various ways of life leading to salvation:

Οὐ δύνασαι διὰ παρθενίας εἰσελθεῖν; Εἴσελθε διὰ μονογαμίας.
Οὐ δύνασαι διὰ μονογαμίας; Κἂν διὰ δευτερογαμίας.
Οὐ δύνασαι διὰ σωφροσύνης εἰσελθεῖν; Εἴσελθε διὰ ἐλεημοσύνης.
Οὐ δύνασαι διὰ ἐλεημοσύνης; Εἴσελθε διὰ νηστείας.
Οὐ δύνασαι ταύτην; Δεῦρο ἐκείνην.
Οὐ δύνασαι ἐκείνην; Δεῦρο ταύτην.

A powerful series of rhetorical questions, the effect of which is heightened by double epanaphora with asyndeton, 56, 267, 6:

Οὐκ ἐντεῦθεν οἶκον ἀνατροπαί ;
οὐκ ἐντεῦθεν σωφροσύνης ἀπάλεια ;
οὐκ ἐντεῦθεν γάμων διαιρέσεις ;
οὐκ ἐντεῦθεν πόλεμοι καὶ μάχαι ;
οὐκ ἐντεῦθεν ἀηδίαὶ λόγον οὐκ ἔχουσαι ;

With epanaphora and homoioteleuton in the two leading cola, 50, 621, 1 :

Οὐχ ἑώρα παριεστῶτας δημίους,
ἀλλ' ἑώρα κυκλοῦντας ἀγγέλους,
ἐπελάθετο τῶν ὠδίνων,
κατεφρόνησε τῆς φύσεως,
ὑπερεῖδε τῆς ἡλικίας κτλ.

Prolonged symmetry, with perfect parallelism of cola, and polysyndeton, 50, 663, 26 :

καὶ οὔτε οἰκέτην δεσπότου φόβος κατέσχευεν,
οὔτε πένητα ἢ τῆς πτωχείας ἀνάγκη,
οὔτε γηραῖον τῆς ἡλικίας ἢ ἀσθένεια,
οὔτε γυναῖκα τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀπαλὸν,
οὔτε πλούσιον τῆς περιουσίας ὁ τυφός,
οὐ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας ἢ ἀπόνοια.

Note also, 52, 443, 52, a parison consisting of 11 short κόμματα, with chiasmus in the two first members :

ἵνα μάθῃτε τὸν πόθον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας,
μάθῃτε τῶν ἐμῶν τέκνων τὴν εὐγένειαν,
τῶν στρατιώτων τὴν ἰσχύν κτλ.

Ordinarily the corresponding parts of the cola in a parison follow one another in the same order ; however, at times Chrysostom shifts or reverses the order of words, thus producing a less rigid, but more elegant and varied parallelism. This device is called chiasmus, *e. g.*, 52, 395, 29 : ἡ πέτρα γέγονε βαθύγειος, καὶ λιπαρὰ ἡ χώρα. 49, 395, 33 : Εἰ καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον ἐν, ἀλλὰ διπλοῦν τὸ νοούμενον.

Note how the position of the adjective and its noun is shifted in the following example : 52, 407, 27 : Εἰ μέγας ὁ θησαυρὸς, διὰ τί τὸ σκεῦος ἀσθενές ; Ἀλλὰ μὴ διὰ τοῦτο ἀσθενὲς τὸ σκεῦος, ἐπειδὴ μέγας ὁ θησαυρός.

Note the position of the adverbs in 52, 403, 19 : Ῥήματά ἐπὶ ἐνταῦθα, ἐκεῖ δὲ πραγμάτων φύσις.

We cite a period each member of which is composed of a verb (A), and its object complement (B), 52, 443, 38:

- A. B. Ἐξέβαλες τὸν ποιμένα,
 B. A. τί τὴν ἀγέλην διέσπασας;
 A. B. Ἀπέστησας τὸν κυβερνήτην,
 B. A. τί τοὺς οἰάκας κατέκλασας;
 B. A. Τὸν ἀμπελουργὸν ἐξέβαλες,
 B. A. τί τὰς ἀμπέλους ἀνέσπασας;

We need hardly call attention to the rhythm and geometrical design of this series of rhetorical questions, rendered more forcible by asyndeton.

The following period shows Chrysostom's virtuosity in the enumeration of *κόμματα*, a fine illustration of the choppy style of the Asiatic school; 50, 485, 24, on St. Paul:

Καὶ γὰρ ὥσπερ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἅπασαν γενήσας,
 οὕτως ἐθορυβεῖτο, οὕτως ἔτρεχεν,
 οὕτω πάντας ἐσπούδαζεν εἰσαγαγεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν,
 θεραπέων, παρακαλῶν, ὑπισχνούμενος, εὐχόμενος, ἱκετεύων,
 τοὺς δαίμονας φοβῶν, τοὺς διαφθείροντας ἐλαύνων,
 διὰ παρουσίας, διὰ γραμμάτων, διὰ ῥημάτων,
 διὰ πραγμάτων, διὰ μαθητῶν,
 δι' ἑαυτοῦ τοὺς πίπτοντας ἀγορθῶν, τοὺς ἐστῶτας στηρίζων,
 διεγείρων τοὺς χαμαὶ κειμένους,
 θεραπεύων τοὺς συντετριμμένους,
 ἀλείφων τοὺς ραθυμοῦντας,
 φοβερόν ἐμβοῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς,
 δριμύ βλέπων ἐπὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις·
 καθάπερ τις στρατηγὸς ἢ ἄριστος ἰατρός,
 αὐτὸς σκευοφόρος, αὐτὸς ὑπασπιστής, αὐτὸς ὑπερασπιστής, αὐτὸς
 παραστάτης,
 αὐτὸς πάντα γινόμενος τῷ στρατοπέδῳ.

Such periods are exceptional in Chrysostom, but frequent in Gregory Nazianzen.¹

The following is a highly artificial period, with almost perfect symmetry of cola, concluding with a threefold arsis, in which three verbs of the preceding cola are repeated; it is a fine example of pleonasm, the six cola being variations of one idea, which

¹ Cf. Norden, 566.

is powerfully emphasized by the arsis. Also note the homoioteleuton, 49, 59, 27:

Διὰ τοῦτο εὐχαριστῶ τῷ Θεῷ μεθ' ὑμῶν,
 ὅτι οὐκ ἤλεγξεν ὑμῶν τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἢ συμφορὰ,
 οὐδὲ ἐξέλυσεν ὑμῶν τὸν τόνον ὁ φόβος,
 οὐδὲ ἔσβεσεν ὑμῶν τὴν προθυμίαν ἢ θλίψις,
 οὐδὲ ἐμάρανεν ὑμῶν τὸν ζῆλον ὁ κίνδυνος,
 οὐδὲ ἐνίκησε τὸν περὶ Θεὸν πόθος ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φόβος,
 οὐδὲ κατέβαλεν ὑμῶν τὴν σπουδὴν ἢ τοῦ καιροῦ δυσκολία.
 καὶ οὐ μόνον σὺ κατέβαλεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπέρρωσεν,
 σὺ μόνον οὐκ ἐξέλυσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπέτεινεν,
 οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἔσβεσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνῆψε πλεόν.

To illustrate Chrysostom's fondness for symmetrical periods, we refer to his discourse *On the Holy Martyrs*, where we found a long series of parisa extending from 50, 710, 45—711, 21, containing fourteen cases of arsis; also to a series of twenty-seven successive clauses of parallel structure, grouped in three periods, 49, 399, 31—51, in the discourse *On the Cross and the Robber*.

The comparison furnishes Chrysostom a welcome occasion for a display of parallelism, as exemplified in the following descriptive and poetical contrast between a garden and the Holy Scriptures. A musical effect is imparted by the double epanaphora and an occasional homoioteleuton, 52, 396, 65:

Ἐκεῖ μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ἄνθη μαραινόμενα,
 ἐνταῦθα δὲ νοήματα ἀκμάζοντα·
 ἐκεῖ ζέφυρος πνέων,
 ἐνταῦθα δὲ Πνεύματος αὔρα·
 ἐκεῖ ἀκανθαὶ τειχίζουσai,
 ἐνταῦθα δὲ πρόνοια Θεοῦ ἢ ἀσφαλιζομένη·
 ἐκεῖ τέττιγες ἄδοντες,
 ἐνταῦθα δὲ προφῆται κελαδοῦντες·
 ἐκεῖ τέρψις ἀπὸ τῆς ὀψews,
 ἐνταῦθα δὲ ὠφέλεια ἀπὸ τῆς ἀναγνώσεως· κτλ.

In the following comparison on the tortures of the martyrs, Chrysostom selects two different aspects of the subject, in order to develop a double comparison, the elements of which exhibit a strong contrast and symmetrical structure. The parallelism is alternative, therefore more artistic, 50, 706, 48:

Ἄν μὲν τῶν γινομένων τὴν φύσιν ἴδῃς,
 μάχη καὶ πόλεμος καὶ παράταξις τὰ γινόμενα·
 ἂν δὲ τὴν γνώμην τῶν γινομένων ἐξετάσῃς,
 χοροὶ καὶ θαλαῖαι καὶ πανηγύρεις καὶ μεγίστη ἡδονὴ τὰ τελούμενα.

Note the chiasmus in the two subordinate clauses, the synonyms, and the double homoioteleuton.

This last example illustrates the most artistic form of parison, namely, *the antithetical parison*, which expresses a contrast of ideas. The sophists set a high value on this figure, because it contributes to clearness and pleasure. Moreover, if we bear in mind that the character of Christian doctrine strongly favors the antithetical expression of thought, and that the Old as well as the New Testament abounds in antitheses, we can understand Chrysostom's preference for this figure. He is, however, more moderate in its use than Gregory Nazianzen.²

We quote only the more remarkable instances found in Chrysostom. Note the pleonasm produced by the four pairs of synonyms in 52, 396, 25:

Ὡςπερ γὰρ τὸν ὦμὸν καὶ ἀπάνθρωπον ἀποστρέφεται καὶ μισεῖ,
οὕτω τὸν ἐλεήμονα καὶ φιλόανθρωπον προσίεται καὶ φιλεῖ.

A series of four antitheses with chiasmus, 52, 417, 10:

ἐν ταῖς εὐημερίαις, ἔλπιζε τὰς δυσημερίας·
ἐν τῇ γαλήνῃ χεიმῶνα προσδόκα·
ἐν τῇ ὑγείᾳ νόσον ἀνάμενε·
ἐν τῷ πλούτῳ πενίαν καὶ πτωχείαν ἔλπιζε.

The artistic effect is highest when there is parallelism of structure in complex cola, the respective parts of which are antithetical, e. g., 50, 596, 15:

Ὡστε ἅπασι χρήσιμος ὁ θησαυρὸς,
ἐπιτήδειον τὸ καταγώγιον,
τοῖς μὲν ἐπτακόσιν, ἵνα ἀπαλλαγῶσι τῶν πειρασμῶν,
τοῖς δὲ εὐημεροῦσιν, ἵνα βέβαια αὐτοῖς μείνῃ τὰ καλά·
τοῖς μὲν ἐν ἀρρωστίᾳ, ἵνα πρὸς ὑγίειαν ἐπανεέλθωσι,
τοῖς δὲ ὑγιαίνουσιν, ἵνα μὴ πρὸς ἀρρωστίαν καταπέσωσιν.

Another finely balanced period occurs in 50, 692, 43:

Ὡςπερ γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν εὐεργετουμένων,
καὶ οἱ μηδὲν παθόντες συνήδονται τοῖς παθοῦσι,
καὶ τὸν εὖ ποιήσαντα ἐπαινοῦσιν·
οὕτως ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπηρεαζομένων
καὶ οἱ μηδὲν ἡδικημένοι συναλγοῦσι τοῖς κακῶς πεπονθόσι,
καὶ τὸν ποιήσαντα κακίζουσι.

² Cf. Guignet, 122 ff.

A symmetrical period in a contrast between the grave of Lazarus and the graves of the holy martyrs Domnina, Bernice, and Prosdoce occurs, 50, 644, 4:

Τάφος ἐκεῖ καὶ τάφος ἐνταῦθα·
 ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τοῦ Λαζάρου τάφος ἀνοιγόμενος
 τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ δύναμιν ἐμφανίζει,
 ὁ δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν τάφος κεκλεισμένος καὶ ἐνεργῶν
 τὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος χάριν κηρύττει·
 ἐκεῖ νεκρὸς ὑπὲρ φύσιν τὸν τάφον ἐκτρέχων,
 ἐνταῦθα γυναῖκες παρὰ φύσιν τοῖς τάφοις προστρέχουσιν·
 ἐκεῖ θείας δυνάμεις σημεῖον
 ἐνταῦθα προαιρέσεως γενναίας τεκμήριον
 (Here two cola of the text are mutilated)
 ἐκεῖ μετὰ τὸν θάνατον ἀναβίωσις, καὶ ἐνταῦθα ζωή·
 ἐκεῖ θάνατος βιαίως ληστεύεται,
 ἐνταῦθα θάνατος προδῆλως πατεῖται.

Note the double epanaphora, double polyptoton, paronomasia, homoioteleuton, and chiasmus in the above.

Contrast between truth and error, 50, 496, 5:

Τοιοῦτον γὰρ ἡ πλάνη, καὶ μηδένης ἐνοχλοῦντος, καταρρεῖ.
 τοιοῦτον ἡ ἀλήθεια, καὶ πολλῶν πολεμούντων, διεγείρεται.

On the vicissitudes of life, 50, 599, 4:

ὁ μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς εὐημερίας πρὸς τὸ ὕψος ἐπήρθη,
 ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ δυσπραγίας εἰς πολὺν κατηνέχθη βάθος.

Note the hyperbaton in the second colon.

Contrast between the hardships of this earthly life and the rewards of the life eternal, 50, 667, 58:

Διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς μὲν πόνους συνεκλήρωσε τῷ βραχεῖ καὶ προσκαίρῳ αἰῶν.
 τοὺς δὲ στεφάνους ἐταμεύσατο τῷ ἀγήρῳ καὶ ἀθανάτῳ.

The purpose for which God grants riches is expressed in this antithetical arsis, 49, 43, 44:

οὐχ ἵνα κατακλείσῃς ἐπὶ ὀλέθρῳ τῷ σῷ,
 ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐκχέῃς ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῇ σῇ.

The fickleness of wealth, 49, 41, 37:

σήμερον μετὰ σοῦ,
 καὶ αὔριον κατὰ σοῦ.

The tree of Paradise and the tree of the Cross, 49, 396, 36:

Περὶ τὸ δένδρον κατηγωνίσατο τὸν Ἀδὰμ ὁ διάβολος·
 περὶ τὸν σταυρὸν κατεπάλαυσε τὸν διάβολον ὁ Χριστός·
 καὶ ξύλον τὸ μὲν ἔπεμπεν εἰς ᾄδην,
 τὸ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀπελθόντας ἐκείθεν ἀνεκαλεῖτο.
 Πάλιν ξύλον τὸ μὲν τὸν αἰχμάλωτον γυμνὸν ἔκρινε,
 τὸ δὲ τὸν νικέτην γυμνὸν ἐφ' ἰψηλοῦ πᾶσιν ἐδείκνυ.

The consequences of the death of Adam contrasted with the effects of Christ's death, *ib.*, 43:

Καὶ θάνατος ὁ μὲν τοὺς μετ' αὐτὸν κατέκρινεν,
 ὁ δὲ καὶ τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενομένους ἀνέστησε.

The corporal and spiritual death and resurrection of man contrasted with the death and resurrection of Christ. Note the double antistrophe, the threefold paronomasia, polyphton, and the fourfold hyperbaton, 50, 438, 42:

Διπλοῦν ἀπεθάναμεν ἡμεῖς θάνατον,
 οὐκοῦν διπλὴν προσδοκῶμεν τὴν ἀνάστασιν;
 Αὐτὸς ἀπλοῦν ἀπέθανε θάνατον,
 διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀπλὴν ἀνέστη ἀνάστασιν.

Our burial with Christ in Baptism, and our resurrection with Christ through Baptism (*Rom.* VI, 4); note the homoioteleuton at the beginning, and the polyphton at the end of the cola, 50, 439, 7:

συνετάφημεν γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ Βαπτίσματι,
 καὶ συνηγέρθημεν αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ Βαπτίσματος.

The lot of Adam contrasted with that of Job, 52, 400, 6:

Τί ὠφέλησεν ἐκείνον ὁ παράδεισος;
 ἢ τί ἔβλαψε τοῦτον ἡ κοπρία;

The death of Lazarus and of Dives, 49, 72, 33:

Τί τοίνυν παρέβλαψεν αὐτὸν τὸ βιαίως ἀποθανεῖν;
 τί δὲ τὸν πλούσιον ὤνησε τὸ μὴ βιαίως ἀποθανεῖν;

Note the chiasmus.

The Church's idea of a slave and a freeman; observe the double paronomasia and hyperbaton, 50, 437, 49:

ἀλλ' ἐκείνον οἶδε δούλον ἢ Γραφὴ τὸν τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ δεδουλωμένον.

Sacred Text:

καὶ ἐκείνον οἶδεν ἐλευθέρων τὸν ὑπὸ τῆς θείας χάριτος ἠλευθερωμένον.

St. Paul's apostolic labors; with paronomasia, 52, 409, 16:

τὰς ἀκάνθας ἀνατέμνων τῆς ἀσεβείας,
 τὰ σπέρματα καταβάλλων τῆς εὐσεβείας.

The grandeur and perpetual youth of the Church, 52, 402, 6:

Τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὑψηλοτέρα ἐστὶ,
τῆς γῆς πλατυτέρα ἐστίν.
Οὐδέποτε γηρᾷ,
αἰεὶ δὲ ἀκμάζει.

St. Timothy's solicitude about his soul and his mortification of the flesh; note the hyperbaton in the last colon, 49, 21, 26:

Ἀσθενείτω, φησὶ, τὸ σῶμα,
καὶ μὴ ἀσθενείτω ἡ ψυχὴ,
χαλινούσθω ἡ σὰρξ,
καὶ μὴ ἐμποδιζέσθω ὁ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν τῆς ψυχῆς δρόμος.

The hospitality of Job contrasted with the spiritual charity of St. Paul, 50, 476, 29:

Ἄ γὰρ ἐκείνος περὶ τοὺς τὴν σάρκα πεπηρωμένους ἐπεδείκνυτο,
ταῦτα οὗτος περὶ τοὺς τὴν ψυχὴν λεωβημένους ἐπραττε.

Contrast between the Feast of the Ascension and Pentecost: note the κύκλος and the chiasmus, 50, 456, 40:

Καὶ γὰρ ἡ φύσις ἡ ἡμετέρα πρὸ δέκα ἡμέρων εἰς τὸν θρόνον ἀνέβη τὸν
βασιλικόν,
καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον κατέβη σήμερον πρὸς τὴν φύσιν τὴν ἡμετέραν.

The bounty of the Master and the perfidy of Judas, 49, 389, 31:

Ὁ Δεσπότης ἔτρεφε,
καὶ ὁ δοῦλος ἐπίπρασεν.

Jesus betrayed and Judas the betrayer, 49, 381, 61:

Ὁ μὲν γὰρ προδοθεὶς Ἰησοῦς τὴν οἰκουμένην ἔσωσεν,
ὁ δὲ προδοὺς Ἰούδας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν ἀπώλεσε·
καὶ ὁ μὲν προδοθεὶς Ἰησοῦς ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐν οὐρανοῖς κάθεται,
ὁ δὲ προδοὺς Ἰούδας ἐν ᾧδου νῦν ἐστι.

The self-abasement of the God-man is expressed in 52, 406, 10:

Κεῖται ἐν φάτνῃ ὁ τὴν οἰκουμένην βαστάζων,
καὶ ἐσπαργάνωται ὁ πάντα περιέπων.

Contrast between man and God, whom he is bidden to call Father, 51, 44, 21:

ὁ γήϊνος τὸν οὐράνιον,
ὁ θνητὸς τὸν ἀθάνατον,
ὁ φθαρτὸς τὸν ἀφθαρτον,
ὁ πρόσκαιρος τὸν αἰώνιον,
ὁ χθὲς καὶ πρόωγην πηλὸς, τὸν ὄντα πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων θεόν.

The antithesis degenerates at times into the paradox. As already noted in our last chapter, this figure tends to produce obscurity rather than clearness, because it contrasts terms which are only apparently, but not really contradictory; *e. g.*, note this paradox on wealth, 52, 399, 2:

Θηρίον ἐστὶν ὁ πλοῦτος·
 ἂν μὲν κατέχεται, φεύγει·
 ἂν δὲ σκορπίζεται, μένει.

In confirmation(!) of this statement, Chrysostom cites *Ps.* III, 9: Ἐσκορπίσε γὰρ, φησὶν, ἔδωκε τοῖς πένησιν, ἡ δικαιοσύνη αὐτοῦ μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. Then he resumes the paradox:

Σκόρπισον, ἵνα μείνῃ·
 μὴ κατορύξῃς, ἵνα μὴ φύγῃ.

This is the kind of verbal jugglery to which the sophist rhetors sometimes resorted in order to obtain an oxymoron. Chrysostom has applied the two verbs, which in the Sacred Text pertain to two different terms, to one term, *i. e.*, wealth.

On the peace of soul that results from the reading of Holy Scripture, 52, 397, 13:

Ἡ θάλασσα μαίνεται,
 σὺ δὲ μετὰ γαλήνης πλέεις.

With reference to *Matth.* XI, 12: "The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence," 52, 401, 50:

Τί ἀρπάξεις τὸν πένητα τὸν ἐγκαλοῦντα;
 Ἄρπασον τὸν Χριστὸν τὸν ἐπαινοῦντα.

Human nuptials and the nuptials with Christ, 52, 402, 28:

Ὡ καινῶν καὶ παραδόξων πραγμάτων,
 Γάμος παρ' ἡμῖν παρθενίαν λύει,
 γάμος παρὰ Θεῷ παρθενίαν ἀνέστησε.

Παρ' ἡμῖν ἡ οὐσα παρθένος, γαμουμένη, οὐκ ἔστι παρθένος·
 παρὰ Χριστῷ ἡ οὐσα πόρνη, γαμουμένη, παρθένος γέγονεν.

God's desire and man's lust, 52, 405, 37:

ἡ ἐπιθυμία τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἀπόλεια τῆς ἐπιθυμουμένης·
 ἡ δὲ ἐπιθυμία τοῦ Θεοῦ, σωτηρία τῇ ἐπιθυμουμένη.

Persecution can not destroy the flock of Christ nor the branches of the Vine, 50, 616, 33:

ἐπὶ γῆς τὸ ποίμνιον, καὶ ὁ ποιμαίνων ἐν οὐρανῷ·
 ἐπὶ γῆς αἱ κληματίδες, καὶ ἐν οὐρανῷ ἡ ἄμπελος·
 ἂν δὲ ἐκτέμῃς τὰς κληματίδας, πολυπλασιάζεις τὴν ἄμπελον.

Note the chiasmus.

Contrast between real war and the spiritual warfare against the heretics, 50, 701, 1 :

τοιούτος γὰρ ἡμῶν ὁ πόλεμος·
οὐκ ἀπὸ ζώντων νεκροὺς ἐργάζεται,
ἀλλ' ἀπὸ νεκρῶν ζῶντας κατασκευάζει.

Death of the body and death of the soul, 49, 71, 42 :

Οὐκ οἶσθα, ὅτι
οἱ ἐν ἀμαρτίαις ὄντες, κὰν ζῶσιν, ἀπέθανον
οἱ δὲ ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ ζῶντες, κὰν ἀποθάνωσι, ζῶσι ;

Contrast between the waters of Creation and the waters of Baptism, 50, 439, 42 :

Ἐξήγαγε τότε τὰ ὕδατα ἰχθύας ἀλόγους καὶ ἀφώνους,
ἐξέβαλε νῦν ἰχθύας λογικοὺς καὶ πνευματικοὺς,
ἰχθύας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἀλιευθέντας.

The method of the ordinary fishermen and that of the spiritual fishermen, 50, 439, 48 :

οἱ ἀλιεύοντες ἐκ τῶν ὑδάτων ἐβάλλουσιν,
ἡμεῖς εἰς τὰ ὕδατα ἐνεβάλλομεν,
καὶ οὕτως ἡλιεύσαμεν.

Note the polyptoton and paronomasia in the above.

The spiritual victory of the martyrs is represented in this series of paradoxes, 50, 708, 11 :

Τίς οὐκ ἂν ἐκπλαγείη, ὅτι
ὁ μαστιζόμενος περιγίνεται τοῦ μαστίζοντος,
ὁ δεδεμένος τοῦ λελυμένου,
ὁ κατακαίόμενος τοῦ καίοντος,
ὁ ἀποθνήσκων τοῦ ἀναιροῦντος ;

The power of death and the weakness of man before the Redemption contrasted with the strength of man and the weakness of death which is a result of Christ's victory over death. 50. 629, 61 :

Οὐδὲν ἰσχυρότερον ἐκείνου τὸ πρότερον, ἀγαπητέ,
καὶ οὐδὲν ἀσθενέστερον ἡμῶν
ἀλλὰ νῦν οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ἀσθενέστερον ἐκείνου,
καὶ οὐδὲν ἰσχυρότερον ἡμῶν.
Εἶδες πῶς ἀρίστη ἡ μετὰστασις γέγονε ;
πῶς τὰ ἰσχυρὰ ἀσθενῇ ἐποίησε,
καὶ τὰ ἀσθενῇ ἰσχυρὰ κατεσκεύασεν ὁ Θεός ;

This kind of antithesis was called *conversio*.

Thus we have seen that Christian dogma favored and, to some extent, justified the employment of certain figures, the sophistic

character of which is generally recognized. The antithesis is one of these. Chrysostom as a rule is moderate and discreet in its employment, and it imparts clearness to his exposition of doctrine. Occasionally, however, he formulates antitheses which are only verbal and not real, but such instances are exceptional.

There is one more rhetorical device, classed among the Gorgianic figures, which the rhetors regarded as the complement of artistic symmetry, and that is the *homoiooteleuton*, a kind of rhyme, produced by the recurrence of the same final syllables at the end of succeeding cola. It is a musical and poetical element of style, and its effect is very marked, especially when it is combined with other Gorgianic figures. Chrysostom uses it lavishly as well in asyndetic κόμματα as in lengthy cola. We have already cited numerous instances in this chapter. The assonance of final syllables is evident in the following examples: 56, 267, 4:

τὰ ῥήματα, τὰ βλέμματα, τὰ σχήματα, ἡ βάδισις, ὁ μυθμὸς, ἡ διάκρισις,
τὰ μέλη τὰ πορνικά.

52, 409, 20: Πρὸς Θρᾶκας, πρὸς Σκύθας, πρὸς Ἰνδοὺς, πρὸς Μαύρους,
πρὸς Σαρδονίους, πρὸς Γοτθοὺς, πρὸς θηρία ἄγρια, καὶ μετέβαλεν πάντα.

50, 494, 17: ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν, ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγρῶν, ἀπὸ τῆς
ἐρημίας, ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων, ἀπὸ τῶν
ἀρχομένων, ἀπὸ τῶν συγγενῶν, ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης, ἀπὸ τῶν
βασιλευόντων, καὶ . . . ἐξαγριούντων, καὶ . . . ἐπιτιθεμένων.

49, 40, 51:

οὐ γὰρ περισκόπει τὴν τοῦ δέινος οἰκίαν,
οὐδὲ περιεργάζετο τὴν τοῦ δέινος οὐσίαν.

Here two pair of synonyms are employed, and τοῦ δέινος is repeated for the sole reason of formulating a parison with homoiooteleuton. The same design is apparent in many of the examples cited in this chapter.

50, 645, 42:

Εἰ γὰρ οἱ περὶ τὰ θέατρα μεμνηότες,
καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἵππων ἄμεινον κεκνηότες.

In the following instance the hyperbaton produces a homoiooteleuton also at the beginning; note the assonance of endings in the middle of the cola, 50, 531, 23:

Ξένους ὁ δαίμων τυμβωρυχίας εἰσάγει νόμους,
καὶ καινοὺς ξηνηλασίας ἐπινοεῖ τρόπους.

In the following example there is an excessive use of assonance in final syllables, 52, 396, 25:

Ὡςπερ γὰρ τὸν ὤμῳ καὶ ἀπάνθρωπον ἀποστρέφεται καὶ μουσῇ,
οὕτω τὸν ἐλεῆμονα καὶ φιλόανθρωπον προσίεται καὶ φιλεῖ.

52, 411, 48:

εἰς τὰ παρόντα, καὶ εἰς τὰ μέλλοντα·
εἰς τὰ ὀρώμενα, καὶ εἰς τὰ ἀκονόμενα·
εἰς τὰ δεδομένα, καὶ εἰς τὰ πιστευόμενα.

52, 401, 41:

Τῶν ἀλλοτρίων μὴ ἐπιθύμει,
τὴν χήραν μὴ γυμνώσῃς,
τὸν ὀρφανὸν μὴ ἀρπάσῃς,
τὴν οἰκίαν μὴ λάβῃς

The effect of the homoioteleuton is heightened by epanaphora in 50, 599, 11:

Οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκεῖ μεταβολῆς εἰκῶν
οὐκ ἔστι τροπῆς ἀποσκίασμα,
πάντα δὲ πεπηγότα καὶ ἀκίνητα,
πάντα βέβαια καὶ ἰδρυμένα,
πάντα ἄφθαρτα καὶ ἀθάνατα
πάντα ἀκήρατα καὶ αἰεὶ διαμένοντα.

The following prolonged series of homoioteleuta is part of a passage quoted in our second chapter (p. 26), in which Chrysostom denounces those preachers who "idly busy themselves about beautiful expressions and the composition and harmony of their sentences, in order that they may please, not profit" their hearers. This example well illustrates that Chrysostom's theory is sometimes at variance with his practice, 60, 226, 12:

ὅπως ἦσωμεν, οὐχ ὅπως ὠφελήσωμεν,
ὅπως θαυμασθῶμεν, οὐχ ὅπως διδάξωμεν,
ὅπως τέρψωμεν, οὐχ ὅπως κατανύξωμεν,
ὅπως κροτηθῶμεν, καὶ ἐπαίνου τυχόντες ἀπέλθωμεν,
οὐχ ὅπως τὰ ἦθη ρυθμίσωμεν.

Assonance of the final syllables at the beginning of the cola heightens the effect of this series of homoioteleuta, 50, 447, 54:

ὅταν καὶ ὄνων ἀναισθητότεροι,
καὶ βοῶν ἀλογώτεροι,
καὶ χελιδόνος καὶ τρυγόνος ἀγνωμονέστεροι,
καὶ μυρμήκων ἀσυνετώτεροι,
καὶ λίθων ἀναισθητότεροι,
καὶ ὄψεων ἴσοι φαινόμεθα.

A similar series occurs, 51, 44, 38.

A very long series of rhetorical questions and answers on the sufferings and the fortitude of Job, forming the figure called hypophora, occurs in 52, 400, 9. The artistic effect of the numerous homoioteleuta is increased by the parisa and double epanaphora. Note the chiasmus in the last six cola, which is designed to relieve the monotony of this excessively long series of parisa:

Οὐ τὰ χρήματα αὐτοῦ ἔλαβεν ;
 Ἄλλὰ τὴν εὐσέβειαν οὐκ ἐσύλησεν.
 Οὐ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ ἥρπασεν ;
 Ἄλλὰ τὴν πίστιν οὐκ ἐσάλευσεν.
 Οὐ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ διέρρηξεν ;
 Ἄλλὰ τὸν θησαυρὸν οὐχ εὔρεν.
 Οὐ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ὥπλισεν ;
 Ἄλλὰ τὸν στρατιώτην οὐχ ὑπεσκέλισεν.
 Οὐκ ἔβαλε τόξα καὶ βέλη ;
 Ἄλλὰ τραύματα οὐκ ἐδέξατο.
 Προσῆγαγε μηχανήματα,
 ἀλλὰ τὸν πύργον οὐκ ἔσεισεν ;
 ἐπήγαγε κύματα,
 ἀλλὰ τὸ πλοῖον οὐ κατεπόντισε.

Another series of homoioteleuta of monotonous length occurs 52, 408, 55:

χωλοὺς διώρθον, γυμνοὺς ἐνέδυε, νεκροὺς ἤγειρε,
 λεπρὸς ἐκαθάριζε, διάβολον ἐπεστόμιζε, δαίμονας ἀπέπνιγε,
 τῷ Θεῷ διελέγετο, Ἑκκλησίαν ἐφύτευσε, ναοὺς κατέσκαψε,
 βωμοὺς ἀνέτρεψε, τὴν κακίαν ἔλυσε, τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐφύτευσε,
 τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀγγέλους ἐποίησε.

We close this chapter on the Gorgianic figures with the conviction that Chrysostom's sophistic education has left a deep impression on his style, that manifests itself in well-balanced periods of symmetrical structure, some of which exhibit a sharp contrast of thought, and to which a musical rhythm is imparted by the homoioteleuton. In addition, we have observed that these figures are often combined with epanaphora, antistrophe, paronomasia, arsis, and asyndeton, and that, in order to obtain parisa, Chrysostom often has recourse to pleonasm. Chrysostom manipulates these very artificial refinements of style with the ease and sure skill of a master, and with a fondness that makes him exceed at times the limits of artistic moderation.

CHAPTER V

THE METAPHOR

We have had ample opportunity in the preceding pages to note that one of the salient features of sophistic rhetoric is its love for showy ornament. To the sophist an idea was serviceable and good only in as far as it lent itself to oratorical embellishment.

Now, there is perhaps no figure of speech better calculated to give a rich color to style than the metaphor. It easily takes first rank among the tropes, to which class it is assigned by the rhetoricians. The metaphor signifies the transfer of a word from its literal or accepted meaning to a figurative sense.

Skilfully and discreetly employed it forms one of the most attractive graces of style. But as in the case of other rhetorical devices, so here also the sophists were not content to remain within the bounds of sobriety and true art. Hermogenes remarks¹ that the excessive use of tropes was one of the vices of the *ὑπόβουλοι σοφισταί*.

The oratory of the pulpit, more than any other, demands the use of metaphorical language. It is the preacher's task to make the abstract and spiritual ideas of theology in some sort tangible to his audience by giving to these ideas color and substance and sensible qualities. If this is true in general, it applies with double force to the eastern peoples, who are more imaginative than the nations of the west. Chrysostom was himself an Oriental, endowed with a rich and bold fancy. He realized that, in order to reach his hearers, he must needs appeal to their imaginative sense, and lead them to the perception of the immaterial by illustrations from the material. And indeed, a cursory glance at his sermons will show that he is most lavish in the employment of metaphors. It was the rich imagery of his style which above all fascinated his oriental audience, and helped to make him the most popular orator of the Eastern Church.

However, this gift of graphic representation, which constitutes one of the excellencies of his art, is likewise responsible for one of its most serious blemishes, an immoderate redundancy of images. Like the quickly shifting colors of a kaleidoscope, they

¹ Spengel, *περὶ ῥητ.*, 292, 19 ff.

follow one another in rapid succession. There is no thought of selecting what is most suitable, and the main idea is often lost sight of in the long train of images that are intended to illustrate it. It is this fondness for images that especially reveals Chrysostom's intellectual kinship with the sophists. This kinship becomes still more evident as we behold the sophistic sources from which he draws many of his metaphors, and the distinctly sophistic qualities of others. Before treating these we shall class his metaphors under general heads.

The purpose of the metaphor is to materialize an idea, to make it in some sort visible to the eye. This is generally done by substituting the concrete for the abstract.

A very graphic example of the substitution of a concrete for an abstract idea occurs in 52, 394, 54, where the prosperity of the unfortunate Eutropius is depicted as "the harlot-face which a few days ago was radiant, looking uglier than any wrinkled old woman, and denuded of its enamel and pigments by the action of adversity as by a sponge." 'The Feast of Pentecost is styled, 50, 463, 48: "the metropolis of feasts." Youth is called, "a pyre quickly kindled," 49, 21, 18.

The abstract terms of philosophy and theology are materialized by joining them with a concrete verb, adjective, or noun, *e. g.*, 50, 266, 14: *πονηρίας βάραθρον*; 52, 395, 33: *τὸν στάχυν κομῶντα τῆς συμπαθείας*; 52, 443, 57: "the flower of liberty"; 52, 404, 26: *ἀναβαίνω τῷ πτερῷ τοῦ νοήματος*; 49, 37, 47: *ἐαυτοὺς πτερῶσωμεν ταῖς ἐλπίσι*; 56, 267, 49: *κάμνον ἔρωτος . . . περιφέρειν*; 50, 474, 17: *τὰς ἀκάνθας τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἀνασπῶν, καὶ τὸν λόγον τῆς εὐσεβείας κατασπείρων*; 50, 615, 32: *τὸν χειμάρρουν τοῦ κηρύγματος*; 50, 573, 14: "the spark of religion"; 50, 468, 42: *τὰ ἄλογα τῆς διανοίας σκιρτήματα*.

A concrete idea is sometimes replaced by another concrete term which is more graphic, *e. g.*, having enumerated the past pleasures and honors of Eutropius, Chrysostom pictures them in a series of elegant metaphors, 52, 391, 48: "They were all mere visions of the night, and dreams which have vanished with the dawn of day: they were spring flowers, and when the spring was over they all withered: they were a shadow which has passed away—they were a smoke which has dispersed, bubbles which have burst, cobwebs which have been rent in pieces." St. Paul's voice is called, 49, 15, 1, "the celestial trumpet, the spiritual lyre." The bodies of the martyrs are termed, "springs, roots and ointments," 50, 600, 51. In 50, 505, 33, St. Paul is styled *τὸν ἀνδριάντα τῆς ἀρετῆς*; Eutropius, the fallen, fugitive consul of the Empire, is

called "a tree, stripped of all its leaves and shaken to its very roots by the storm of adversity," 52, 391, 37.

The names of animals are sometimes used to designate men, *e.g.*, the hope is expressed that Flavian, the bishop of Antioch, who had been sent to appease the wrath of the emperor Theodosius, will be able "to convert the lion into a mild lamb," 49, 49, 39. The Virgin-Martyrs Sts. Bernice and Prosdoce are represented as "two heifers that gladly bore the yoke of martyrdom," 50, 640, 30. St. Roman, Martyr, is represented as converting "gazelles and deer into bold lions" by his exhortations, 50, 609, 13. Similarly St. Paul is said to have made sheep out of wolves, and doves out of kites and hawks, 50, 474, 59. The same saint is described as falling "into the very jaws of the lion," *i.e.*, of wicked men, 50, 476, 20. The devil too is called "a wild beast," 50, 608, 13.

The boldest kind of metaphor consists in attributing life and action to inanimate objects, *e.g.*, 52, 444, 50: "What need of words? The rocks cry out, the walls send forth a voice." In 50, 496, 8, Chrysostom says: *Καὶ ταῦτα αὐτὴ ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀλήθεια βοᾷ*, and he continues, "There is no need of words or speech, since the whole world everywhere sends forth a voice, the cities, the fields, the earth, the sea, the inhabited and desert places, yea, even the very mountain tops." In 50, 607, 20, the nature of disaster is said to be able to "incline even the rocks to pity." In 52, 392, 58, the horse-races are said to have whetted the sword against Eutropius.

There are certain metaphors, which, without being peculiar to the sophists, form part of the common literary property, being borrowed mostly from the poets, *e.g.*: 56, 265, 44: *ποικίλος ἀστέρων . . . χορός*; 50, 647, 53: *τῶν λίθων τὰς νιφάδας* (Cf. Aesch. *Fr.* 199); 50, 475, 59: *μυρίας νιφάδας πειρασμῶν*; the marching in procession to the graves of the martyrs is called: *χορεύειν*, 50, 699, 50; the martyrs entering heaven are represented as joining the choir of the Blessed, who had been their *συνχορεύται* on earth, 50, 710, 43;² the plenitude of the Holy Spirit is designated as *χορηγίαν*, 52, 408, 48.

A metaphor that occurs frequently in some of the sophists is *ὠδίνω*, used in a figurative sense. Chrysostom applies the term to Julian the Apostate, plotting a persecution against the Christians: 50, 574, 1: *ὠδίνοντος ἐκείνου τὸν πόλεμον ἐξεγκεῖν*. He likewise describes the storm of persecution as: *πικρά τινα ὠδίνων νανάγια*, 52, 549, 22.³

² Cf. Guignet, 139, on Gregory Nazianzen's use of the same term.

³ Cf. Guignet, 139.

The metaphors, however, which present strong evidence of Chrysostom's profane education are the so-called technical terms pertaining to military science, the athletic games, the hippodrome, and navigation. There can be no doubt as to their profane origin. Their popularity among all classes of Greek society was universal. Chrysostom in his liberal use of these terms rivals the most thoroughgoing of the rhetors.

1. *Metaphors borrowed from military science:*

The struggle of the soul against the flesh and its passions is styled, μάχη, πόλεμος, παράταξις, 50, 483, 26. Referring to the deacon John, surnamed Marcus, whom St. Paul refused to take with him on one of his journeys, because John had deserted him on a former occasion (*Acts*, XIII, 13; XV, 37, 38), Chrysostom says, 50, 508, 5: Διὸ καὶ δικαίως ἐξετέμνετο, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ τάξας ἑαυτὸν τῷ μετώπῳ τῆς φάλαγγος, σφόδρα ἀνάνδρως εἰστήκει. In Book IV *On the Priesthood*, Chrysostom demands that the Christian preacher be skilled in all the methods of warfare, in order to be able to repel the attacks of the enemies of the Church, and that he "be at once both archer and slinger, captain and general, in the ranks and in command, on foot and on horseback, in sea-fight and in siege," 48, 666, 24. The devil's attacks on Job, and the latter's victory are described thus, 52, 400, 13: "Did he not arm his wife against him? yes, but he did not overthrow the soldier. Did he not hurl arrows and darts at him? yes, but he received no wounds. He advanced his engines, but could not shake the tower; he conducted his billows against him, but did not sink the ship." Another group of military, naval, and athletic terms sets forth the victorious struggles of the Church, 52, 397, 60: "Such might has the Church: when she is assailed (πολεμουμένη) she conquers: . . . she is wounded, yet sinks not under her wounds; tossed by waves, yet not submerged; vexed by storms, yet suffers no shipwreck; she wrestles and is not worsted, fights (πυκτεύει) but is not vanquished."

One of the persecutors of the Church is described thus, 50, 644, 29: τύραννος εἰς οὐρανὸν ταξεύειν ἐπιχειρῶν.⁴ The mouths of the martyrs, speaking in defence of the Faith are styled quivers (βελοθήκη), bearing many arrows, which are shot at the demon's head, 50, 575, 52. Julian the Apostate, persecuting the Christians by covert methods, is represented as, τὸν πόλεμον ἀκροβολιζόμενος,

⁴ Cf. Herod. IV, 94, who relates that the Getai, when it thundered and lightened, aimed their arrows at the sky, uttering threats against their god.

50, 573, 39. On Good Friday Chrysostom bids the faithful: ἀλαλάξωμεν, καθάπερ στρατιῶται, τὴν ἐπινίκιον ᾠδὴν, 49, 396, 50.

2. *Metaphors drawn from the athletic games:*

The magnificent splendor of these religious festivals, regarded as events of national importance, and the enthusiastic admiration of the public for the victors of Olympia, who were celebrated in song and verse, lent to these figures that dramatic and epic color which was so eagerly coveted by the sophists. Taken over by the Christian panegyrists after the example of St. Paul (*Tim.* II, 4), they maintained in the religious domain their ancient popularity, and gradually became so common that they almost lost their figurative character, ἀθλητής and ἀγωνιστής becoming equivalent to martyr.

Job is called μέγας ἀθλητής, 50, 476, 11. St. Paul is described as, πελάγει πυκτεύων καὶ λιμῶ . . . καὶ κρυμῶ, καὶ πανταχοῦ ὑπὲρ τὰ σκάμματα πηδῶν, 50, 475, 62. The religious services in honor of a martyr are termed θεωρία ἀγωνισμάτων, 50, 665, 5, and the faithful attend these services in order to learn ἀγωνίζεσθαι, παγκρατίζειν. The martyrs are described as looking up with eager eyes to their ἀγωνοθέτης (*i. e.*, God), 50, 647, 51. St. Ignatius, Martyr, is styled Ὀλυμπιονίκης, 50, 606, 57, and God, who called him from Antioch to Rome, where he was martyred, is represented as, μακροτέρους αὐτῷ τιθεὶς τοὺς διαύλους τοῦ δρόμου, 50, 592, 40, and the Christians who met him on his journey ἤλειπον τὸν ἀθλητήν, *ib.* 49, and were consoled to see him so eagerly ἐπὶ θάνατον τρέχοντα, *ib.* 53. Chrysostom remarks that at the feasts of the rich one can see, στάδιον καὶ ἄμειλλαν διαβολικὴν, 50, 435, 17, and that the rich man affords the devil many occasions for attack (λαβάς, grip, hold), 49, 45, 55. The devil is said to grapple with us (συνπλέκεσθαι), thus giving us opportunities to win crowns, 50, 441, 1. His own work of preaching and instructing the faithful Chrysostom characterizes thus: ἀλείφοντες ὑμᾶς καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν, 50, 440, 44. Speaking of the great number of martyrs, he says: πολλοὶ οἱ ἀνακηρυττόμενοι καὶ στεφανούμενοι, 50, 587, 33, and, *ib.* 38: "they run the race of piety," and again, *ib.* 44: "both men and women strip for these contests (πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἀπεδύσαντο τούτους). The angels and his six older brothers are described as looking down from heaven upon the glorious spectacle (θέατρον) of the martyrdom of the youngest of the Maccabees: "Like judges in the Olympic games they sat crowned, not acting as arbiters of the struggle, but exhorting the champion to win the crown," 50, 624, 26. The theatrical charac-

ter of these pagan images, which are applied with little propriety to the scenes of martyrdom, denotes strong sophistic influence.

The following metaphor on St. Ignatius, Martyr, 50, 588, 32, reveals the studied ingenuity of the sophist: "The grace of the Spirit has woven a triple garland and bound with it that sacred brow, or rather I should say, a manifold one, for if one would carefully unwind each single garland, it would be found putting forth many others. And if you will, I shall first come to the panegyric of his episcopacy. Does not this seem to be but one garland? Well, let us unwind it, and you shall see two, three, and even more garlands sprouting forth from it."

3. *Metaphors borrowed from the hippodrome:*

That the Greeks were possessed of a veritable mania for the horse and chariot races needs no proof. The popularity of this pastime would make metaphors drawn from that source very much appreciated. In his panegyric *On Sts. Juventinus and Maximinus, Martyrs*, 50, 571, 47, Chrysostom says: "Recently Blessed Babylas and the three youths gathered us here. Today a pair (*ἑνωπίς*, a pair of horses) of holy soldiers has marshalled in battle-array the host of Christ; *τότε ἄρμα* (*i. e.*, a team of four horses drawing a chariot: referring to St. Babylas, and the three Jewish youths who were thrown into the fiery furnace), *νῦν ἑνωπίς μαρτύρων*." In his panegyric *On St. Pelagia, Virgin-Martyr*, 50, 579, 8: "Henceforth maidens of tender age can leap against the goads of Hades (*i. e.*, death) and suffer no harm." Relating how St. Timothy mortified his body, Chrysostom says: "The steed that was unmanageable and restive he curbed with much vehemence, until he had tamed him of his wanton tricks; until he had made him docile; and delivered him under entire control into the hands of that reason which is the charioteer," 49, 21, 22.

A similar metaphor, but much more elaborate, occurs in his sermon *Against the Games and the Theatres*, 56, 265, 28. The studious care with which Chrysostom works out the details of the image is characteristic of the sophists' method. Having rebuked the faithful for attending the chariot races on Good Friday, instead of coming to church, he says: "If you wished to see a race of irrational animals, why did you not yoke together your irrational passions, anger and concupiscence, and lay on them the yoke of philosophy, sweet and light, and give them for a charioteer right reason, and drive towards the goal of your heavenly vocation, not from vice to vice, but from earth to heaven? This kind

of chariot race, besides giving pleasure, would be very beneficial." This poetical picture is strongly reminiscent of Plato's famous illustration (*Phaedrus*, 246), in which Reason is represented as a charioteer driving a chariot drawn by two horses, one of an aspiring, the other of a base nature.

4. *Metaphors taken from the sea and from navigation:*

It is difficult to determine how far these metaphors are of profane origin, because we do not know to what extent they were current in the ecclesiastical literature of Chrysostom's time.

Poverty is called λιμὴν ἀκύμαντος καὶ τεῖχος ἀσφαλές, 52, 395, 18. To reach heaven with a rich store of merits is expressed thus: μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς ἐμπορίας εἰς ἐκείνον καταπλεῦσαι τὸν λιμένα, 50, 577, 5. On *St. Eustathius, Martyr*: "He has crossed the strait (εὐριπτον) of life's cares, he is free from the tumult of the waves, he has sailed into the quiet and tranquil harbor . . . as if standing on a rock or high cliff, he laughs at the waves," 50, 597, 63. The calamity at Antioch is called a χειμὼν, and the hope is expressed that God will soon restore the calm (γαλήνην), 49, 36, 34. The gathering of the faithful in church is termed: θάλαττα εὐρύχωρος ἐμπελησμένη, ἀλλ' οὐ παραττομένη τῇ ζάλῃ τῶν ἀνέμων, 52, 435, 42. Chrysostom's farewell sermon to his flock on the eve of his first exile begins with the stirring metaphor: "Many are the billows, mighty is the swell; but we have no fear of being submerged, for we stand upon the rock. Let the sea rage, it cannot wash away the rock; let the billows roar, they cannot sink the bark of Jesus," 52, 427, 45. Referring to Theophilus of Alexandria, who together with other ecclesiastics had brought about his banishment, Chrysostom in the sermon on his return from exile says: οἱ ναῦται μεθ' ὑμῶν καθ' ὑμῶν γεγόνασιν. οἵτινες τὸν πόλεμον τῷ πλοίῳ κατεσκεύασεν, 52, 446, 45.

We have already noted as a sophistic trait of Chrysostom's art the theatrical tone of some of his metaphors describing the scenes of martyrdom as a sort of dramatic spectacle. This tendency appears also in his employment of the words δράμα and τραγῳδία to denote scenes of a pathetic nature, and in his use of the term προσωπεῖον in a figurative sense, *e. g.*, the term τραγῳδία is applied, 49, 147, 54, to the sacrifice of Jephte's daughter (*Judg.* XI, 37); to the martyrdom of the Maccabees, 50, 621, 50; to the sentence pronounced on some criminals, 49, 138, 17. Speaking of those Christian women who, like St. Pelagia, took their lives to preserve their virginity, he says: "The time was full of such *dramas*," 50, 580, 62. In a rhetorical apostrophe addressed to Abraham,

Chrysostom pretends to find fault with him for advising Sara to deceive the ruler of Egypt by representing herself as Abraham's sister, and exclaims: "You even weave a plot with your wife, and play a part with her in the drama of adultery (*συνυποκρίνη τὸ δράμα τῆς ὕβρεως*)!" And a few lines further: "You prompt her to don the *mask* of a sister!" 50, 630, 53 ff. Referring to friends who proved false, he says: "They changed their *mask*," 52, 399, 15, and: "The actors were unmasked (*ἠλέγχθη τὰ προσωπεῖα*)," 52, 400, 37. In another place, 50, 531, 33: "The demon raised his mask and openly (*γυμνῇ τῇ κεφαλῇ*) took his stand against the received laws of nature."⁵

The straining after dramatic effect asserts itself in the following personification of Wealth as a disloyal servant, 49, 39, 35: "Nothing is so faithless as wealth; of which I have often said, and will not cease to say, that it is a runaway, thankless servant, having no fidelity; and should you throw over him ten thousand chains, he will make off dragging his chains after him. Frequently, indeed, have those who possessed him shut him up with bars and doors, placing their slaves round about for guards. But he has overpersuaded these very servants, and has fled away together with his guards; dragging his keepers after him like a chain, so little security was there in his custody." *Hom. VIII against the Anomoeans*, 48, 767, opens with this declamatory passage: "Yesterday we returned from the warfare and battle with the heretics bearing gory arms and the sword of the word blood-red, not from the slaughter of human bodies, but from the refutation of false reasonings."

A large contingent of Chrysostom's metaphors are taken from Sacred Scripture; such are the allegories referring to the Church as a flock of sheep, as a bride, a kingdom, as a body whose head is Christ, and whose members are the faithful; to the priest as a physician etc. These figures are beside the purpose of this study which aims to show only the profane and sophistic elements in Chrysostom's rhetoric. It is very interesting, however, to see how he transforms these figures, giving them a touch of the sensational and paradoxical, which is a distinctly sophistic trait. We have already referred to his bold and shocking metaphor which represents human nature as a harlot with God as her lover (p. 39). This allegory is probably borrowed from the Old Testament (*Jerem.* III; *Ezech.* XVI; *Osee* II and III), where the Jewish

⁵ On Gregory of Nyssa, cf. Méridier, 108; on Gregory Nazianzen, Guignet, 148.

people in their disloyalty to God are likened to a prostitute. Chrysostom says verbatim (*Hom. II on Eutropius*, 52, 405, 29): ὁ τοσοῦτος καὶ τηλικούτος ἐπεθύμησε πόρνης. Πόρνης ἐπεθύμει ὁ Θεός; Ναι, πόρνης. He explains: "I speak of our human nature under that name." God is then described as coming to the harlot in order to convert her into a virgin by espousing her. The sequel reveals that Chrysostom is speaking of the mystery of the Incarnation, but the allegory is pursued with such sophistic boldness, that Chrysostom's caution to the faithful to understand it in a spiritual sense hardly mitigates the shocking character of the image. The latter is dropped for a while (*ib.* 406, 23), and human nature is represented successively as a plant placed in Paradise, as a sheep carried by the Shepherd, as a vessel of clay holding a treasure (*i. e.*, the Holy Spirit). After an interval of about one column the original figure is resumed (*ib.* 407, 39). Christ gives his Bride an earnest (*ἀρραβῶνα*), a dowry (*προίκα*), gifts of betrothal (*μνηστήρα*) (*ib.* 408, 32). The frequent dialogues between Christ and his Bride give a strong dramatic color to this whole passage.

We have already, in the preceding pages (36 ff.), presented numerous examples showing how the metaphor is a fruitful source of the paradox. Here are some instances not yet quoted which will further illustrate this, *e. g.*, a series of metaphors on the banishment of St. Meletius from his see of Antioch, 50, 517, 20: "And indeed, what then took place was admirable (*παράδοξον*): The shepherd was expelled, but the sheep were not scattered; the pilot was ejected, but the bark did not sink; the husbandman was persecuted, but the vine bore more fruit!"

On the Egyptian Martyrs, 50, 697, 13: "And they were sentenced to the mines, to dig for metal, they who were more precious than gold, and possessors of a gold not material, nor dug up by the hands of convicts, but acquired by the labor of faithful Christians. *εἰργάζοντο μέταλλα οἱ μυρίων γέμοντες θησαυρῶν.*"

On Sts. Juventinus and Maximinus, who were beheaded at midnight, 50, 576, 20: *ἐν μέσῳ σκότει οἱ φωστῆρες ἐξήγοντο καὶ ἀπετέμοντο.* This is an artificial specimen. The metaphor *φωστῆρες* is introduced solely for the sake of a contrast with *σκότει*. There is also here a jumble of the metaphorical (*φωστῆρες*) with the literal sense (*ἀπετέμοντο*).

The most strongly sophistic metaphor we have found in Chrysostom is Gorgias' notorious paradox of *ἐμψυχοὶ τάφοι* (for vul-

tures), already discussed among the oxymora (p. 36). Chrysostom applies the figure to the faithful, stating that they are "living graves" of St. Eustathius, Martyr.

The labored ingenuity of the rhetor is revealed in a far-fetched metaphor on St. Paul, 50, 474, 46. He is described in a contrast with Noe as saving the whole world in an ark which he constructed out of his epistles, using them instead of planks.

It is amusing to note the specious arguments with which Chrysostom tries to justify some of his exaggerated metaphors, *e. g.*, the mother of the Maccabees is extolled as having brought forth an entire Church of martyrs, 50, 622, 4: "The seven youths were only seven martyrs, and the body of their mother added to theirs was only one, but it was equivalent to twice seven martyrs, both because she suffered martyrdom with regard to each one, and because she rendered them martyrs (*i. e.*, by her exhortations). Thus we can truly say that she brought forth an entire Church of martyrs."

From the fact that God allowed St. Peter, whom he set to rule the whole world, and to whom he entrusted the keys of heaven, to tarry a long time at Antioch, Chrysostom concludes: "Thus our city appears as tantamount to the whole world." 50, 591, 50.

In his panegyric *On St. Roman, Martyr*, who, after his tongue had been plucked out, miraculously retained his speech and continued to reproach the tyrant, Chrysostom exclaims, 50, 614, 2: *θέαμα καὶ παράδοξον σάρκινος σαρκίνοις ἀσάρκως φθεγγόμενος*. Then he addresses the tongue as a "forerunner of the martyr," and breaks forth into a rhapsodic strain: "Oh tongue which preceded the soul of the martyr to the hosts of the martyrs (in heaven)! Oh mouth which brought forth a hidden martyr! Oh tongue having for its altar the mouth! Oh mouth whose sacrificial victim was the tongue! Oh noble martyr, we knew not that thou hadst thy mouth for a temple, in which thou didst sacrifice thy kindred tongue as an admirable (*παράδοξον*) lamb!" Chrysostom then addresses a lengthy apostrophe to the martyr, repeating some of the above figures and adding: *ἔλαβες εἰς τὸ φθέγγεσθαι πληκτρον, σὺ δὲ αὐτὸ τεμνόμενον ἄσταχυν ἀνέδειξας*. He then goes on to say that the tongue, like Isaac of old, lay patiently on the altar, and did not recoil from the knife, but received the blow with pleasure (*ib.* 40).

This is a genuine sophistic tour de force. The images are so bold and overwrought as to border on the ridiculous. It is a fine

specimen of the extravagant and exaggerated declamations of the rhetors.⁶

In the beginning of this chapter we remarked that one of the serious faults of Chrysostom's style was his immoderate redundancy of metaphors. In this respect he seems to surpass even the most radical sophists. In 52, 416, 14, we found a series of ten metaphors on wealth, which is styled: "An ungrateful, runaway slave, a cruel murderer, an untamable beast, a precipice sheer on every side, a rock continually washed by the billows, a sea agitated by innumerable winds, a tyrant harshly imperious, a despot more cruel than a barbarian, an implacable enemy, an irreconcilable foe." Note that all these terms are concrete. This tedious litany is followed immediately by another series of twelve metaphors on poverty, *ib.* 23. Cf. also 50, 685, 40, a series of sixteen metaphors on the martyrs' death, four of which are concrete and the rest abstract terms. These endless enumerations are nothing but an empty display of rhetorical skill, which, though wearisome to a modern reader, must have been highly acceptable to Chrysostom's audience.

For the close of this chapter we have reserved a very remarkable specimen of turgid sophistic declamation. It occurs at the end of a long comparison in which St. Roman, Martyr, is likened to a pilot who sees the storm of persecution rising against the ship of the Church, and going up to Jesus, who is asleep in the ship, he raises the cry of the Apostles (*Matth.* VIII, 25): "Lord, save us, we perish!" and then Chrysostom continues, 50, 615, 59: "Pirates surround your vessel, wolves beset the flock, robbers are undermining your bridal-chamber, adulterous hissings (*συρίγματα*) sound about your bride, once more the serpent is breaking into (*τοιχωρῶνχῆι*) Paradise, the foundation-rock of the Church is shaking, but cast down from heaven the evangelical anchor, and set fast the shaking rock: Lord, save us, we perish!" What a contrast between the simple, pathetic cry: "Lord, save us, we perish," and its bombastic paraphrase! The profusion of images is bewildering. The Church is pictured as a ship, a flock, a bridal-chamber, a bride, as Paradise, a foundation-stone; her enemies as pirates, wolves, robbers, a serpent; finally God is besought to cast down an anchor to fasten the shaking rock! an incongruous metaphor indeed.

⁶ Cf. the bombastic apostrophe which the father of Cynaegirus addresses to the hand of his son in Polemo's *Declamation A*, 35 ff.

Our investigation of Chrysostom's use of the metaphor has shown us several additional points of direct contact between his oratory and the sophistic rhetoric. The liberal use of certain metaphors of established profane origin, the sophistic fashion in which metaphors taken from a profane source are treated, the labored ingenuity, extravagance, and exaggeration which marks certain others, and finally his immoderate redundancy of images, all betray Chrysostom's intimate relationship with the sophistic rhetors. The studies which Méridier and Guignet have made of Gregory of Nyssa and Gregory Nazianzen on this same point enable us to state that in the prodigal exuberance of his metaphors Chrysostom by far surpasses his illustrious contemporaries.

CHAPTER VI

THE COMPARISON

The keen sense for the graphic and picturesque which manifests itself in the metaphors of Chrysostom appears in an even more striking manner in his comparisons. The comparison does not differ essentially from the metaphor. Both are founded on the resemblance between two objects. In the metaphor this likeness is not directly expressed but implied. In the comparison it is formally stated. The metaphor is thus by its very nature a more subtle and powerful figure; whereas the comparison, plainly manifesting itself as an image, has more of an ornamental character. The oriental peoples are of course more given to this sparkling ornament than the Europeans. As already stated, Chrysostom was an Oriental, a Syrian, and naturally comparisons are very numerous in his sermons. Like the sophists of the Asiatic schools, Chrysostom prefers comparisons of the gaudy and showy kind to the more discreet and restrained types found in the classic orators.

Chrysostom himself justifies his use of this figure in the following two passages: Commenting on St. Paul, *Hebr.* V, 11: "Of whom (*i. e.*, Melchisedech) we have much to say and hard to be intelligibly uttered: because you are become weak to hear," he says (56, 165, 32): "Evidently it is not the nature of the language but the ignorance of the audience which makes difficult, yea very difficult, what in itself is easy. . . . When we have the care of the sick we must not set before them a meal prepared at haphazard, but a variety of dishes, so that the patient may choose what suits his taste. Thus we must proceed in the spiritual repasts (*i. e.*, preaching). Since we are weak, the sermon must be varied and embellished; it must contain comparisons, proofs, paraphrases, and the like, so that we may select what will profit our soul." Again, in 57, 199, 13, he points out how Christ employed parables to make the divine truths more acceptable to the Jews by inserting in his discourse terms that were in common use, such as, thrashing-floor, harvest, winepress, vineyard, field etc. Here Chrysostom's theoretical view on the purpose of the comparison is briefly indicated. It should be subject to the needs of exposi-

tion; it should serve, like the parables of the Savior, to elucidate and facilitate the understanding of the abstract and spiritual ideas of Christian teaching. We shall soon see that Chrysostom, in practice, does not always keep in view this purpose of the comparison.

His comparisons are drawn from various sources, at times from Sacred Scripture. But in the majority of cases Chrysostom draws on profane sources for the themes of his comparisons. As to the general character of these themes, our conclusions tally with those of Méridier (117) on Gregory of Nyssa, and of Guignet (161) on Gregory Nazianzen, *viz.*, that Chrysostom's comparisons are not taken from a great variety of subjects. All may be reduced to a limited number of stereotype forms, slightly modified to suit the occasion. We can classify them broadly under two heads, *viz.*, such as are borrowed from natural phenomena, the sun, the stars, fire, earth, water etc., and such as are taken from the technical arts, military and naval science, the games etc. These are precisely the themes which were in vogue in the rhetorical schools of the day. Like his contemporaries, Chrysostom for the most part adopts and utilizes them after the manner of the sophists. There is hardly any attempt at original treatment; he reveals no new phases of these subjects.

1. *Comparisons with the sun, e.g.*, 50, 703, 26: One who denies the divinity of Christ is like to one who claims that the sun is dark; by so doing he only proves his blindness. 50, 700, 37: "As one who looks at the sun does not make it more resplendent, but receives its light in his eye: so he who honors a martyr does not make him more celebrated, but receives the blessing of his light." 50, 617, 42: The martyrs are said to be more radiant than ten thousand suns and more brilliant than the great lights of heaven. 50, 699, 62: As it is impossible to extinguish the sun's light, so too the memory of the martyrs. St. Peter, in 50, 455, 57, and St. Paul, in 50, 494, 53, are compared to the rising sun. 50, 709, 29: The rivulets of blood flowing over the bodies of the martyrs are likened to the saffron-colored rays of the rising sun.

2. *Comparisons with the stars, e.g.*, 50, 467, 3: The faithful regarded the faces of the apostles as stars. 50, 707, 6: The starry sky is not so resplendent as the bodies of the martyrs with their brilliant array of wounds. Cf. also 50, 670, 1; 50, 669, 46.

3. *Comparisons with fire*, 50, 494, 42: The voice of St. Paul is likened to a fire which consumes thorns. 50, 491, 27: The same saint is compared to a fire falling amid reeds or chaff. 50, 686,

62: The demons are said to flee before the relics of the martyrs as from fire. 50, 581, 61: The body of St. Pelagia, Virgin-Martyr, is compared to a flash of lightning striking terror into the phalanxes of the demons.

4. *Comparisons drawn from rivers, the sea, and navigation*, 49, 38, 30: The mouths of blasphemers are likened to death-dealing wells. 56, 265, 9: The multitude of the faithful hurrying to church is compared to a torrent. 49, 36, 10: The crowds at Antioch surpassed river floods. 52, 415, 23: "Life is like the raging sea, and every day it causes (*ᾠδίνει*) unexpected and direful shipwrecks." 49, 59, 45: The disaster at Antioch (387 A.D.) is likened to a storm on the sea, compelling all the faithful to take refuge in the church as in a harbor. 50, 598, 60: The living are likened to "voyagers tossed about in mid-ocean, now raised on the crests of the highest billows, now sinking down into the depths." 50, 625, 45: The heart of the mother of the Maccabees is compared to a "rock in the sea which receives the shock of the waves, but remains firm and easily repels them dissolved into foam." 50, 613, 2: Life at the time of the persecutions was like the sea stirred to its depths. Kings and tyrants raged more fiercely than the billows. 50, 425, 21: The Christian should look to the future reward like the merchant who braves the perils of the sea in the hope of amassing a fortune. A similar example occurs 50, 422, 50. 50, 590, 46: We admire the rulers of the Church in the time of persecution, as we esteem a pilot who can safely direct his ship when there is a storm on the sea and mutiny on board. 50, 507, 26: It would be as foolish for any one to undertake, without preparation, the office of preaching, as it would be for one to take the pilot's place who is not skilled in battling with the waves (Cf. Guignet, 166). 50, 437, 46: A king, like a ship, is bespattered on all sides and contracts many flaws. 52, 416, 50: One who hoards up excessive wealth is like an overloaded ship. 50, 649, 19: The tombs of the martyrs are compared to safe harbors, fountains, and inexhaustible treasures.

5. *Military science, another source of comparisons*, 49, 398, 34: As a great king who is victorious in war hangs up on high the cuirass and shield of his enemy, so Christ, having conquered the devil, suspended on the cross, as a trophy, the weapons of the devil, death and the curse of sin. 50, 617, 54: As robbers flee at the sight of the gilded cuirass, helmet, and buckler of a great chieftain, so the devils dare not approach when they see the bodies of the martyrs. 50, 681, 53: The martyrs, upbraiding their per-

secutors, are likened to skilful archers who with perfect aim shoot their arrows from the bow-string and rout the lines of the enemy: so the holy martyrs and all the champions (*ἀγωνισταί*) of the truth send forth their words from their tongue as from a bow-string, and these, flying like arrows through the air, fall upon the unseen phalanxes of the demons and rout them. Note how carefully all the details of this comparison are worked out. 50, 681, 50: Women too can join the army of Christ; "they also may put on a cuirass, advance the buckler, and shoot darts." The death of St. Drosis, Virgin-Martyr, is represented as a victory of Christ over the devil, 50, 687, 52: As David slew Goliath with his own sword, so Christ cut off the devil's head with the same weapon (*i. e.*, woman) with which he had conquered Adam. Justifying the holy anger of St. Paul, Chrysostom says, 50, 508, 24: "God gave to our soul the keenness of anger, like the sharp edge of a sword, to be used when there is need." With reference to the victory which Christ won for us by his death on the Cross, Chrysostom says, 49, 396, 55: "Since the victory is ours, let us like soldiers shout the hymn of victory (*ἀλαλάζωμεν . . . τὴν ἐπινίκιον ᾠδὴν*)." *On St. Roman, Martyr*, 50, 613, 18: "The martyr laughed at this conflict (*i. e.*, martyrdom) as at some mock-fight, and as if he were ἐν σκάμμασιν (a place dug out and sanded on which athletes practiced) and covering his judges with dust; so he agitated the mind of the judge with his (display of) faith, and checked him in his course against the Church." Note the ingenious application of the image of dust raised by the athlete to the faith of the martyr. 50, 591, 39: "As in armies the command of the select troops and larger companies is given to the more skilful leaders, so in the Church large dioceses are entrusted to the more tried superiors." 50, 576, 60: "As soldiers show their wounds to the general and speak familiarly with him, so the martyrs, bearing their severed heads in their hands, and proffering them to the King of heaven, can obtain whatever they desire." A bold and realistic comparison. 50, 672, 2: "As even a cowardly man, at the sight of the buckler, spear, and cuirass of some champion, is filled with courage, so we, looking on the body of the martyr, ought to take heart and be ready to fight for Christ." 49, 35, 46: The plight of the people of Antioch after the overthrow of the statues of Theodosius is likened to a siege.

6. *Comparisons borrowed from the athletic games*, 50, 709, 10: Of the martyrs Chrysostom says: "These, like athletes crowned (*στεφανῖται*), departed after the contests to their ἀγωνοθέτης (*i. e.*,

God).” 50, 678, 38, *On St. Barlaam, Martyr*: “He stepped forth like a brave athlete who had practiced a long time in the palaestra; for the prison was to the martyr a palaestra where, in private conversation with God, he learned all the tricks of wrestling (παλαίσματα).” 50, 611, 59: As the palaestra makes the body strong and skilled in the athletic art, so the commemoration of the martyrs arms the soul against the tricks of the demons and trains it for the struggle (λαβάς) with them. The narration of their sufferings spreads out before us, as in a stadium (ὁ σκάμμασι), the double course (δίανλον) of every martyr. 50, 668, 19: “The martyrs like boxers did not heed blows, but fixed their gaze on the crown. Like mariners they regarded not the dangers of the sea, but looked forward to the harbor.” In the following we receive some detailed information on the rules prevailing in athletic contests: 50, 421, 61: “In the Olympic games the athlete contends within the stadium, but his παιδοτρίβης (trainer) remains outside the lists, and, by calling him and shouting to him, gives aid, nor is he allowed to stand close and assist him with his hands. But the case is different in the spiritual contests; for here the trainer is at the same time an athlete. Therefore he stands not outside but enters the lists and anoints the athletes fighting in company with him” (Chrysostom is referring to St. Paul). In 50, 440, 50, Christ is compared to a renowned παιδοτρίβης who, receiving a slovenly, enervated athlete, instructs, trains, and makes him put on muscle; then, not to let him grow idle, orders him to enter the contests, to teach him by actual test what strength he has acquired.

The following specimen gives occasion to a beautiful *ecphrasis* or description of the triumphal entrance of the martyrs into heaven, 50, 710, 11: “For if, on the arrival of stranger athletes in a town, all the people gather in a circle and examine their well-shaped limbs: with greater likelihood did the angels and all the celestial powers gather around these athletes of religion as they entered heaven. They too carefully noted their wounds, received them amid rejoicing, and embraced them like champions coming from the battle after many trophies and victories. They conducted them amid a numerous bodyguard to the King of heaven, to the throne surrounded with glory, where are the Cherubim and Seraphim. Arriving there, they adore Him who sits on the throne, and are received by the Lord with greater kindness even than by their fellows, for he receives them not as servants but as friends.” Note that the martyrs are represented here both as

athletes and as warriors. The picture is not lacking in sublimity.

It is not unusual with Chrysostom to mount a tableau in the frame of a comparison, as appears again in the following: 50, 682, 10: "Do you not see how unnerved those are who come from the spectacle of the games? The reason is the close attention with which they view the contests. They depart having fixed in their soul the image of eyes straining from their sockets, of hands twisted out of joint, of feet shifting quickly, and of other contortions which appear when the bodies are whirled about." He then upbraids the faithful for not showing an equal interest in and application to the recital of the martyrs' conflicts, and continues: "Let us set up in our minds (the picture of) all the martyrs, together with the cauldrons and other instruments of torture, and, as painters often wipe off an old painting grown dim with smoke and soot, so let us employ the memory of the martyrs. If worldly cares enter and darken the image of your soul, restore its brightness by recalling to mind the martyrs.

In his panegyric *On St. Roman*, 50, 611, 4, he compares the devil, plotting to have the tongue of the martyr cut out, to an athlete who, vanquished in the *παγκράτιον* by his adversary, has the latter's hands cut off and thus maimed is able to strike him: so in the case of the martyr the severed member was the most striking proof of the devil's defeat.

7. *Comparisons drawn from the chariot races*, 50, 501, 11: St. Paul, hesitating to speak in praise of himself, is compared to a steed which, coming to the edge of a precipice, rears up continually. In *Hom. II On the Statues*, Chrysostom likens the inhabitants of Antioch to a steed, 49, 34, 46: "The populace so well ordered and quiet, yea, even like a tractable and well tamed steed, always submissive to the hands of its rulers, has now so suddenly started off with us, as to have wrought such evils, as one can hardly dare to mention." *Ib.* 58, the weight of sadness is likened to a bridle that checks the tongue of the preacher. In the sermon *On the Holy Martyrs*, 50, 645, 42, Chrysostom draws a parallel between the spectacle of the suffering martyrs and the chariot races: "If those who rave about the games and are eager for the chariot races never get their fill of this senseless spectacle; then, in greater measure, ought we have an insatiable longing for the feasts of the martyrs." Then follows a series of well balanced antitheses: Ἐκεῖ πομπὴ διαβολικὴ, ἐνταῦθα ἑορτὴ χριστιανικὴ ἐκεῖ δαίμονες σκιρτῶσιν, ἐνταῦθα ἄγγελοι χορεύουσιν ἐκεῖ ψυχῶν ἀπώλεια, ἐνταῦθα σωτηρία τῶν συλλεγομένων ἀπάντων. Then he asks: "What

pleasure is it to see a futile and haphazard race of horses? Here, however, you see not teams of brute animals, but the myriad chariots of the martyrs and God as their charioteer driving along the road to heaven."

8. *A considerable number of comparisons are taken from agriculture and gardening, e. g.*, 50, 573, 26: The Church is compared to a garden irrigated by the blood of the martyrs. 49, 35, 10: The city of Antioch after the overthrow of the statues of Theodosius is likened to a park afflicted with a drought, the trees being stripped of their foliage and fruit; *ib.* 36, 12, to an oak-grove in which the trees have been cut down, and to a bald head (this image is not sufficiently elevated to be applied to a city); *ib.* 35, 1, to a bee-hive, and its people to bees buzzing round the market-place during the prosperous days that preceded the noted calamity; after the calamity, to a deserted bee-hive; for fear like smoke drove away the bees. The comparison of the faithful to bees occurs again in 52, 405, 44. 50, 673, 15: The bodies of the martyrs are likened to trees that bear fruit at all seasons, and to fountains that are never exhausted. 49, 17, 19: The Sacred Scriptures are compared to a meadow covered with violets, lilies, and various flowers, and to a park full of fruit trees. Here is a comparison of undoubted sophistic origin: In his panegyric *On St. Ignatius, Martyr*, 52, 587, 52, Chrysostom says: "We feel as one entering a meadow who sees an abundance of roses, violets, lilies, and other various flowers of spring, and is at a loss which ones he should admire first, and which next, since all invite a closer view."¹ 52, 417, 4: Superfluous wealth should be removed, as the gardener prunes the vine of its leaves and tendrils. 52, 409, 16: St. Paul is likened to an able husbandman, handling the plow of doctrine. The Christian is compared to a husbandman, 50, 425, 31, and 49, 59, 6. Human nature is likened to fat and rich soil, 50, 467, 44. Grief over the sins of their brethren pressed upon the neck of the Apostles like a heavy yoke, 50, 590, 31.

9. *Comparisons with animals*, 50, 696, 21: The devil is compared to a wild beast who devours the bodies of the martyrs, covering his mouth and tongue with blood. Conquered by their endurance, he retreats sated with his cruel repast. 50, 523, 23: "Hunger, like an executioner lodged in the vitals, lacerates the body more fiercely than fire or a wild beast." Note the redun-

¹ Himerius, V, 57, line 32; Libanius, XVII, 211 (end), edit. Foerster; Gregory of Nyssa, Méridier, 126; Gregory Nazianzen, Guignet, 166.

dance of images. We shall encounter still more striking examples of Chrysostom's prodigality in this regard.

The following, on St. Pelagia, Virgin-Martyr, is a picture of poetical delicacy, drawn with the nicety of detail which reveals the finished art of the rhetor: St. Pelagia, surrounded in her home by the executioners, won a martyr's crown by leaping from the roof of her house, 50, 581, 3: "As a hind which has fallen into the hands of the hunters and has escaped thence to the inaccessible top of a mountain, stops at length in its flight and looks down without fear on its former pursuers: so she, having fallen into the hands of the hunters and being shut up in her home as in a net, rushed up, not to the mountain top, but to the very heights of heaven, where there was no chance to reach her. Moreover, looking down thence upon them as they retreated empty-handed, she rejoiced at seeing the disgrace that had come upon these infidels." Contrast with this sympathetic picture his sketch of Julian the Apostate, 50, 530, 1: "Looking up from earth to heaven, he howled like the mad dogs that bark indiscriminately at friend and foe." 50, 421, 13: "Concupiscence, like a mad dog, leaps at us continually."

10. *Comparisons with musical instruments*: To convey the idea of harmony, the Greek orators often employ the image of a musical instrument. Chrysostom manifests a strong liking for this figure, *e. g.*, 50, 588, 54: "As in a lyre there are many strings but one accord, so in the choir of the Apostles there are many persons but one doctrine, since there is one artist, the Holy Spirit, moving the souls." In 53, 107, 33, the body of man is compared to a lyre needing the touch of the musician, who is God, to produce a tuneful melody. St. Roman, Martyr, who miraculously retained his speech after his tongue had been cut out, gives our orator a splendid opportunity to display this showy figure with all the finesse of a sophist orator. The mouth of the saint is represented both as a flute, and as a cither, his tongue as a mouthpiece and a plectrum respectively, 50, 611, 26: "If you take the mouthpiece off a flute, the instrument becomes useless. Not so this spiritual flute; for though the tongue was removed, it gave forth a sweeter and more mystic melody. . . . And in the case of a cither, if one takes away the plectrum, the player is helpless. . . . Here the very opposite happens: For truly, his mouth was a cither, his tongue the plectrum, his soul the player, and his confession the art," etc. The studious care of detail and the emphasis on the paradoxical are here very noticeable. In 50, 613, 24, the same

martyr is compared to a tympanum: "The executioners stood about and crushed his body with blows, but he, like a brass tympanum, echoed a melody of piety. Suspending him on a rack, they tore his body, but he embraced the rack like a tree of life. They lacerated his cheeks as well as his sides, but he, as if he had thereby received more mouths, held a speech," etc. The exaggeration and bad taste of this comparison mark it as strongly sophistic.

11. *Comparisons taken from painting* were equally popular with the Greeks. Chrysostom has the following: In 50, 589, 16, St. Paul, writing on the qualities necessary to a bishop, is likened to a skilful painter. In 50, 622, 53, the faithful are bidden to depict the struggles of the martyrs on their hearts as on tablets. In 60, 227, 16, the house of God is compared to a painter's studio, where royal portraits are painted with the colors of virtue.

We have here quite a complete collection of the traditional comparisons of the schools, which shows how faithfully Chrysostom follows the fashion of the sophist orators. We shall by way of supplement add a number of comparisons which, either by reason of their originality or their distinctive character, occupy a place apart from the preceding.

In 52, 394, 37, the church in which the deposed consul Eutropius was being held a voluntary prisoner clinging to the altar for asylum, is compared to "a king seated on his throne, clad in royal purple, with a crown on his head, whilst at his feet the barbarians lie prostrate, their hands tied behind their back." Again, in 50, 453, 24, the church holding a large gathering of the faithful is likened to a modest, highbred woman wearing a garment that reaches to her ankles. 50, 522, 8: "The bride seated in the bridal-chamber is not so lovely and charming as the Christian soul appearing in church is admirable and glorious, redolent with the perfume of spiritual ointments." 50, 583, 35: The faithful who on their way from church relate to one another the deeds of the martyrs are represented as using their tongue like a censer, to fill with perfume the road on which they travel. 50, 526, 12: "The Christian should profess his faith everywhere, wearing it like a royal diadem on his brow." 50, 622, 36: "The body of the mother of the Maccabees was added to the choir of her sons as a most precious gem is inserted in a crown." 50, 618, 50: The bodies of the martyrs covered with wounds are likened to glorious kingly crowns set with pearls and gems. 49, 41, 26: "As too large a shoe hinders one in walking, so superfluous wealth is a hindrance

on the journey to heaven." 50, 635, 13: Sts. Bernice and Prosdice, flying from their city at the time of persecution, are compared to persons who flee from a burning house at midnight. The same image is applied to Antioch, 49, 35, 19.

A classical commonplace is contained in the following, 50, 589, 51: "As one who hands a sharp sword to a madman becomes a party to the murder committed by him, so a bishop who lends the approval of his authority to one living wickedly contracts the guilt of all his sins."²

The comparison of man to an actor on the stage of the world, which is a current theme among the philosophers and rhetors, is developed at length by Chrysostom in 48, 1034, 54.

Thus far we have reviewed only the chief themes which appear in Chrysostom's comparisons, and only in a few cases have we called attention to the artistic qualities of the comparisons themselves. There still remains the task of examining in how far Chrysostom, in his development of these themes, reflects the methods of the sophists, in other words, we must point out the comparisons which are ingenious, far-fetched, minutely detailed, exaggerated, paradoxical, redundant, or which show bad taste.

Here are some fair specimens of the studied ingenuity which the sophists reckoned as one of the highest accomplishments of a finished artist:

In the conclusion of one of his sermons Chrysostom says: "We must briefly recapitulate what we have said, and imitate mothers who put into their children's lap fruit, dainties, and the like. Lest they lose some of the things given to them, the mothers tuck up their garments on all sides, and thrust them securely under the girdle. Let us do the same, summarizing our long-drawn out discourse, and depositing it in the care of memory," 50, 119, 18.

The body of St. Meletius, buried in the tomb, but spiritually efficacious, is compared to a wonderful hidden root, itself invisible, but showing its vigor by its fruits, 50, 515, 23.

In the following comparison a natural phenomenon is chosen to illustrate the paradoxical aspect of a miracle—a typically sophistic procedure: "As well-diggers, when they dig up the veins of the earth, cause a more copious flow of water, so the tyrant who severed the root of St. Roman's tongue was overwhelmed with a more violent flood of reproaches," 50, 616, 65.

² Cf. Plato, *Rep.* I, 331 C.

Here is an elaborate comparison on St. Pelagia, who, surrounded in her home by a band of soldiers, won a martyr's crown by hurling herself from the roof of her house, 50, 581, 49: "As a merchant-ship, with a cargo of ointments and precious pearls, at the very mouth of the harbor, escapes the shock of a billow which had threatened to engulf it, and is raised up by the force of the tide and carried with greater speed into the harbor: so too it was with the Blessed Pelagia; for the rush of the soldiers, the fear of impending tortures, and the menacing attitude of the judge, falling upon her with more violence than a billow, only urged her to fly more quickly up to heaven."

An example of studied prettiness occurs in the discourse *On St. Meletius*, 50, 515, 36: "As one fashioning a crown of gold adds to the splendor of the diadem by inserting pearls in the mass of gems: so I, twining this day a garland of praise for this blessed head, weave into the texture of my discourse the frequent repetition of his name."

Hom. II On the Maccabees opens with a far-fetched and exaggerated comparison, which is meant to illustrate the preacher's *ἀντομία*, 50, 623, 17: "When I consider the glorious deeds of the Seven Martyrs, I fare like a miser who, sitting by a stream of liquid gold with seven tubes attached, strives to draw out the whole flood, but retreats after untold labor, leaving the greater part of his task undone. . . ."

Sometimes the first member of a comparison is nothing else than a disguised ecphrasis, or artistic description, absorbing all the interest and eclipsing entirely the main idea. It serves no longer to illustrate the latter, but is simply a bit of ornament introduced for the sake of entertaining the audience. Thus Chrysostom likens St. Paul to a physician, 50, 499, 2: "When you see the doctor now cauterizing, now fomenting (the diseased parts); now employing the knife, now medicine, now stinting the sick person as to food and drink, and again, bidding him to partake liberally of the same; now wrapping him up tightly, and again, when he is thoroughly warm, ordering him to drink a whole tumbler of cold water,—you do not in such cases criticize the constant change of method. . . . Much more must we praise St. Paul adapting himself to sinners, for those who are sick in soul need no less skilful treatment than the sick of body etc."

A similar specimen occurs in 49, 51, 59, where fasting is compared to a medicine,³ and again in 50, 707, 55, where an actual

³ Cf. Guignet, 179.

battle scene and the struggles of the martyrs are contrasted: "What is the terrible thing in a battle? Two armies, well entrenched, are arrayed against one another, bristling with weapons and armour, the gleam of which illumines the earth; from every side clouds of arrows are discharged, which obscure the light of day. Rivers of blood flood the ground, and many are cut down everywhere, like the crops at harvest time, so violent is the clash of the opposing hosts. Now let me show you another kind of battle. Here also are two hostile armies, the one of the martyrs, the other of the tyrants; but the tyrants are fully armed, while the martyrs fight without arms or armour, and the victory goes to the unarmed, not to the armed." Note the emphasis on the paradoxical. In 708, 20, *ib.*, the martyrs' struggle is compared to an athletic combat, and, *ib.* 30, their wonderful victory is likened to that of a soldier who would be forced to enter the battle with the point of his spear broken off, without his cuirass, and who, though bruised and battered and covered with myriads of wounds, would come off victorious. A similar paradoxical contrast is pursued at length in the fourth discourse on St. Paul, 50, 492, 43.

More generally however, all the minute points of the first member of the comparison are faithfully and exactly retraced in the second. We have already observed the sophistic method of searching after a great number of coincidences in minute points; it is strikingly exemplified in this description of a warrior's tent, which serves as a comparison with the tomb of the martyrs, 50, 680, 58: "The mere fame of a celebrated champion is enough to rouse a soldier; much more, however, does the sight and aspect of such a one move him, especially if he enters the tent of the brave warrior, and sees the gory sword, the head of his enemy lying on the ground, the spoils suspended, the fresh blood dripping from the hands of him who erected the trophy; if he sees everywhere spears, bucklers, bows, and the other panoply of war. Therefore we too are met here. For the grave of the martyr is a soldier's tent; and if you open the eyes of faith, you will see there the cuirass of justice, the buckler of faith, the helmet of salvation, the greaves of the gospel, the sword of the spirit, and the very head of the devil lying on the ground. For when you see a demoniac lying on his back by the martyr's tomb, lacerating his face, you are beholding nothing else than the head of the devil. Even now such weapons lie by the side of the soldiers of Christ; and, as kings bury brave chiefs with their arms, so Christ too buried the martyrs with their weapons, that he might even before the

resurrection exhibit the glory and power of the saints." A curious specimen of sophistic workmanship, interesting because the series of metaphors, cuirass of justice etc., is borrowed from St. Paul (*Ephes.* VI, 11-17). Was this detailed description prompted by that passage? If so, it would show how the sophist enlarged on an already elaborate allegory of Holy Scripture.

Contrast with this martial scene a pastoral ecphrasis of poetical beauty, forming the first part of a comparison between a flock of sheep in pasture and the flock of Christ, 50, 683, 24: "Industrious shepherds, when they see how the sun's bright rays shining through the long winter have at length brought warmer weather, drive their sheep out of the folds to their usual pastures. Imitating them, our worthy shepherd (Flavian) has led this holy and spiritual flock of Christ to these spiritual pastures of the saints. The sheep, it is true, get their fill standing at the manger, but once outside the pen, they derive more benefit from the meadows, bending down with great delight, nibbling off the grass with their teeth, breathing the fresh air, looking up at the bright and clear sunlight, and gamboling by lakes, springs, and rivers. The earth too, decked everywhere with flowers, gives them pleasure. This is true not only of these but of us also. For us too, indeed, there is set within the church a table full of spiritual viands, but this going out to the graves of the holy martyrs affords us great consolation and not less advantage. Not because we breathe the fresh air, but because we fix our gaze on the grand deeds of these noble heroes. We leap with joy, not by rivers of flowing water, but by the streams of divine grace; not grazing with heads bowed down to earth, but culling the virtues of the martyrs; not contemplating the earth decked with flowers, but bodies teeming with spiritual gifts." The scrupulous nicety of detail in this picture is the strongest indication of its sophistic character.

A like elaborate ecphrasis occurs in 50, 494, 53, where St. Paul's preaching of the Gospel is compared in its effects to the rising of the sun. A graphic description of a pilot's resourcefulness during a storm, applied to St. Roman, Martyr, occurs in 50, 615, 44. Another striking comparison taken from painting, in which the second part develops into a colorful portrayal of the tortures of the martyrs, will be quoted in the chapter on the ecphrasis.

The following passage will demonstrate how Chrysostom could draw a moral with telling power in the form of a compari-

son, 50, 649, 56: "The martyrs shed their blood: let your eyes shed tears, for tears can extinguish the fire of sins. Their sides were lacerated, they beheld the executioners surrounding them: you do this with your conscience. Place your reason as an impartial judge on the throne of your soul, and bring forward all your sins. Confront them with menacing reflections, chastise your impure thoughts, from which spring your sins, and torture them most violently. If we so practice judging ourselves, we shall escape that terrible judgment." The picture is grand and powerful.

We come now to a phase of Chrysostom's art which proves how thoroughly he was permeated with the sophistic spirit; we mean his immoderate heaping up of comparisons on one subject, a trait already noted in regard to his metaphors. In his desire for ornamentation, he gives free rein to his rich and lively fancy, outrivalling in this respect even the most radical sophists. Guignet (182) notes as excessive Himerius' employment of five comparisons in five successive lines, and remarks that Gregory Nazianzen is never guilty of such immoderation. But Himerius is moderate compared with Chrysostom, for we find in 52, 410, 14, fourteen short comparisons, in 51, 44, 38, eight, and in 50, 447, 49, six comparisons following in close succession. What makes them more artificial is their parallel structure, enhanced by homoioteleuton, so that they form well-balanced periods of parisa. The fourteen comparisons illustrate the intimate bond of union between God and the human soul, and are borrowed from Sacred Scripture: "For He espoused her as a wife, He loves her as a daughter, He provides for her as a handmaid, He guards her as a virgin, He fences her round like a garden, and cherishes her like a member; as a head He provides for her, as a root He causes her to grow, as a shepherd He feeds her, as a bridegroom He weds her, as a propitiation He pardons her, as a sheep He is sacrificed, as a bridegroom He preserves her in beauty, as a husband He provides for her support."

The series of eight comparisons occurs (51, 44, 38) in Chrysostom's *Hom. on the Narrow Gate and on the Lord's Prayer*: "When a person leaps like a steer, kicks like an ass, is as vindictive as a camel, gluttonous like a bear, robs like a wolf, stings like a scorpion, is treacherous as a fox, and neighs after women like a stallion—how can such a one utter the cry befitting a son and call God his father?"

The dry and mechanical fashion in which Chrysostom enumerates these series of short comparisons makes them appear as a mere display of rhetorical virtuosity. Here are some more examples of Chrysostom's prolixity: 49, 50, 50: "As when the winter is over and the summer is appearing, the sailor draws his vessel to the deep; and the soldier burnishes his arms, and makes ready his steed for the battle; and the husbandman sharpens his sickle; and the traveler boldly undertakes a long journey, and the wrestler strips and bares himself for the contest. So too, when the fast makes its appearance like a kind of spiritual summer, let us as soldiers burnish our weapons; and as husbandmen let us sharpen our sickle etc." In 50, 576, 49, the martyrs are compared to pillars, towers, rocks, stars, and steers.

This heaping of comparisons becomes even more unbearable when it is coupled with a mixing of figures, as in 52, 416, 42, where hoarded wealth is likened to a lion, leopard, or bear which grows fierce and savage when confined in a dark place: "Thus wealth, securely locked up and buried in the ground, roars more fiercely than a lion . . . but if you lead it out of the dark and scatter it in the bellies of the poor, the wild beast becomes a sheep, the enemy a friend, the rock a harbor, the shipwreck a calm." Note the series of paradoxes.

It is Chrysostom's desire to formulate a paradox that makes him apply two antithetical images to one subject in 50, 707, 39: "Let no one censure us, if we call the host of martyrs a band of dancers (*χορός*), and an army in battle-array (*παράταξις*) . . . for like dancers they hastened to the scenes of torture with delight, and like warriors they displayed great courage and endurance and overcame their adversaries." He then concludes with a well-balanced parison which we have already quoted (p. 46). The bad taste of the hyperbole which represents the martyrs as dancers at a feast and the striking paradox stamp this comparison as strongly sophistical.

Here is an overwrought comparison of the melodramatic kind, on St. Barlaam, Martyr, who, rather than offer incense to the gods, suffered his right hand to be consumed by the sacrificial fire. 50, 680, 11: "As a brave warrior rushes against the foe, routs their line, and breaks his sword with the frequent blows he deals; then turns about and demands another sword, because he is not satisfied with the slaughter of the foe: so the Blessed Barlaam, having lost his hand in cutting down the phalanxes of the demons, wished for another right hand, to show his alacrity by sacrificing it also."

With this last extravagant remark compare Polemo's *Declamation* A, 11, where Cynaegirus, both of whose hands were cut off in the battle of Marathon, shows his eagerness to fight by upbraiding nature for her scantiness and demanding more hands of her.

Illustrating the idea that, in consequence of Christ's victory over death, even young maidens like St. Pelagia fearlessly courted a martyr's death, Chrysostom makes a comparison which is so strongly exaggerated as to be comical, 50, 579, 15: "As a mighty hunter takes a lion which has been terrorizing, and making inroads on his flock, knocks out his teeth, shears his hair, and thus makes him the butt of laughter and ridicule, giving him to the shepherd lads and girls to play with: so Christ took death, who was feared by human nature, and who terrorized our whole race, robbed him of his terrors, and delivered him over, so that even young girls can make sport of him." This image was probably suggested by the custom, prevalent in Chrysostom's time, of leading tamed lions about the market-place.⁴

Here is another comparison that amuses by its grotesqueness: In 51, 117, 22, St. Paul is likened to "a big fish, stirring up the sea and raising countless billows against the Church . . . : "As a fisherman poised on a high rock, with rod raised up, drops his hook into the sea, so indeed our Lord, showing forth a spiritual type of fishing, was seated, as it were, on the high rock of the heavens, and dropped like a hook the words: 'Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?' Thus he caught this huge fish. And what happened in the case of the fish caught by Peter at the Lord's behest came to pass in this one also. This fish too was found holding a counterfeit stater in his jaws: for he had zeal, but not a wise zeal. . . . And as they when drawn out of the sea straightway become blind, so he had no sooner swallowed the hook, than he was struck with blindness. However, this blindness brought sight to the whole world." Note the oxymoron in the last line. This is a curious sample of sophistic art. The labored ingenuity with which trivial details are worked out and the bad taste of the whole image leave no doubt as to its sophistic nature.

For the end of this chapter we have reserved a long series of comparisons, which fairly teems with sophistic mannerisms and bad taste. This series occurs in 50, 688, 38, on St. Drosis, the Virgin-Martyr: "As maniacs see nothing as it truly is, but whether

⁴ Cf. 53, 78, 32.

it be a sharp sword, or fire, or an abyss, or a precipice, or the sea, hurl themselves into it without fear; so she, mad with a madness not like this, God forbid! but with a madness more excellent than any wisdom (oxymoron), and steeped with longing for Christ, saw nothing of what she saw (oxymoron), but, as if she were transferred to heaven and abiding there in spirit, she laughed at all terrors and looked upon the fire not as fire, but as dew (*δρόσον*). Therefore I call that pyre a fountain of purest water, and a wonderful bath of dye, and a smelting-furnace. For the soul of this blessed one was purified by fire, as gold is in a furnace. Though her flesh fell to pieces, and her bones were charred, and her sinews consumed, and the humor of her body flowed down on all sides, yet the faith of her soul grew more firm and bright. . . . The layman, when he sees the melting gold run down and mix with the ashes, thinks it is spoiled and ruined, but the skilled artisan knows that so it becomes purer, and after it is burnt, he draws it forth shining brightly. Thus, in her case too, the infidels, seeing her flesh consumed and falling to pieces, fancied it was turning to dust and ashes, but the faithful well knew that, consumed by the fire, it was casting off all dross, and endowed with immortality was ascending more radiant (to heaven)."

"Moreover, whilst yet at the stake, and even before her resurrection, she conquered the hostile powers in a striking manner; for her flesh, while being consumed by the fire, made a hissing sound and routed them completely. And as a brave soldier, armed with steel weapons, by their very clang strikes terror into his cowardly foe, so too the Blessed Drosis, with the hissing of her skin, put to flight the infernal powers; and not only in this way, but in another not less wonderful. For no sooner had she mounted the pyre when the smoke ascending filled the air and choked the demons flying about, and drove away the devil, thus purifying the atmosphere. . . . And the image of a fountain would fitly apply to that pyre; for, as if she were putting off a garment in the fountain and washing her body, so she put off her flesh in the fire with more ease than any garment, and made her soul bright, and accompanied by the angels hastened to her Bridegroom. If the angels conducted Lazarus, who was covered with ulcers, to the bosom of Abraham; with much more likelihood did they, forming a body-guard, take her as from a sacred bridal-chamber and lead her to her heavenly Spouse. And why do I call that pyre a bath of dye? Because she was sent up to the King of heaven as if changed to royal purple in a bath of dye. . . .

Christ himself with unseen hand holding the sacred head and dipping it into the fire as into water. O wonderful pyre! what a treasure it held! that dust and ashes being more precious than gold, more fragrant than any ointment, and more valuable than any gem."

We note as evidences of strong sophistic coloring the two cases of oxymoron, the immoderate heaping of such heterogeneous ideas as dew, fountain, bath of dye, smelting-furnace, and bridal-chamber, the improper image of a maniac applied to the martyr, the puerile figure of the hissing of flesh likened to the clang of steel, the marked tendency to ecphrasis, and the studied minuteness of detail. The desire to make a pun on the martyr's name (*Ἀποστόλις*) probably suggested the paradoxical comparison of fire to dew (*δρόσος*).

In summing up the sophistic traits of Chrysostom's comparisons, we must note, first of all, that in practice he often loses sight of the real purpose of the comparison as defined by himself. He frequently indulges in a heaping up of comparisons, thus giving a vain display of rhetorical pyrotechnics. His themes are largely those of the rhetorical schools. He develops them in truly sophistic fashion, with the result that many of his comparisons are exaggerated, paradoxical, far-fetched, bizarre, and puerile. Others are pursued with studied ingenuity into the minutest details. Thus every phase of Chrysostom's use of the comparison emphasizes still more the influence of sophistic rhetoric on his oratory.

CHAPTER VII

THE ECPHRASIS

The metaphor and the comparison are not devices of style which are peculiar to the sophists. We find them in all writers of every literature. It is only in the characteristic method of their employment that the sophistic manner manifests itself. But the fondness for concrete and graphic representation, of which they are the expression, reveals itself in Chrysostom by a form of exposition which is essentially sophistic, the Ecphrasis. The ecphrasis owes its name and definition to the rhetoricians. It is a species of narration, or rather description, whose purpose is to give a lifelike portrayal of an object in all its details. It is a painting in words. The favorite themes of the sophists, which they borrowed from the Alexandrine poets, were descriptions of nature, the sea, meadows, caves, animals, birds, especially the peacock; descriptions of works of art, paintings, statues, temples etc.; descriptions of the human body etc.¹

We have already noted in the preceding chapter how the germ or even the fully developed form of the ecphrasis often appears in the comparison. We refer especially to the description of a battle (p. 79), of a warrior's tent (p. 1b.), of a flock of sheep in pasture (p. 80). While quoting one or more further examples of this kind, we shall turn our attention here chiefly to the ecphrasis in its pure and independent form.

It is not surprising that the Christian orators of the fourth century should adopt a device so well calculated to impart life and color to their discourses and so acceptable to the public. Moreover, the topics of their sermons, such as the harrowing spectacles of martyrdom, the dramatic scenes of the Old and New Testament, the grandeur and beauty of the universe, invited and fully justified graphic portrayal. We might, however, expect them to remain within the limits of artistic necessity, but this is not always the case, as Méridier's study of Gregory of Nyssa (139), and Guignet's work on Gregory Nazianzen (187) sufficiently prove. Chrysostom is occasionally guilty of the same fault, though we shall see him at times putting a powerful check on his bent for

¹ Cf. Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa* I, 408, note 2.

descriptive detail. Since elaborate descriptions are not so frequent in Chrysostom, we have drawn our examples not only from the sermons, but also from other of his writings.

Descriptions of nature: 56, 265, 48: "For your sake the sun rises, and the moon lights up the night, and the changeful chorus of stars beams forth; for you the winds blow, and the rivers flow; for you the seeds germinate, and the plants grow, and nature keeps her wonted course, and the day appears and the night vanishes." In *Hom. IX on the Statues*, we find this descriptive passage, 49, 114, 37: "Follow me whilst I enumerate the meadows, the gardens, the various tribes of flowers; all sorts of herbs and their uses; their odors, forms, disposition, yea, but their very names; the trees which are fruitful, and which are barren; the nature of metals,—and of animals,—in the sea, or on the land; of those that swim, and those that traverse the air; the mountains, the forests, the groves; the meadow below, and the meadow above; for there is a meadow on the earth, and a meadow too in the sky; the various flowers of the stars; the rose below, and the rainbow above! Would you have me point out also the meadow of birds? Consider the variegated body of the peacock, surpassing every dye, and the fowls of purple plumage. Contemplate with me the beauty of the sky; how it has been preserved so long without being dimmed, and remains as bright and clear as if it had been only fabricated today; moreover, the power of the earth, how its womb has not become effete by bringing forth during so long a time! Contemplate with me the fountains; how they burst forth and fail not, since the time they were begotten, to flow forth continually throughout the day and night! Contemplate with me the sea, receiving so many rivers, yet never exceeding its measure!"

This is an inspiring hymn on the marvels of creation, and it shows us Chrysostom using the ecphrasis for an eminently practical purpose, to fill the minds of the faithful with admiration for the wisdom and power of God. The details are briefly sketched, and the whole description is more simple than the one in Gregory Nazianzen on the same theme.² It is of interest to note that Chrysostom resists the temptation to enlarge on the plumage of the peacock, a subject which every sophist loved to treat. Gregory Nazianzen, however, gives a gorgeous ecphrasis of the peacock in the passage referred to, and Gregory of Nyssa also has an elab-

² Cf. Guignet, 190 ff.

orate description of that bird.² In *Hom. XI on the Statues* (49, 122 and 123), Chrysostom describes with the accuracy of a physiologist the wonderful structure of the human eye, the eyelashes, eyebrows, the brain, and the heart as revealing the wisdom of the Creator.

Parallel between a meadow or garden, and the Holy Scriptures, 52, 395, 64: "Delectable indeed are the meadow and the garden, but far more delectable is the study of the divine writings. For there indeed are flowers which fade, but here are thoughts which abide in full bloom; there is the breeze of the zephyr, but here the breath of the Spirit; there is the hedge of thorns, but here is the guarding providence of God; there is the song of cicadae, but here the melody of the prophets; there is the pleasure which comes from sight, but here the profit which comes from study. The garden is confined to one place, but the Scriptures are in all parts of the world; the garden is subject to the necessities of the seasons, but the Scriptures are rich in foliage and laden with fruit alike in winter and in summer." A very poetical description sketched with the delicate art of the rhetor. Meadows, gardens, and the cicada were favorite themes of description. Also note the paradox in the last clause of the passage.

St. Paul's preaching is compared to the rising sun in its effects, 50, 494, 53: "As, when the sun rises, darkness is dispelled, wild beasts slink away and lurk in their lairs, robbers flee, murderers take refuge in their dens, pirates cease from their trade, gravebreakers withdraw, and adulterers, thieves, and housebreakers depart to some distant place and vanish for fear of being detected and convicted by the sun's beams, and all becomes bright and clear, the earth and the ocean, while the sun from on high illumines everything, the seas, the mountains, the lands, and the cities: so too, when the Gospel appeared, and Paul spread it broadcast, error was dispelled, truth returned, and fumes and the smoke (of sacrifices), and cymbals and kettle drums, drunkenness and revels, fornication and adultery, and other unmentionable deeds wont to be perpetrated at the sacrifices ceased and were abolished, melting like wax in the fire and vanishing like chaff in the flame." The elaborate structure of this long period is emphasized by eighteen cases of polysyndeton, ten at the beginning, and eight at the end. Poetical color is imparted by the frequent homoioteleuta, for which we refer to the Greek text. Highway-

² Cf. Méridier, 144.

men, pirates, grave-robbers, and housebreakers are pet themes in sophistic literature.

Here are two short sketches of poetical delicacy, 50, 600, 46: "The springs spout up copious floods: indeed they do not contain them within their bosom, but bringing forth large rivers they join the sea, and stretching forth, as it were, their long fingers they reach the waters of the ocean." Speaking of a species of wild vines, 50, 600, 54: "For, when they push forward their shoots over the top of the reeds, the tendrils creeping through the branches advance very far, thus furnishing a spacious roof for the dense foliage."

The weirder aspects of nature are sketched with no less ability than its calmer moods. An ecphrasis of a storm on the sea occurs in the first *Letter to Olympias*, 52, 549, 25: "If you like I will form an image of the things now taking place, so as to present the tragedy yet more distinctly to you. We behold a sea upheaved from the very lowest depths, some sailors floating dead upon the waves, others engulfed by them, the planks of the ships broken up, the sails torn to tatters, the masts sprung, the oars dashed out of the sailors' hands, the pilots seated on the deck, clasping their knees with their hands instead of grasping the rudder, bewailing the hopelessness of their situation with sharp cries and bitter lamentations, neither sky nor sea clearly visible, but all one deep and impenetrable darkness, so that no one can see his neighbor, whilst mighty is the roaring of the billows, and monsters of the sea attack the crews on every side." Chrysostom here gives full scope to his eminent descriptive powers, and the result is a sophistic ecphrasis of the first order, rich in detail, realistic, and vividly colored as any painting could be. Norden⁴ cites it as an instance of the Asiatic style. Scenes of shipwreck and of a storm on the sea are familiar from the romances of the period. In the sermon on St. Roman, who is compared to a pilot steering his ship during a storm, we find this realistic image, 50, 615, 52: "The sea of idolatry was roaring blasphemies, and raging against the ship of the Church, and belching forth a foam of blood against the altars. . . ." This is a favorite theme with Chrysostom; we find it treated again in 49, 109, 2, with a practical aim: "Behold this sea abounding with waves, and fierce winds; yet this sea, spacious and large, and furious as it is, is walled in with feeble sand! Mark also the wisdom of God, He permitted it not to be at rest, nor tranquil, lest you should suppose its good order to be

⁴ *Die Antike Kunstprosa* I, 571.

of mere natural regulation; but remaining within its limits, it lifts up its voice, and is in tumult, and roars aloud, and raises its waves to a prodigious height. But when it comes to the shores, and beholds the sand, it breaks up, and returns back again within itself; teaching you, by both these things, that it is not the work of nature that it remains within its boundaries, but the work of Him whose power restrains it!" The description is one of simple grandeur, and the lesson is happily drawn.

Thus far we have reviewed only descriptions of nature, but the sophist's art was not restricted to so narrow a field. He must needs be able to describe a great variety of subjects, such as feasts, persons, works of art etc.

Commenting on the text: "When thou makest a dinner or a supper, call not thy friends, nor thy brethren, nor thy neighbors who are rich . . . but the poor, the maimed, the lame, and the blind."⁵ Chrysostom makes this elaborate parallel, 62, 304, 36: "Let us suppose two tables, and let one be filled with these, and have the blind, the halt, the maimed in hand or leg, the barefoot, those clad with but one scanty garment, and that worn out: but let the other have grandees, generals, governors, great officers, arrayed in costly robes and fine lawn, belted with golden girdles. Again, here at the table of the poor let there be neither silver, nor store of wine, but just enough to refresh and gladden, and let the drinking cups and the rest of the vessels be made from glass only; but there, at the table of the rich, let all the vessels be of silver and gold, and the semicircular table, not such as one person can lift, but as two young men can with difficulty move, and the wine-jars lie in order, glittering far beyond the silver with gold, and let the semicircle be smoothly laid all over with soft drapery. Here, again, let there be many servants, in garments not less ornamented than those of the guests, and bravely appareled, and wearing loose trousers, men beauteous to look upon, in the very flower of life, plump, and well conditioned: but there let there be only two servants disdaining all that proud vanity. And let those have costly meats, but these only enough to appease hunger and inspire cheerfulness." There is something dry and labored about this long description. The details are so plentiful that the preacher is sure of having satisfied the taste of his audience, for he continues: "Have I said enough? and are both tables laid out with sufficient minuteness? Is anything wanting? I think not. For I have gone over the guests, and the costliness of the vessels, and

⁵ *Luke* XIV, 12, 13.

of the linen, and of the meats." Here we have the preacher's own admission that the exuberance of detail in this picture is conscious and intentional. Gregory Nazianzen gives an even more elaborate sketch of the refined luxury displayed in the houses of the rich.⁶

In the dramatic apostrophe to Eutropius, which opens the first homily of that name, 52, 391, we get a brilliant picture of the departed glory of the onetime powerful consul, who was clinging to the altar for asylum while Chrysostom thundered forth: "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity"—it is always seasonable to utter this, but more especially at the present time. Where are now the brilliant surroundings of your consulship? where are the gleaming torches? Where is the dancing, and the noise of dancers' feet, and the banquets and the festivals? where are the garlands and the curtains of the theatre? where is the applause which greeted you in the city, where the acclamation in the hippodrome and the flatteries of spectators? They are gone—all gone! A wind has blown upon the tree shattering down all its leaves, and showing it to us quite bare, and shaken to its very root; for so great has been the violence of the blast, that it has given a shock to all these fibres of the tree, and threatens to tear it up from the roots. Where now are your feigned friends? where are your drinking parties and your suppers? where is the swarm of parasites, and the wine which used to be poured forth all day long, and the manifold dainties invented by your cooks? where are they who courted your power and did and said everything to win your favor? They were all mere visions of the night and dreams which have vanished with the dawn of day: they were spring flowers, and when the spring was over they all withered: they were a shadow which has passed away—they were a smoke which has dispersed, bubbles which have burst, cobwebs which have been rent in pieces. Therefore we chant continually this spiritual song—"Vanity of vanities, all is vanity."

Never was the emptiness of human glory driven home with more telling force. The cry, "Vanity of vanities," comes like a natural refrain at the close of this pathetic dirge. The allegory of the tree graphically portrays the forlorn state of the wretched Eutropius. However, the power and beauty of this grand passage are impaired by that besetting fault of Chrysostom's style, an oriental profusion of images. Seven metaphors, couched in six short clauses of parallel structure with homoioteleuta, follow one

⁶ Cf. Guignet, 205 ff.

another in quick succession. This is Asiatic oratory in its highest development.

Descriptions of persons: Chrysostom, like Gregory Nazianzen,⁷ seems to have been averse to descriptions of physical beauty, for he is always harping on the futility of such charms, and laying stress on beauty of the soul. His attitude towards descriptions of cities, much in vogue among the sophists, was the same, as the following passage indicates, 49, 179, 8: "When you wish to pronounce an encomium on the city, tell me not of the suburb of Daphne, nor of the height and multitude of its cypresses, nor of its fountains of waters, nor of the great population who inhabit the city, nor of the great freedom with which its market-place is frequented even to midnight, nor of the abundance of its wares! But if you are able to mention virtue, meekness etc. . . . ; commend the city for these things!" A little further on (*ib.* 22) we read: "And if you see a big man, who has been brought into good condition, tall, and surpassing others in length of limb, do not admire him, until you have ascertained what the man's soul is. Not from the outward comeliness, but from the beauty that appertains to the soul, should we pronounce any person blessed!"

But sometimes the stern preacher gives way to the sophist rhetor, as when he defines bodily beauty, 52, 412, 55: "What is beauty of body? An extended eyebrow, a merry glance, a blushing cheek, ruddy lips, a straight neck, long wavy hair, tapering fingers, upright stature, a fair blooming complexion." Later he defines what virtues go to make up beauty of soul. This definition, the details of which are dryly enumerated like a lesson of philosophy, for Chrysostom says (*ib.* 61): "Attend that you may learn the conception of philosophers," accords with the scheme of Menander, which all sophists rigidly followed in their descriptions of personal beauty.

Chrysostom's vehement denunciations of the theatre suggested descriptions like the following, a character sketch of a youth impersonating a young girl, of an old man in the role of a slave, and of shameless actresses, 57, 426, 41: "For first one, being a young man, wears his hair long behind, and changing his nature into that of a woman, is striving both in aspect and in gesture, and in garments, and generally in all ways, to pass into the likeness of a tender damsel. Then another who is grown old, in the opposite way to this, having his hair shaven, and with his loins girt about, his shame cut off before his hair, stands ready to be smitten with

⁷ Cf. Guignet, 200.

the rod, prepared both to say and to do anything. The women again, their heads uncovered, stand without a blush, discoursing with a whole people, so complete is their practice in shamelessness; and thus pour forth all effrontery and impurity into the souls of their hearers. And their one study is, to pluck up all chastity from the foundations, to disgrace our nature, to satiate the desire of the wicked demon. Yea, and there are both foul sayings, and gestures yet fouler; and the dressing of the hair tends that way, and the gait, and apparel, and voice, and flexure of the limbs; and there are turnings of the eyes, and flutes, and pipes, and dramas, and plots; all things, in short, full of the most extreme impurity." This is a scathing arraignment of the loose morals of the stage. The individual sketches are complete and true to life; they are drawn from personal observation, for, as a young lawyer, Chrysostom had attended theatrical performances.⁸ In his sermon *Against the Games and Theatres*, 56, 266, 37, is a short ecphrasis of a lewd dancer, and a little further on her image is sketched in a few words, *ib.* 267, 4: τὰ ῥήματα, τὰ σχήματα, τὰ βλέμματα, ἡ βάδις, ὁ ῥυθμὸς, ἡ διάκρισις, τὰ μέλη τὰ πορνικά.

Description of Eutropius in Hom. I of that name, 52, 393, 21: "For who was more exalted than this man? Did he not surpass the whole world in wealth? had he not climbed to the very pinnacle of distinction? did not all tremble and fear before him? Yet lo! he has become more wretched than the prisoner, more pitiable than the menial slave, more indigent than the beggar wasting away with hunger, having every day a vision of sharpened swords and of the criminal's grave, and the public executioner leading him out to his death; and he does not even know if he once enjoyed past pleasure, nor is he sensible even of the sun's ray, but at midday his sight is dimmed as if he were encompassed by the densest gloom. . . . But indeed, what need is there of any words from me, when he himself has clearly depicted this for us as in a visible image? For yesterday when they came to him from the royal court intending to drag him away by force, and he ran for refuge to the holy altar, his face was then, as it is now, no better than the countenance of one dead: and the chattering of his teeth, and the quaking and quivering of his whole body, and his faltering voice, and stammering tongue, and in fact his whole general appearance were suggestive of one whose soul was petrified."

⁸ *On the Priesthood*, 48, 624, 26.

This is a dramatic ecphrasis of gripping realism and touching pathos. The faithful, many of whom harbored deep resentment against the culprit, were moved to tears of pity (*ib.* 395, 31). The metaphors and comparisons are abundant and give to the tableau a rich and heavy coloring. Note the two cases of hyperbole in the statements regarding Eutropius, "Did he not surpass the whole world in wealth?" and, "the man who was shaking the whole world." The remark, "what need is there of any words from me, when he himself has clearly depicted this for us as in a visible image," is of special interest as throwing light on the nature of the ecphrasis. It was the ambition of the sophists to make the ecphrasis rival a real painting in picturesqueness of detail, as well as in delicacy or boldness of shading. With this object in view, they were fond of describing works of art, paintings, statues etc., and sought to reproduce in words the striking effects of the original.⁹ Chrysostom when introducing an ecphrasis often uses expressions that clearly indicate his intention to emulate the sculptor's or the painter's art, *e. g.*, leading up to his description of a storm and shipwreck on the sea, quoted above (p. 89), we read, 52, 549, 25: "καὶ εἰ βούλει, καὶ εἰκόνα ἀναπλάττω (mold, shape) τῶν γινομένων," and again, 50, 641, 34: "Recently, beloved, weaving for you the flowery garland of spring, and delineating, as it were, on the tablet of our discourse the season of the year, we showed you not only florid groves and blooming meadows and life-giving breezes etc."

The *Homilies on the Statues* contain some very dramatic descriptions of the gloom and despondency prevailing in Antioch after the overthrow of the statues of the emperor, and of the heartrending scenes occasioned by the prosecution of the guilty inhabitants. See especially 49, 35, 40; 56, 36; 136, 61; 137, 38.

Description of a battle on land and sea, 48, 689, 42: This extremely sophistic ecphrasis occurs in Book VI *On the Priesthood*, where Chrysostom explains to his friend Basil, why he shrank from becoming a bishop and a leader in the army of the Church. It is in reality the first part of a lengthy comparison illustrating the gigantic struggle of the powers of hell with the forces of Christ. Some of the details are reminiscent of the battle scenes of the *Iliad*. Descriptions of battles were in high favor with the rhetors: "Let there be an armament composed of infantry, cavalry, and marines, and let a number of triremes cover the sea,

⁹ For examples in Gregory of Nyssa see Méridier, 145, and for Gregory Nazianzen, Guignet, 209.

and phalanxes of foot and horse cover most of the plains, and the ridges of the mountains, and let the metal of their armor reflect the sunshine, and the glitter of the helmets and shields be reflected by the beams which are emitted from them (*Il.* 13, 341); let the clashing of spears and the neighing of horses be borne up to the very heavens (*Il.* 12, 338), and let neither sea nor land appear, but only brass and iron in every direction. Let the enemy be drawn up in battle array opposite to these, fierce and savage men, and let the time of the engagement be now at hand. Then let some one suddenly seize some young lad, one of those brought up in the country, knowing nothing but the use of the shepherd's pipe and crook; let him be clad in brazen armor, and let him be led round the whole camp and be shown the squadrons and their officers, the archers, slingers, captains, generals, the foot and horse, the spearmen, the triremes and their commanders, the dense mass of soldiers in the ships, and the multitude of engines of war lying ready on board. Let him be shown, moreover, the whole array of the enemy, their repulsive aspect, and the varied stores and unusual quantity of their arms; the ravines also and precipices of the mountains, deep and difficult. Let him be shown further on the enemy's side, horses flying by some enchantment and infantry borne through the air, and sorcery of every power and form; and let him consider the calamities of war, the cloud of spears, the hailstorm of arrows (*Il.* 12, 156), that great mist and obscurity, that gloomiest night which the multitude of weapons occasions, eclipsing the sunbeams with their cloud, the dust (*Il.* 13, 335) no less than the darkness baffling the eyesight. The torrents of blood (*Il.* 15, 715), the groans of the fallen, the shouts of the surviving (*Il.* 4, 450), the heaps of slain, wheels bathed in blood (*Il.* 11, 534), horses with their riders thrown down headlong (*Il.* 11, 159), owing to the number of corpses, the ground a scene of general confusion, blood, and bows, and arrows, hoofs of horses and heads of men lying together, a human arm and a chariot wheel and a helmet, a breast pierced through, brains sticking to swords, the point of a dart broken off with an eye transfixed upon it. Then let him reckon up the sufferings of the naval force, the triremes burning in the midst of the waves, and sinking with their armed crews, the roaring of the sea, the tumult of the sailors, the shout of the soldiers, the foam of the waves mixed with blood, and dashing over into all the ships; the corpses on the decks, some sinking, some floating, some cast upon the beach, overwhelmed by the waves, and obstructing the passage of the ships. And when

he has been carefully instructed in all the tragedy of warfare, let the horrors of captivity and slavery be added to it, worse than any kind of death; and having told him all this, bid him mount his horse straightway, and take command of all that armament." This is an ideal sophistic ecphrasis worthy of an Aristides or a Libanius. The latter's sketch in his *Progymnasmata* is on a smaller scale and takes in the scene of a battle on land only, while Chrysostom's includes besides the spectacle of a naval engagement. Its elaborate character is emphasized by the multiplicity of details, some of which are of gruesome realism, the frequent *parisa* and occasional *homoioteleuta*, the bold image of "horses flying by some enchantment, and infantry borne through the air," and the metaphors, "cloud of spears," "the hailstorm of arrows," "that great mist . . . , that gloomiest night which the multitude of weapons occasions, eclipsing the sunbeams with their cloud,"¹⁰ and "the torrents of blood." Note also the metaphor, "*tragedy of warfare*," a favorite expression of the sophists for scenes of a dramatic nature. It is interesting to compare with this ecphrasis of immoderate length the short one on the same theme, quoted in the chapter on comparisons (p. 79). In the latter Chrysostom has confined himself to a few meagre details, feeling, perhaps, that so lengthy a description would be out of place in a sermon.

Descriptions of scenes of martyrdom: These are very numerous in the Christian orators and writers. It was natural that, in extolling the heroism of these valiant champions of the faith, they would dwell on the details of their agonizing struggles. Chrysostom is particularly fond of such descriptions. The following is a curious example of a descriptive soliloquy put into the mouth of Satan, who is represented as dissatisfied with the results of his plots against the Christians. The passage contains a series of comparisons that exhibit the flowery exuberance of Chrysostom's style, 50, 609, 31: "I strewed red-hot coals under their feet, but they walked on them as on roses. I kindled fires, but they hurled themselves into them as into fountains of cooling water. I lacerated their sides and cut in them deep furrows and drew forth rivers of blood, but they gloried as if bathed in (liquid) gold. I cast them down precipices and drowned them in the sea, but they exulted and rejoiced as if ascending to heaven, not as going down into the deep; as if dancing in a sacred procession, and disporting on a green meadow; they snatched at tortures, not as if they were

¹⁰ This commonplace of the rhetors is ridiculed by Lucian in his *Teacher of Rhetoric*, 18.

tortures, but as if plucking spring flowers and putting on a garland. . . .” The exaggerated and declamatory tone of this soliloquy is a sufficient indication of its sophistic character.

This exaggeration of tone appears quite frequently in the descriptions of the tortures of the martyrs, and is sometimes combined with a gruesome realism, that is shocking to a modern reader, *e. g.*, 50, 708, 49: “For they bound them on the rack, and dug their sides, and cut deep furrows, as if plowing the earth, and not cleaving bodies in twain; and one could see flanks cut open, ribs laid bare, breasts crushed in. And not even at this point did these blood-thirsty beasts halt in their rage, but taking the bodies off the rack they stretched them upon gridirons over red-hot coals, and here was a sight more horrible than the first, double drippings issuing from the bodies, the ones of flowing blood, the others of burnt flesh. But the martyrs lay on the coals as on roses, and contemplated their tortures with delight.”

The mother of the Maccabees is described as witnessing the dreadful agony of her sons in 50, 621, 31: “Let us consider what that woman must have suffered, if we may call her a woman, when she saw the fingers twitching over the red-hot coals, the head falling off, the iron hand placed upon the head of another, and stripping off the skin, and him who suffered all this still standing erect and speaking.” Again, in 50, 626, 4: “When she saw one hurrying towards the seething cauldron, another to the frying-pan, and another being beheaded, she exulted as if she were arraying one in his nuptial attire, and weaving garlands for another, and spreading the nuptial couch for another. And all was filled with smoke and the odor of roasting flesh. With all her senses she perceived the trial of her children: she beheld them with her eyes, she heard their words with her ears, and with her nose perceived the odor of flesh, which was both savory and unsavory: unsavory indeed to the unbelievers, but to God and to her most sweet. . . .”

In 50, 695, 22, the executioners are represented as wild beasts, prowling around the bodies of the martyrs, cutting open their sides, lacerating their flesh, laying bare their bones, and penetrating to their very vitals. The devil is described in the same manner in 50, 696, 22.

The sophists were fond of describing works of art, paintings, statues, etc. Chrysostom follows the fashion in an ecphrasis on the tortures of the martyrs sketched as in a painting, 50, 712, 5: “Paint on the walls of your soul the tortures of the martyrs, as

those who wish to embellish their homes decorate them with bright-colored pictures. This kind of painting is inexpensive and needs no artist. . . . Let us paint on our soul those lying in a frying-pan, those stretched upon live coals, those thrown into a seething cauldron, those drowned in the sea; others lacerated, others stretched upon a wheel, others hurled over precipices; some fighting with wild beasts, others thrown into a yawning abyss, others losing their life in diverse ways, in order that, embellishing our house with such pictures, we may make it a suitable abode for the King of heaven. For if He sees such pictures in our soul, He will come with the Father, and take up his abode in company with the Holy Spirit, and our soul will henceforth be a kind of royal palace; no unseemly thought will enter there; whilst the memory of the martyrs, like a florid picture, will remain there always, and will emit a great splendor, etc." Note how happily and with what warmth of feeling Chrysostom draws a moral lesson in this ecphrasis.

Nothing could better illustrate Chrysostom's adaptation of pagan literary forms to the exigencies of the Christian homily than the gorgeous encomium on St. John the Evangelist which forms the introduction to *Hom. I on St. John*, 59, 25, and 26. Referring briefly to the enthusiastic interest of his countrymen in the spectacles of the games, the show-declamations of the sophists, and the performances of musicians, Chrysostom comes to his main subject: "And if in the case of rhetoricians, musicians, and athletes, people sit in the one case to look on, and in the other to see at once and to listen with such earnest attention; what zeal, what earnestness ought you in reason to display, when it is no musician or debater who now comes forward to a trial of skill, but when a man is speaking from heaven, and utters a voice plainer than thunder? for he has pervaded the whole earth with the sound, and occupied and filled it, not by the loudness of the cry, but by moving his tongue with the grace of God.

And what is wonderful, this sound, great as it is, is neither harsh nor an unpleasant one, but sweeter and more delightful than all harmony of music, and with more skill to soothe (*θελάει*); and besides all this, most holy and most awful, and full of mysteries great, that if men were exactly and with ready mind to receive and keep them, they could no longer be mere men, nor remain upon earth, but would take their stand above all the things of this life, and having adapted themselves to the conditions of angels, would dwell on earth just as if it were heaven.

For the son of thunder, the beloved of Christ, the pillar of the Churches throughout the world, who holds the keys of heaven, who drank the cup of Christ, and was baptized with His baptism, who lay upon his Master's bosom with much confidence, this man comes forward to us now, not as an actor of a play, not hiding his head with a mask (for he has another sort of words to speak), nor mounting a platform, nor striking the stage with his foot, nor dressed out with apparel of gold, but he enters wearing a robe of inconceivable beauty. For he will appear before us having "put on Christ,"¹¹ having his beautiful "feet shod with the preparation of the Gospel of peace";¹² wearing a girdle not about his waist, but about his loins, not made of scarlet leather, nor daubed outside with gold, but woven and composed of truth itself. Now will he appear before us, not acting a part (for with him there is nothing counterfeit, nor fiction, nor fable), but with unmasked head he proclaims to us the truth unmasked; not making the audience believe him other than he is by carriage, by look, by voice, needing for the delivery of his message no instruments of music, as harp, lyre, or any other the like, for he effects all with his tongue, uttering a voice which is sweeter and more profitable than that of any harper or any music. All heaven is his stage; his theatre the habitable world; his audience, all angels; and of men as many as are angels already, or desire to become so, for none but these can hear that harmony aright, and show it forth by their works. . . .

By this apostle stand the powers from above, marvelling at the beauty of his soul, and his understanding, and the bloom of that virtue by which he drew unto him Christ himself, and obtained the grace of the Spirit. For he has made ready his soul, as some well-fashioned and jeweled lyre with strings of gold, and yielded it for the utterance of something great and sublime to the Spirit.

The strongly sophistic color of this ecphrasis is tinged with Scriptural metaphors and expressions. St. John is portrayed as a sophist, actor, and musician of a transcendent and supramundane type, contrasted with the ordinary type in a series of parallels, in which the details of his appearance, dress, carriage, and voice are traced with studious precision. The metaphors and comparisons drawn from the stage and from musical art emphasize the theatrical tone of the whole. The use of *θέλει* to designate the effect of St. John's preaching is notable here, for the

¹¹ *Rom.* XIII, 14; *Gal.* III, 27.

¹² *Eph.* VI, 15.

sophists, as far back as Thrasyarchus and Gorgias, regarded *κηλεῖν, θέλγειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους* as the chief purpose of their art.¹³ This description strikingly exemplifies the union of profane and Christian elements in Chrysostom's oratory.

We have in this chapter reviewed quite a representative collection of the types of ecphrasis which were current among the sophists. But in justice to Chrysostom we must concede that, while some of his descriptions display an abundance of graphic details hardly called for, there are others which exhibit great moderation and are justified for homiletic and apologetic reasons. Chrysostom, like Gregory Nazianzen, has transformed the futile sophistic ecphrasis, which served only for display, into a means of edification and moral instruction, notably by his descriptions of the struggles of the martyrs. This transformation is another proof of the regenerating influence of the Christian religion, which breathed a new life into the sterile and effete forms of pagan literature, by giving to its orators ideas of vital and absorbing interest in place of the frivolous and immoral themes of pagan mythology.¹⁴

¹³ Cf. Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa*, I, 7.

¹⁴ Cf. Guignet, 210.

CONCLUSION

Our examination of the panegyrical and selected occasional sermons of St. John Chrysostom has established the fact that the rhetoric of the second sophistic has exerted a profound influence on his oratory. We have traced this influence in his liberal use of certain minor rhetorical figures, chief among which are alliteration, paronomasia, and paradox; in his great fondness for clauses of parallel structure, some of which are antithetical and enhanced by the poetical element of the homoioteleuton; in his immoderate redundance of metaphors, his preference for metaphors of established profane origin, and in the labored ingenuity, the exaggerated, theatrical, and extravagant tone of others; in his comparisons, many of which are far-fetched, bizarre, puerile, hyperbolical and paradoxical, drawn chiefly from profane sources, heaped up at times in excessive profusion, and pursued with studied artificiality into the minutest details. Only in regard to the ecphrasis have we found Chrysostom less strongly influenced by profane rhetoric. Although he reproduces some of the favorite types of the ecphrasis, the latter is not exclusively a means of embellishment with Chrysostom. On the contrary, he generally employs it with a practical view of edification or moral instruction.

Some modern critics seem to minimize too strongly the influence of the sophistic rhetoric on Chrysostom. Thus L. Ackermann¹ makes the strange statement: "Der hl. Johannes Chrysostomus spricht in dem Stile des hl. Paulus. . . . Der griechische Stil ist zur Zeit des Heiligen lange nicht mehr rein und natürlich gewesen. Selbst Libanius, der berühmteste Rhetoriker damaliger Zeit, hat sich nicht dem Einflusse des schlechten Geschmacks entziehen können. Aber Chrysostomus hielt sich davon frei, sagt Cramer. . . ."² Manirtheit aber findet sich bei Chrysostomus nicht. . . ."

U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff makes the sweeping assertion:³ "In den grossen Reden, . . . schwellen die wohllautenden Perioden an, reicher wird der Schmuck, aber nirgend etwas

¹ *Die Beredsamkeit des hl. Johannes Chrysostomus*, 99.

² *Des hl. Kirchenlehrers Johannes Chrysostomus Predigten*, verbessert von P. Vital Mösl, 10 Bände, 2 Aufl., Augsburg 1782, Vorrede zum 2. Bd.

³ *Kultur der Gegenwart*, Teil I, Abt. VIII, 214.

von dem Geklapper der Reime oder Kadenzen, nur ganz sparsam die Rede, welche Leidenschaft weckt, wohl aber die überlegene Kunst dessen, der die Seele nicht uberrumpeln oder faszinieren, sondern Kopf und Herz zugleich gewinnen will."

O. Bardenhewer⁴ minimizes the sophistic influence in Chrysostom: "So gewiss er nicht umsonst die Schule des Libanius besucht hat, so wird man doch nur aus seiner Anfängerzeit vielleicht einzelne Predigten vorweisen können, in denen der Sophistenzögling das Wort führt und sein Repertoire an Tropen und Figuren ausbreitet, während in der Folge der Rhetor bescheiden hinter den Prediger zurücktritt, und sich lediglich bestrebt zeigt, die Zwecke des letzteren zu fördern."

These statements, it would seem to us, are too sweeping, and deserve to be modified or corrected, at least as regards the panegyric sermons. Chrysostom is often prodigal of rhetorical ornament, he is not free from the bad taste and the mannerisms of the sophistic rhetoric, there is abundant evidence of the jingle of rhyme, and monotonous parallelism of structure, and these traits appear not only in his earlier efforts, but also in his later sermons.

All this does not quite harmonize with Chrysostom's own homiletic theories, which we have discussed in our second chapter (p. 25 ff.). We have seen him severely denouncing those preachers who busied themselves about the harmony and composition of their periods, and who strove to entertain their audience by a show of eloquence. There can be no doubt that Chrysostom himself is at times guilty of the very faults which he censures in others. Are we justified then in accusing him of insincerity? By no means. His irreproachable, stainless character, his exalted conception of the dignity of the Christian preacher's office, place him above all suspicion of insincerity. In fairness to him we must concede that, generally, he is true to his principles, but that, when he violates them, he does so unconsciously. The mannerisms of profane rhetoric had become, as it were, his second nature, so that, while he strove to avoid the grosser excesses of the oratory of show and display, he could not altogether eradicate intellectual habits that were deep-rooted and of long standing. This may be regrettable, but it is only the natural and logical result of his education and environment.

Yet it is a great satisfaction to know that Chrysostom's rhetorical defects are overborne by his excellences. Though strongly

⁴ *Geschichte der Altkirchlichen Literatur*, Bd. III, 353.

influenced by the profane rhetoric, that influence is never oppressive as in the pagan sophists, nor even as powerful as in Gregory of Nyssa and Gregory Nazianzen. His sermons by no means reveal that preponderance of form over matter which is so deplorable in the sophists, notably in his teacher Libanius. Beneath the artistic, and sometimes artificial garb of his style, there is a rich fund of intensely vital and practical, lofty and grand ideas, worthy of the sublime doctrines which he propounds.

In no way then do we regard it as a misfortune that Chrysostom proclaimed the simple truths of Christianity in the polished language of profane rhetoric, nor do we wish that he had rather chosen the plain and unadorned style of the first preachers of the Gospel. Such a course would have been altogether unsuited to the needs and exigencies of the times. The refined and cultured audiences of Antioch and Constantinople would have ignored a preacher whose exposition of doctrine was devoid of the graces and embellishments of language which they prized so highly. The heretics and infidels, who were either to be refuted or won over to the truth, would have scorned and ridiculed him. He would have done a poor service to the religion whose foremost champion divine Providence had destined him to be.

Thus we see in Chrysostom's oratory the profane and the sacred element blended in harmonious union. Despite his occasional bitter attacks on pagan writers, Chrysostom stands forth in theory and in practice as one of the foremost advocates of a compromise between Hellenism and Christianity; a compromise to which Origen has given such admirable expression:⁵ "Unde et nos si forte aliquando invenimus aliquid sapienter a gentilibus dictum, non continuo cum auctoris nomine spernere debemus et dicta, nec pro eo, quod legem a deo datam tenemus, convenit nos tumere superbia et spernere verba prudentium, sed sicut apostolus dicit: 'omnia probantes, quod bonum est tenentes' (ad Thessal. I, 5, 21)." Chrysostom is indeed, as Villemain styles him, "par excellence le Grec devenu chrétien," he is in the words of the same writer: "Le plus grand orateur de l'Église primitive, le plus vivant témoin de cette mémorable époque."⁶

⁵ *In Exod. hom. XI, 6, M. 12, 380.*

⁶ *De l'éloquence chrétienne dans le quatrième siècle, 351.*

VITA

Thomas Edward Ameringer was born at Cincinnati, Ohio, February 19, 1886. He received his elementary education in the parish schools and his classical training in St. Francis Seraphic College (now St. Francis Preparatory Seminary) of the same city. He entered the Order of Friars Minor August 15, 1903. After his religious profession he made his philosophical and theological studies in the monasteries of his province at St. Bernard, Ohio, Louisville, Kentucky, and Oldenburg, Indiana. He was raised to the priesthood June 22, 1911. From 1911-1918 he was instructor in Latin and German at St. Francis Preparatory Seminary. In January, 1919, he entered the Catholic University of America, where, in June, 1920, he received the degree of M. A. During his course at the University he attended the lectures of Roy Joseph Deferrari, M. A., Ph.D., on Greek and Latin Literature, and of Rev. James Aloysius Geary, A. B., on Comparative Philology.



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